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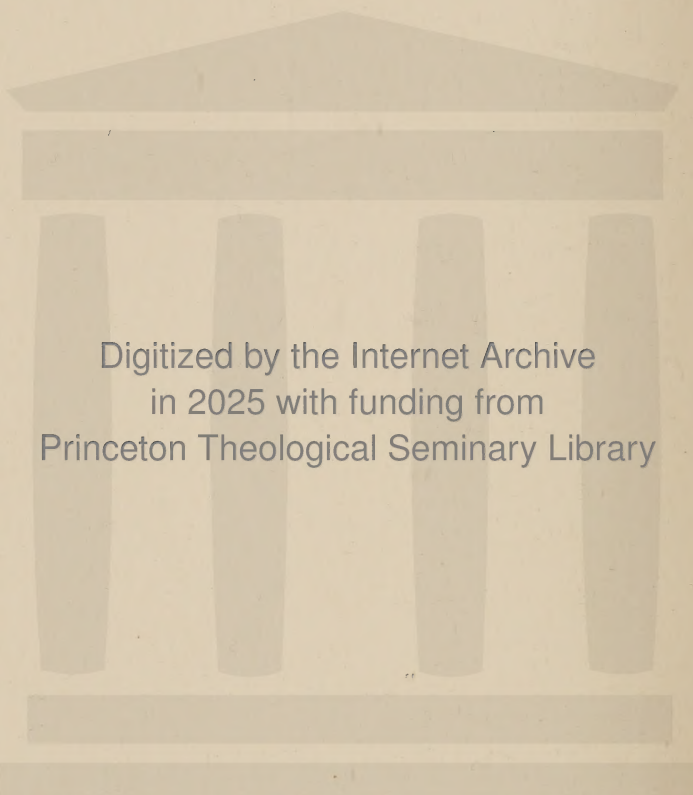








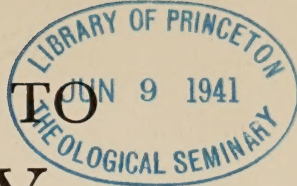
# AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY



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# AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY



BY

ERNEST R. GROVES

*and*

HARRY ESTILL MOORE

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AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY

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## PREFACE

Titles of books seem to have two functions. They may arouse the curiosity of possible readers; or they may describe the nature of the book on whose cover they appear. A conscious effort has been made to have this title fall into the second category. This book has been written solely as an introduction to sociology. It is not a source book of documents dealing with sociological problems; nor is it an attempt to state a systematic theory of the nature of society.

Quotations have been kept at a minimum since it appears that students often become so interested in the illustrative materials that they forget the point such matter is supposed to illustrate. Since notions of the field of sociology still vary widely, even among the most astute scholars in the discipline, it seems evident that an introductory text should give exclusive adherence to no specific system, but should, on the contrary, attempt to present those elements on which there is common agreement plus some presentation of the newer theories which have not yet been universally recognized.

Students and their interests have been uppermost in the minds of the authors in the preparation of this book. It is largely the result of classroom experiences with many student generations who have been encouraged to express their reactions to the materials presented to them. As a result the material has been simplified as much as has been thought possible without destroying its fidelity to actual social situations.

The present volume is a new work based upon Ernest R. Groves' *An Introduction to Sociology*, first published in 1928 and revised in 1932. Much new material has been added to the chapters which appeared in those editions, and several new chapters have been written in an effort to keep abreast of the rapidly flowing stream of sociological literature. The section on social problems has been eliminated in line with the growing tendency to treatment of this material in distinct courses. The entire volume has been reoriented in line with the ideas expressed in the initial chapter. The functional point of view, characteristic of the earlier volumes,

has been retained and emphasized even more since it seems increasingly clear that what people and groups *do* is more important than what they *are*. The regional approach has been used to emphasize the interrelatedness of social phenomena.

To make adequate acknowledgment of the aid given in the preparation of a book of this sort would be to recount a large portion of the readings and discussions of the writers. Much of the material used has come to be a common possession of sociologists and recognition of its source will be automatic with those versed in the discipline. Thanks are due those who originated such materials, as well as to those writers and publishers to whom more specific acknowledgment is made in the form of footnotes and bibliographical references. However, specific acknowledgment of aid must be given to our colleagues at the University of North Carolina and the University of Texas for stimulating discussions on many points. To Bernice Milburn Moore thanks are due for this service, and also for the contribution of Chapter VII. Rex D. Hopper read and criticized several of the chapters. Dr. Paul L. White offered professional criticism of the chapters dealing with psychiatry and personality development. Benjalyn and Guy Kirtley rendered valuable service in bringing to discussions a mature but non-professional point of view, and in the mechanical preparation of the manuscript.

ERNEST R. GROVES

HARRY ESTILL MOORE



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# AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY





# AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY

## PART I

### *Introduction*

#### CHAPTER I

#### AN APPROACH TO SOCIOLOGY

More than two thousand years ago it was observed by a wise old Greek that man is a political animal. By "political" he meant very much what we mean today when we say "social," that is, living as a member of a group. Indeed, so sure was Aristotle of this truth that he argued that man, as we know him, is a product of society; that logically speaking, the social ante-dated the human. A Biblical writer expressed the same thought in his observation that man does not live by bread alone. Today, it is generally acknowledged that man is a gregarious animal; he lives and thinks in groups. He even makes love and eats and wears his clothing in accordance with the ideas of the groups of which he is a member. This is true because it is from these groups that he gets his ideas of food, clothing, lovemaking, and in fact, all the other habits and ideas which go to make him a person rather than an individual; or a mere physical specimen of *homo sapiens*. It is to the study of these groups that sociology is devoted.

#### SOCIETY AS GROUP BEHAVIOR

There are many ways of going about the study of man in association with his fellows, or sociology. One of the more popular of these has been to begin with social groups, institutions, social mechanisms and processes and to end by showing how these factors have resulted in the formation of personality in these specimens of a particular sort of animal

we call "man." In this approach the person is seen as the end product of the social forces and processes. This is an entirely valid procedure, and has the sanction of the traditional scientific procedure of analysis, by which an understanding of the whole is sought through a study of its parts, by breaking the whole into its smallest understandable units. But the person thus derived lives in constant contact with other persons in a complex of groups in which he holds formal or informal membership. Furthermore, most of these groups have erected institutions to further their aims and interests, and the person is also a member of these institutions. Too, these groups and institutions are in constant interaction with other groups and institutions within the same area, and in other areas. Thus the person is an integral part of a complex social arrangement.

#### THE PERSON AND SOCIAL PATTERNS

We know about these groups and institutions—about the culture within which we live and from which we derive most of our behavior—only through persons. We learn of them through our own observation and participation, or through observing the participation in them of others. Further, the student beginning the study of sociology has a greater interest in himself and his fellows than in anything else. Social groups and processes are seen only dimly and are used without any sharp consciousness of how they operate or what results may be expected from their operation. Hence, in this book it has been thought wise to begin with the person as a member of social groups, as a participant in institutions, and to look at social facts through his eyes. This means that the point of view of the book will be personalistic, but not individualistic. It is hoped that by this process the student may be led out from within himself to a realization of the social world into which he must fit, unless he is to be branded as "queer" and at least partly ostracized. This approach means that the end product will be not the person but societal patterns, regional *gestalts* of human relationships and artifacts. The logic of the development of the subject matter is that of constantly expanding the horizon of the student; so that



while he begins with himself as a person he ends with a view of a complete social organization as a vital, functioning whole.

This will lead from the initial problem of persons living together through some considerations of the physical environment and its relation to culture, the physical differentiation of peoples and the social differences which have come to be associated with such differences, into the processes by which persons interact. The processual approach is emphasized because it is felt that any possible description of social behavior in a world which is constantly changing would become more and more incorrect as time went on. On the other hand, it seems possible to discuss certain forms of association and differentiation which are repeated indefinitely — one might say infinitely.

The social processes have been channelized into certain broad streams, which are also more or less universal. All peoples play, have art forms through which they express their ideas and their ideals, make efforts to understand and control the forces of nature, evolve new techniques and inventions which they hope will make their lives more satisfying.

These processes and cultural streams are the basic factors in what are known as social institutions, organized ways of thinking about certain interests and efforts to secure action in accordance with ideas accepted by relatively large and important groups of people, the tools by which society influences the persons who compose it.

#### SOCIAL UNITS

But these institutions obviously do not exist alone. The family, for instance, has important relationships with the church, the state, the school, the economic arrangements in vogue at any particular time and place. And so on. This means that the institutions are interdependent to a very large extent, each taking on its particular shape and function only in relation to the other institutions used by that particular society. The community is thus a configuration of institutions much more than it is an area marked off on a map; at least if one is interested in discovering what a community does.

Likewise there are larger units, the culture area or cultural pattern, the region, the nation as an expression of one of the social factors, etc. The choice of the particular unit which will best serve any particular study is determined to a large extent by the aims of that study, but with the interdependence of the institutions in mind it seems that the region is perhaps the most usable unit for an understanding of a social system as a whole.

Within these units persons find much of their behavior prescribed by the current modes of action; even the means they use to satisfy their most personal and private needs must conform to a large extent to the practises of their neighbors. Thus the cultural pattern characteristic of any given place at any given time controls the person within fairly close limits; but, of course, without denying him all freedom of choice or expression of individuality except in very rare and exceptional circumstances. The range of these limits within which the person may act and still be "accepted" varies from one society to another and is one of the criteria most often used to distinguish one type of society from another. In general, isolated groups such as are often found among savages demand a high degree of conformity whereas those in close contact with other groups are more lenient as to the standards which must be maintained. The former sorts of social organizations are called static, while the latter are known as dynamic.

The ideal of progress which is characteristic of Western society of the past few hundred years indicates its dynamic nature; while the veneration for the past so easily observed in some portions of the Orient and among savage peoples generally gives these societies a static aspect. Both terms are, of course, only relative. There is no society in which there is not some change taking place constantly, and none in which there is not a large measure of respect, or even of awe, for the past.

Sociology seeks to give the student an understanding of the world in which he lives through an investigation and discussion of such factors as those briefly sketched above. It is the study of how persons live together and of the arrangements they have made in their efforts at the solution of this most

fundamental problem. But sociology itself, in spite of its youth in comparison with other disciplines, has its own history, its own methods and its own fields of inquiry which differ in some important respects from those of the other studies by which man has sought this same understanding of his world. So that some consideration of sociology as a discipline seems to be both valuable and essential to the student entering the field. Hence the final section of the volume is devoted to a brief outline of sociology as a subject to be taught in schools in contrast to the previous presentation of an introduction to its contents.

#### THE STUDENT AND SOCIOLOGY

Since the beginner in sociology is contracting to make an investment of his time, it is well for him at the outset to have a clear idea of what he is studying and of its implications for himself as a person and a member of society. He should realize that he is endeavoring to understand in a new and more satisfactory way certain aspects of human experience and organization.

It is expedient also that he take stock of the resources he brings to the undertaking. The average person who starts the study of sociology already has, at least in a vague form, some idea of the subject matter of the science, even though it is often a mistaken one. Every student has been a member of various social groups, his family, his school, his neighborhood, and others, so that from early childhood he has been familiar with the material which sociologists study. Nevertheless this knowledge seldom is responsible for his interest in a formal course in sociology. More frequently a book or an article treating a definite sociological problem has aroused interest. Perhaps the motive originated from listening to an address on a sociological question. Often a friend has recommended the subject, for any of various reasons. Perhaps the subject is required as part of the work leading to the degree the student wishes to take and is accepted as a matter of course or with a degree of protest.

No outside authority, skill, or technique on the part of the teacher, required readings or the necessity of passing an ex-

amination at the end of the course can make an introduction to sociology permanently valuable. The student himself has the final decision whether the study shall be largely time-consuming, credit-giving, or a source of substantial intellectual profit. The study of sociology does offer a stimulus which can lead any individual to intellectual and moral attainments. This is true because sociology, although a science, deals with human values. And through an understanding of human values the student may broaden, deepen and make more pleasurable one's social relationships; may become well-socialized and deal understandingly, helpfully and justly with his fellows.

Sociology cannot be an intellectual luxury for mere contemplation or the exercise of wits. It originates in serious purpose and unless it is linked with life it becomes thin, largely verbal in content. The sociologist accepts, with other scientists, the obligation to bring the work of his science near to the needs of men and women. This means that sociology as a science must assume the responsibility for effective publicity, or by hiding its findings fail to execute a part of its task. It is therefore fortunate that in recent years there has been a quickening of all sciences in realizing the obligation of specialists to express simply and, if possible, attractively, the information they gather which concerns human welfare. No science has a larger duty in making applicable its findings than has sociology, and through its popular contribution is revealed the scientist's genuine desire to broadcast the information he has gathered and which he considers important for human welfare.

This does not mean, of course, that the sociologist is a reformer, bent on rebuilding the world in terms of some panacea, or even in those of a carefully worked-out plan. As a scientist, his interest is in uncovering and understanding facts and relationships. But the material he makes available is the necessary groundwork for any recasting of the social structure which may be undertaken by persons who do wish to reconstruct. Further, the sociologist is necessarily a member of society, so that his findings apply to his own interests in greater degree than do those of most other scientists. In this fact lies the explanation of the frequent observation of



the sociologist working as a student, seeking understanding, at one time and joining in reform movements at another, or even of carrying on the two activities side by side.

#### THE SOCIOLOGICAL POINT OF VIEW

Since sociology deals with matters about which everybody has some knowledge and in which the normal person is necessarily experienced to a greater or lesser degree, the student often finds himself asked to look in a new way at some sociological fact concerning which he already has a well-established judgment. This discovery of the previous occupation of the field by opinion and prejudice is similar to the experience of a beginner in other lines of study, but in no other study is the difficulty quite so great as in that of sociology. Social life is so much a part of each individual's interests, and social judgments so necessary, that no mature person can escape building convictions and formulating ideas about social activities of men and women long before he undertakes seriously the study of social phenomena. The process starts in youth. The child, both from instruction and from his own inductions, comes to have some well-settled social judgments that have to do with matters of importance to the sociologist.

As a result the student of sociology is to a large extent asked to re-examine his stock of social principles, beliefs, and attitudes for the purpose of reorganizing his material on the basis of science. It is too much to expect that each individual can do this easily or that any person rids himself completely of his earlier conclusions. It is also true that organizations and enterprises are linked up with erroneous ideas regarding social life. They too resist the effort to deal with social facts impartially just as the individual finds his childhood prejudices pushing themselves in front of the experience he is trying to observe and understand scientifically.

Although nothing is more commonplace than strongly held opinions regarding the social activities of human beings, most people have never viewed impartially the basis of their opinions nor even realized that social life has to be studied in the same scientific spirit as the growth of plants or the behavior

of animals. Of course this situation increases the value of the study and gives greater reason for the popularizing of its findings.

It would be easier, perhaps, for both the instructor and the student, if the material treated in sociology were less commonplace. It is certainly most important for the sociologist to understand normal, everyday social experience. Spectacular and exceptional phenomena cannot have for the student of society a significance equal to that of the occurrences most frequent and characteristic of human nature. In the end, however, the student of social experience finds fascination in dealing critically with those aspects of man's life concerning which, on account of personal interest, he was led to form opinions long before he was ready for scientific study.

In beginning any science the student always faces the necessity for a readjustment of his thought. Many things he has taken for granted he now sees to be founded upon flimsy opinion and new facts of which he was not aware become to him impressive and illuminating as he tries to enter for the first time a special field of knowledge.

This is true of the student who starts sociology but not more true than in other departments of science except as he brings to his study a greater number of preconceived ideas and is led to make the acquaintance of more facts which contradict much that he had previously supposed to be true. His readjustment is not only in his thinking, but to some extent his new information reacts upon himself. It leads him to view differently his own life as well as society itself. This experience comes to the clergyman, the lawyer, the physician, and to anyone who is studying something that has personal significance and that furnishes new information of a sort to make him reconstruct those notions that had a part in shaping his personality with reference to religious experience, laws and courts, or matters of personal hygiene.

Anyone who seriously begins the study of science is obliged to take a somewhat different attitude toward his subject matter or his study would represent no gain. In the social field the slow development of science and the impossibility of delaying the formation of ideas as to social experience until after a science could be established has developed a body of

opinion which, even when it is not contrary to the teaching of science, must be viewed from a new angle by the student who is taking a scientific attitude. No other science has greater resources than sociology to enrich the person who pursues it, by the strengthening of ideas, increase of goodwill and appreciation of the moral and spiritual values of life.

The study of sociology brings the student new information. No individual, however fortunate in opportunity for extensive travel or wide reading, can from his own personal experience gather all the data necessary to construct a scientific attitude toward society. Material from the entire realm of contemporary social experience is used in sociology, which also collects from the past, even attempting to infer the facts regarding prehistoric man's social behavior.

Valuable as actual knowledge proves to be in the realm of social experience, no student can make his course profitable by merely acquiring new information.

#### KNOWLEDGE *vs.* UNDERSTANDING

It is easily possible for the student to acquire glib knowledge of the material presented in a sociological, or any other, text without ever acquiring an insight into and understanding of these "facts" which will make them meaningful to him, will enable him to tie them into his own personal experience or to use them as a basis for an analysis of his own region or community. Unless this element of understanding is added, the sheer acquisition of knowledge is largely futile.

In no study other than sociology has the thinking of the student a larger significance in determining the permanent value of his work. It is important that the beginner should think over the ideas that are new and perhaps conflict with the opinions he has previously held. The fact that sociology shows the student the risk of prejudice in the interpretation of social experience is one of its most worthwhile results. Human nature is easily tempted to take an emotional attitude on questions that arise in the field of social relationships but there is no other place where bias proves more disastrous. The student needs to think not merely to detect his prej-



udices but more especially because the deeper meaning of the facts he handles cannot appear unless he discovers it by doing some thinking himself.

The study of sociology is particularly important to those who aspire to social leadership. The doctor, the lawyer, the clergyman, the teacher, and the business man, in so far as they become successful in their chosen fields of activity, have opportunity to influence social life. With the best of intentions, unless they are familiar with the history and principles of social experience, they are ill prepared to assume the responsibilities of leadership. Since human nature is proverbially in the habit of settling down to comfortable ways with advancing years, it becomes the obligation of education, as a preparation of young life for constructive public service, to establish firmly in the growing mind the idea of a progressive society. From such teaching should come a leadership eager to know the facts that concern man's social experience, and as a result of early training, sympathetic toward movements in community, state and nation that make for more wholesome social conditions.

When education produces a more social-minded leadership, progress will be less often retarded by a division among the social leaders which makes each forward step a process of conflict and conquest rather than one of intelligent co-operation. It is never to be expected that human society will be led forward without struggle and antagonism in the ranks of the leaders, but to the degree that those having social influence acquire the attitude of the scientist in dealing with social experience, progress through violence will be replaced by advancement through deliberation and design.

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## PART II

### *The Person and His World*

#### CHAPTER II

#### MAN IN SOCIETY

There may have been some time in man's very distant past when he was not concerned with the doings of other persons. But this is most doubtful. Many of the lower animals have built up habits of living in groups and seem to derive many benefits from this sort of life. Those animals most like man biologically are almost universally group-living, or gregarious, animals. Certainly human kind, from the earliest records of any sort, have lived in groups. Whether this is the result of biologically inbred traits, of blind habit and custom, of chance reinforced by habit, or of a rational recognition of advantages which can be gained in no other way is beside the point, for the present discussion at least. The simple fact is that man does, and always has, so far as we can discover, lived in contact with others of his own kind.

#### THE PERSON AND HIS GROUP

From this simple fact flow the considerations which make up the study of sociology, which might be defined as the study of how persons and the groups of which they are members manage to get along together—the problem of living together. Because man does live in groups and does take his “human nature” from the groups into which he is born or later wins admission, there have grown up various mechanisms by which his relationships to his neighbors are defined. Thus we have the forms and processes of social interaction; the complex social organization by which the achievements of past generations are passed on to the newer ones, and by which individual impulses are directed into socially approved channels. So that while we begin this study of society with consideration of the person, it should be emphasized at the outset

that *the person is a product of the society in which he lives.*

Sociology is the science that studies the life of people in their association. It is interested in persons not as isolated individuals, biological organisms, but as human beings who share experiences and develop group habits. These experiences and habits, which we call social life, become so much a part of each personality that no person can be understood without an understanding of his group and its modes of action. It is this action and its effects as reflected in the person that sociology undertakes to examine and understand.

#### SOCIETY AS RELATIONSHIPS

Similarly, social experience and organization cannot be considered as something impersonal, having an existence apart from man, just as man cannot be considered as a being outside social contact. The two are inseparable and dependent upon each other. Society is a word we use in our ordinary conversation to generalize social experiences. From this it is sometimes inferred that society exists apart from persons; that it has a mystical sort of independent existence. But, clearly, society can exist only as the patterned experiences of persons who, living in contact, have enough of common interest to bring them into interaction with each other. It follows that society is not something imposed upon human nature but a necessary set of relationships which come into being through interaction and which do much to form human nature, and which is to be observed through the behavior of persons.

Thus sociology is the study of human activities from the point of view of relationships; just as physiology deals with human behavior from the biological point of view or geography has to do with man's interaction with the physical earth on which he lives, so does sociology attempt to describe and understand that part of human experience which results from the association of man with man.

#### THE PERSON AND HIS CULTURE

Through such association certain group habits, folkways and *mores*, have gradually grown up; tools of various sorts,



mental no less than material, have been accumulated throughout the ages of man's existence. This is what the sociologist and anthropologist have in mind when they refer to *culture*. In this term they include all of the ways of living and thinking, all of the possessions ordinarily made use of, which are characteristic of a people who share a common social experience. So used, culture is a strictly descriptive term and does not carry any idea of good or bad, of refinement or coarseness. Thus in such a term would be included such diverse things as the music of Bach and children's games, the theories of Einstein and the habit of chewing tobacco. This variegated and inclusive culture becomes the background against which the person develops. From it he selects or has selected for him certain items which go to make up his personality and which are so combined in him that he is distinguishable from members of other social groups and even from those of his own group with whom he is most closely associated. Culture is thus the *social heritage*, the fund of accumulated knowledge and customs through which the person inherits most of his behavior and his ideas as truly as he inherits biologically the color of his eyes or the texture of his hair. The difference in the two forms of inheritance is that we acquire the cultural heritage after we are born, the biological heritage before birth; and we may continue to acquire bits of the cultural heritage so long as we live. Further, the cultural heritage may change during the span of an ordinary life, or more properly, those elements which are stressed and actively sought after by members of the society may change. Not often does a part of the cultural heritage, once well established, drop out and become lost entirely; the ordinary process is that of constantly adding to it through invention, discovery, combination of old traits into new forms, and so on.

#### INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL LIFE UPON MAN

In the social life of animals, instinct has a large place, while the dominating influence of culture pushes man's instinctive equipment for life into the background. On this account man's social behavior represents primarily the habits that have grown up through group experience, and such instincts

as he does possess are checked, delayed, sublimated, and refined by the prevailing culture.

At birth a child enters a society already under the control of social habits that express its particular culture and, whatever the character of the original equipment of impulses and instincts which he brings into his life-setting, he comes at once under the power of a social environment which begins the process of making him conform to the characteristic culture.\* At his cradle stands his mother, filled with the social qualities which she has accumulated from her group contacts, and she starts at once her task of leading the newly born into conformity with the established culture. As his personality develops, the social environment which presses upon him from every side molds it according to the types of behavior approved by the group. As a consequence both the life of the group and that of the individual are primarily social products, derived from established ways of thinking and acting, transmitted by contact and established by association.

#### MAN AND HIS SOCIAL LIFE DEVELOP TOGETHER

The development of culture was an essential part of the development of man himself, but to attempt to trace the advancement of man as distinct from his social experience is to undertake an impossible task and one that leads to a complete misunderstanding of both man and culture. In the evolution of man even physical structure has been influenced by culture.†

The mental and social life of the group exhibits the clearest and largest influence of culture, which, coming from the past, is a determining factor in the present life of the people. The influence of the culture that exists at a definite time and place is so great, and the thinking and acting of each person is so in accord with the cultural traits, that group behavior tends always to run the risk of being better adapted to past habits than to present needs. Thus the transmission of culture from generation to generation maintains the con-

\* L. L. Bernard, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, p. 117.

† W. D. Wallis, *An Introduction to Anthropology*, p. 1.

tinuity of society while at the same time, by tending to make social reactions automatic, it encourages that static attitude of mind which hampers progress.

When books were scarce and few people could read, the art of reading aloud had social value ; as books became cheap and the technique of reading was almost universally acquired, there was no longer any point to reading aloud, save incidentally and on rare occasions. But many schools still continue their emphasis on skill in reading aloud instead of concentrating on building up habits of silent reading for one's own pleasure, with the result that the book-loving public represents almost as small a fraction of our population as in the days when few had the mechanical ability to read. The continuance of the old cultural habit gave stability to the school curriculum, but it did not help people to take full advantage of the less expensive books everywhere more available.

This appears to be one of the major handicaps of students entering college work. Many, probably most, of them do not know how to read for content. Rather they painstakingly read word for word. The result is that they find themselves unable to read rapidly enough to benefit from the many books recommended by their instructors.

This is one example of a process which is going on constantly. Culture is never static ; it is constantly changing and human beings must change with it. This brings the difficult problem of maintaining an adequate adjustment ; a problem faced by persons and by societies alike. One often hears the expression, "He is far behind the times." Actually the person referred to is not "far behind the times," since most of his habits and ideas are very similar to those of his critic ; but there is enough divergence and these divergencies seem important enough to one or both of the persons concerned to cause antagonism and, often, open conflict. Here lies, in part, the heart of the eternal conflict between age and youth. Similarly history is filled with accounts of social organizations, nations, which have ceased to exist because they did not make the necessary adjustments to a changing culture pattern.

## THE PROBLEM OF A CHANGING WORLD

In earlier days, when human achievement had piled up less of a cultural heritage, when less was known of the social processes, adjustment was largely by a hit-or-miss, trial and error method, wasteful at best of human energy and frequently detrimental to social welfare. Today the complicated character of our civilization, the discordant elements introduced into our culture by our imitation of some of the aspects of most, if not all, of the peoples with whom we have come into contact and of which we have become increasingly aware, and the rapid changing of our environment through the marvellous technological advances of the past few hundred years have forced us to realize the possibilities which lie before us and the measure of our failure to attain those possibilities.

Only a few hundred years ago most persons lived in relatively small groups which had little intercourse with other groups. During the Middle Ages the manor was a self-sufficient unit, producing most of the things consumed, having its own social organization which varied little from generation to generation. Such social units knew little and cared less about what was happening in the distant places of the earth. Practically, their little community was the world in which they lived.

But the world of the manor has disappeared. The feudal system has been replaced by the national state. Changes in communication and transportation have literally forced us to take into account what is happening in all parts of the world because we find such happenings of immediate importance to us. The world in which we live has expanded to include the entire earth rather than an area with a diameter of a few score miles. Or to put it another way the earth has shrunk until we find it impossible to escape contact with other peoples. The world has become a whispering gallery. The invasion of China by Japan or the expansion of the German *Reich* not only affects us economically but furnishes a constant topic for heated discussion, thereby influencing our attitudes and opinions and leading to the advocacy of fundamental changes in our political structure.



Where the medieval person knew only one way of life and therefore seldom thought of behaving in a way greatly different from his neighbors, we have acquired knowledge of many different life patterns and have been forced to exercise a choice between them. Inevitably this has led to crime and other maladjustments, since the person faced with a multiplicity of means of achieving satisfaction for his primary wishes often chooses some method not approved by the customs and laws of his society. Many savage peoples have no police force simply because these peoples know only one pattern of behavior and therefore are not tempted to violate the traditional values. Knowing many, we are compelled to use coercion to prevent anarchy in which each person would set up his own standards.

This has greatly aggravated the problem of living together. As we have come into closer and closer contact with each other we have found it essential to exercise more and more minute and rigid control over our actions. For instance, disposal of wastes is not important if no other person lives within miles of one, but when scores of persons live in a city block the problem takes on social significance since the carelessness of one person will endanger the health of the entire group. In a closely knit society such as we have today, conformity within reasonable limits becomes necessary to a degree which would have been hailed as excessively oppressive only a few generations ago. We are faced with problems for which our older ways of life no longer offer suitable solutions; we must seek adjustment on a new plane.

#### NEED FOR ACCURATE KNOWLEDGE

Perhaps the greatest need of our times is for accurate knowledge and theory which adequately describes our position on the basis of which the reformer or social engineer can build a social organization which will serve us better. But since it is true that few persons can accurately study a situation while at the same time advocating a particular change in that situation, it is agreed that there must be a division of work. The sociologist is assigned the task, along with the other social scientists, of diagnosing the state of society; the

treatment, if any is to be given, is left to the social worker and others. This is more true in the social than in the physical sciences because the data with which the social scientist works is of such immediate and great concern to him as a human being. Hence in this field real understanding demands a strictly impersonal, scientific approach if the student is to avoid mixing his wishes with his observations and thus "discovering" evidence with which to reinforce some pet prejudice.

To be of the greatest possible value any social study must be accurate; and the only way in which this can be done is for the observer to limit himself to investigation of what is and has been in the social world, to discover, if he can, the ways in which mankind has been organized into groups and the effects of such organization on mankind. With such an understanding will come the possibility of social control along lines which it is agreed are desirable. Many social planners are unwilling to wait for such knowledge, or even to master the small amount already accumulated. Instead they dash ahead with poorly formulated plans which are doomed to failure before they are put into execution. Too often they are like a man who would dash into the yard and attempt to put out a fire with a garden hose instead of taking time to gather in his neighbors to help him. They refuse to avail themselves of the tools lying in the cultural heritage.

Man has succeeded fairly well in conquering the physical world *on* which he lives. On the basis of that conquest he may conquer the social world *in* which he lives. It is a much harder task, but the rewards are infinitely greater.

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### CHAPTER III

#### GEOGRAPHY AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Man lives on and from the earth ; practically all of the food which sustains him is a direct product of the cultivation of the soil ; the clothing which protects his body is derived from fibers of plants growing from the earth or of animals which eat such plants ; his houses are often made of bits of the earth itself, as in brick and stone, or from the more substantial portions of the larger plants ; most of industry and commerce have to do with changing the form of products of the earth, or with moving them from one portion of the earth's surface to another. According to the season and the weather, man's moods vary from elation to melancholy. It is small wonder that many savage peoples have personified Mother Earth, the giver of life, as one of their chief deities.

#### DOES GEOGRAPHY CONTROL ?

But, if man is the child of the earth, does this mean that the earth, through geographic factors, controls his destiny ? It is evident that man is influenced by geography and this influence has been one of the favorite explanations for ways in which societies have been organized, and for the differences in social organization in various portions of the earth. Because of the close connection of man with the earth and because ideas about the effect and extent of this relationship have been so numerous and so varied, it becomes necessary to consider this factor as one of those which affect the social environment in which we live.

For example, it is argued that the people of the southern United States grow cotton because of climatic and soil conditions and that the growing of cotton in its turn makes necessary a particular social organization which is to be found in this region, adherence to the Democratic Party, the farm-tenant system, a set of relationships by which Negroes are kept in a subordinate position, an adherence to the religious ideals best exemplified by the Baptist and Methodist de-



nominations, etc. How true is this easy generalization?

Conclusions as to the effect of geography on social organization vary widely. Some scholars have believed that social characteristics are determined by the purely physical nature of regions; by geology, topography, climate and such factors. To others it has seemed that the presence of certain plants and animals, corresponding to these physical conditions, have given man an opportunity to make certain uses of the natural environment and have prohibited his doing other things. A third group would hold that the map is merely a convenient means of expressing spatial relationships which may have only the same connection with the earth as has the drama with the stage on which it is presented; both limit the range of action, but do not determine it in any direct sense. But all are agreed that mankind must have some place on which to live, that he and his institutions are not spread evenly over the face of the earth but tend to cluster in certain areas which vary more or less from each other, and that society can be studied in terms of such groupings.

The direct influence of geographical conditions upon the life of savages is easy to see. Among these primitive people who live upon a level characterized by more meager culture than that of civilized man we see most clearly the immediate influences of environmental conditions. Since savages have fewer of the resources that have been developed by the transmission of culture from generation to generation, they are more helpless in their contact with nature and have to live a life directly conforming to the demands put upon them by environmental situations. Much of the value of social achievement comes from the fact that it relieves man from the necessity of slavishly conforming to his physical situation. The city of Los Angeles is a vivid illustration of the way modern man escapes the limitations of physical environment. Were it not for the engineering which permits the storing and transporting of the huge water supply necessary for so large a city, situated in a region that is arid during much of the year, the population would have to be rigorously restricted.

Again, Los Angeles illustrates another form of geographic influence even when man is not consciously adjusting to it,

for the appeal of its climate, advertised widely by modern means of communication, has led people throughout the nation and the world to establish homes there. But it is to be observed in both of these illustrations that it is not the geographic factor alone which has had the effect mentioned.

#### GEOGRAPHY AND POPULATION

Maps showing the distribution of the population of the world reveal certain areas of high concentration. Some of these highly populated regions also have fertile soil, and a long growing season with ample water. It is easy to conclude that such areas have drawn dense populations because of the ease with which people can earn a living by agriculture. Such is the case in India, the East Indies, China and Egypt, notably. But there are other areas of dense population which do not have such advantages, notably the northeastern portion of the United States and the northwestern portion of Europe. This has led to the distinction between *passive* and *active* concentration of population. In the first of these classes the dense population seems to reflect the ease of living; in the second, the explanation is to be found only in factors which have little to do with the resources of the immediate area, though ease of communication, another geographic fact, may be quite important. Here, the effort of man, rather than the bounty of nature, would appear to be the fact of importance.

It must be noted, also, that there are other areas which offer favorable soil and climate which have not attracted dense populations; and still others which offer convenient location, excellent harbors, etc., which have not developed in proportion to these "natural" advantages. The Mississippi valley offers an excellent illustration of both of these points. Here the land is very fertile, the rainfall abundant, the growing season long. But the population density is low compared to that of other portions of the world, or even of the United States. New Orleans, near the mouth of this great waterway would seem to have every advantage required for growth into a world metropolis in view of its location and of the ease and cheapness with which goods may be transported once they are loaded onto ships. But New Orleans appears to be los-

ing ground in its efforts to dominate the southern states; Atlanta and Houston seem destined to become the metropolitan centers of this large area along the Gulf of Mexico.

#### ISOLATION

One of the most important ways in which geography affects social organization is in making it difficult to establish communication with other regions, or to support a fairly large number of persons within easy communicating distance of each other. Both of these elements enter into the situation existing in the southern mountains. Here we have a large area in which the soil is relatively poor and so broken up by the mountains that only small patches are suitable to cultivation. The mountains also make highways and railways expensive to construct and to maintain. The result has been that for many decades the inhabitants of this region have been forced to live isolated lives; the villages are small and are visited only at infrequent intervals by the persons living in the tillable coves. Strangers are rare and consequently are looked upon with suspicion. However, in recent years the automobile users have demanded good roads into a region so rich in scenic attractions with the result that tourists have broken the isolation from which these folk have suffered for so many decades. Also special schools have brought much of the culture of the outside world to this region. As a result it is now realized that the peculiarities which marked these people were not due to any biological inferiority, but simply to cultural poverty resulting from their high degree of isolation.

The ease of travel has a decided significance for the social organization of any area. In the early settlement of this nation the routes westward followed along the rivers and valleys. The river valley tended to become the social unit and the large cities grew up along these routes of easy travel. Later, however, the railway cut across valleys, tied them together, literally, with bands of steel, and a rearrangement of the areas followed. But, like the rivers of the Atlantic seaboard and the upper Mississippi valley, the railways assumed

an east-west direction, connecting the newer portions of the country with the older. This served to keep the streams of westward migration fairly well separate, so that the two distinct sections of the country were extended westward, rather than the formation of new composite regions taking place. This was an important factor in sustaining and intensifying the cultural differences that led to the Civil War. Indeed it has been suggested that this struggle probably would never have taken place if travel had been predominantly in a north-south rather than an east-west direction.

#### THE GREAT PLAINS

When the westward stream of migration finally crossed the Mississippi River and entered the Great Plains area, a new type of culture arose as a means of adjustment to the greatly different conditions found there. As Webb has pointed out, to the east of this river, American culture may be compared to a three-legged stool, the legs being soil, water and timber ; but on the Great Plains, two of these supports were withdrawn. Timber was entirely lacking, water was very scarce, and even the soil was of a different nature. The ways in which customs and institutions changed under such conditions makes one of the most fascinating chapters in American history.\* In recent years one of the most tragic occurrences in our history has been taking place in this same area. Hardy men and women who have followed our tradition of breaking new ground, of pioneering, have seen their farms swept from under their feet and reduced to a condition almost that of a desert region because of their refusal to accept geographic limitations. Steinbeck's popular novel, *Grapes of Wrath*, deals with the fate of these pathetic figures. But it is not only on the great prairies of the west that the effects of man's foolish use of the land have made themselves felt. The abandoned farm homes of New England, the gullied and gutted fields of the Southeast and the growing practise of farm tenancy in the fertile midwestern region testify to wasted lands which no longer can support on the older stand-

\* Cf. Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains*.



ards of living the population found living in these areas. This is the foundation of the "Agrarian Problem," one of the most involved and vexing riddles of our culture.

#### LAND AND AMERICAN HISTORY

The influence of the land has had such a dominant place in the history of our country that without exaggeration it can be called the motif of American civilization. It was the appeal of the rich land to be had for the taking that led to the first settlements. When the tidewater communities once became firmly established, to the westward stretched inviting tracts of unbroken land, providing for the restless and discontented an easy escape from dissatisfaction and also, for many, from debt or even from the arm of the law. Hardly were the settlements made along the fringe of coast in New England before some adventurous souls felt the challenge of the free land to the west and pushed onward to what was then the frontier. Turner has vividly described the significance of the frontier as a fundamental influence in the growth of the nation and has revealed in detail how responsible it has been for the developing of our characteristic traits as a people.

It was in the "West" that ideas of the responsibility of the federal government for the construction of such "public improvements" as free roads, canals, irrigation, subsidization of railways, regulation of public utilities, direct election of federal senators, the referendum and recall, and other pieces of "liberal" legislation found their origin. In direct contact with nature under pioneer conditions, man came to a belief in the necessity of controlling his geographic and social environment in so far as he could. Thus the western portion of the nation has earned its reputation of "liberalism"; or as it sometimes appears to the more conservative east, of "radicalism."

Ross, in another connection, has strikingly stated the difference which seems to have prevailed \*; in the newer areas the accepted notion has been that the government should become the protector of the enduring interest of society, should safeguard the life-chances of posterity, while in the older sec-

\* E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology*, third edition, p. 88.

tions the function of government has been conceived as that of umpire among contending private interests.

The amount and cheapness of the land led early to speculation and to stress on the importance of owning land. In some of the colonies land-ownership was a prerequisite to the privilege of voting and later, after male suffrage was made unconditional, some of the colonies required candidates for political office to own land.

The abundance of land with its consequent cheapness resulted in an agriculture that was reckless in its use of the soil resources, and farming was carried on with an eagerness for quick returns that rapidly robbed the soil of its fertility. Eventually through speculation, land prices were carried to artificial levels and in the West and the South the cost of farms brought about the rise of tenancy. Throughout the growth of the nation, periodic waves of political and business discontent arose among the farmers, especially in the west, resulting in radical movements of various sorts and influencing considerably national politics. Our national land policy encouraged immigration from Europe, even though many of the newcomers settled in the eastern cities and seaboard towns.

Running through American history, in addition to the influence of the frontier, can be traced that of the two rival agricultural interests, cotton and grain. The invention of Whitney's cotton gin, which made the raising of short staple or upland cotton profitable throughout much of the South, gave a new impetus both to cotton-growing and to slavery. The cheapness and the popularity of cotton cloth, a product of textile advance in English manufacturing, gave the South an ever-increasing market for its raw material. The cotton planter made little attempt to conserve his soil and his methods in growing his crop depleted the land. As a consequence the old South by 1834 began to gather a shrinking harvest and the growing of cotton became more profitable in the new lands in the Southwest to which it spread.

Discontent appeared in the older states as cotton began to bring in less revenue and this restlessness naturally was given political expression. The plantation system as it spread into the Southwest extended and strengthened cotton culture and

the system of slavery. The uneconomic character of slave production in the older states was concealed by the demand for field workers in the new territory into which cotton-growing pushed and the movement for abolition in Virginia, which previously had received considerable support, was stifled by the economic situation that resulted.

The raising of grain on the cheap but fertile prairie lands of the West had never been tied up with slavery, and as this type of agriculture spread, with it went the habits of life and the sentiments characteristic of a one-race, pioneering people. Thus the cotton and grain agricultures separated with their rival cultures and produced a division in interest and attitude that had much to do with the nation's drifting finally into war.\*

#### CLIMATE AND SOCIETY

The effect of climate on man has been a favorite field for speculation. The effect of moving from one climate to another is at once evident, and from this it is argued that certain climates produce certain forms of social arrangements. The tropics are said to produce lassitude which makes impossible any prolonged exertion, while the colder countries have a benumbing effect which also prevents an active life. Hence it is argued that only the temperate zone, which "gives much by withholding much" is the ideal habitat for man. In this belt, man has been forced to exercise foresight and planning, has developed habits of industry which have stood him in good stead in various phases of his life, it is argued. Climate has been offered as the "cause" for most of the deficiencies of the southern portion of the United States. Religion is said to be the product of a semi-desert climate. Areas in which the seasons are in distinct contrast with each other, and in which changes are relatively abrupt are said to produce great energy and therefore to become the seats of great empires.

It is true that at this time the north temperate zone is the seat of the highest civilization. But this has not always been true; the early civilizations were found in hotter cli-

\* R. V. Harlow, *Growth of the United States*, pp. 318-322.

mates, which have not changed greatly within the past five thousand years. It is also true that the south temperate zone has not produced any great civilization, which gives considerable color to the argument that social factors, having to do with ease of communication have been responsible for this shift of the center of civilization to the northward more than any effect of the climate itself. The great changes which take place in an area when it comes under the control of a people with a differing culture also supports the position that it is more a matter of culture than of geography which must be used to explain the social situation in any given space. Culture affects the reaction to geographic conditions.

It is true, of course, that climate has important indirect effects on culture. The type of food most economically grown and used in an area, and the prevalent character of the common diseases are two of these indirect effects.

#### CLIMATE AND DIET

Science has also advanced in discovering the kind of diet that is favorable to human activity under different climatic conditions and at varying seasons. Progress along this line demonstrates that a part of the effect of climate has been due to its influence in producing an unsuitable or limited diet.

Recent discoveries concerning vitamins and their significance in diet have thrown light upon a food problem that was common before people learned to preserve fruits and vegetables. Scurvy, except in regions where famines still persist, has so long ceased to be a problem that we have forgotten how serious it once was. On the long sea voyage scurvy was most likely to appear. One of the famous early voyages was a trip around the world by Lord Anson in the eighteenth century. Happily, we have the careful record that he kept of his voyage, and in this extremely interesting narrative there is perhaps as vivid a description of scurvy as has ever been recorded.\* When the affliction came upon his sailors, not only did they suffer beyond imagination but their death rate was terrific, the men dying at the rate of four to

\* *A Voyage Around the World*, 1740-4.



six a day. Once they reached Juan Fernandes and were able to supply themselves plentifully with vegetables and fresh animal food, the disease abated, and shortly all the living were fully recovered.

This is in great contrast to the experiences of the expedition led by Richard E. Byrd to the neighborhood of the South Pole. Forty-two men of this party spent two years in a region which provides no fresh foods of any sort and where the water derived from melted snow and ice must be supplied with the minerals normally present in water which has percolated through earth. Foods used by the expedition had been carefully selected, of course, to supply all the needed elements.

Climate has much to do with the type of housing as well as with the food products available or required. The Eskimo has earned high praise for his construction of snow houses during his long winter season. Here he has a shelter in which he can be as warm as he desires. But again, there seems to be no necessary connection between need, presence of suitable materials and their use. The Ona, of Tierra del Fuego, chase their game through the snow without clothing of any kind, and are sheltered at night only by a windbreak of skins stretched between poles driven into the ground. Garments are made of skins, but are not worn with the warm, furry side next the body, and in case of rain in that cold region, the Ona is quite likely to take off his garment and sit on it to keep it dry! \* Thus it would seem that although nature makes certain things possible, there is no compulsion to use these possibilities.

#### CULTURE AND BACTERIOLOGY

Closely connected with climate is the new world of bacteria laid open to modern science by Louis Pasteur. Much that had been interpreted as the direct effect of diet or climate we now know to have come from the influence of microbes. Darwin gave an interesting illustration of this when he nearly stumbled upon what we now know as the real cause of malaria :

\* Robert H. Lowie, *Cultural Anthropology*, pp. 68-70.

In all seasons, both inhabitants and foreigners suffer from severe attacks of ague. This disease is common on the whole coast of Peru, but is unknown in the interior. The attacks of illness which arise from miasma never fail to appear most mysterious. So difficult is it to judge from the aspect of a country, whether or not it is healthy, that if a person had been told to choose within the tropics a situation appearing favourable for health, very probably he would have named this coast. The plain round the outskirts of Callao is sparingly covered with a coarse grass, and in some parts there are a few stagnant, though very small, pools of water. The miasma, in all probability, arises from these: for the town of Arica was similarly circumstanced, and its healthiness was much improved by the drainage of some little pools.\*

The bacteria most dangerous to man are invisible without the aid of a microscope, but the ease with which they pass from one afflicted person to another has made them man's greatest enemy. By their deadly presence sections of the earth have been made uninhabitable. No conquest of modern science is so important as the headway being made against bacteria. Since 1880 one dread disease after another has been brought under control. Modern surgery has been made possible and the effectiveness of inoculation against various types of disease has been demonstrated. We now see that immunity has had a dominant role in the relation of man to his physical surroundings, giving some peoples a favored opportunity of survival while dooming others to rapid extinction. We now know, for example, that the prevalence of malaria during the period when the Roman Empire moved toward decadence had a direct influence upon what once was thought of as a moral degeneration of the people.

Associated with bacteria in this record of medical advances are the parasitic worms and injurious insects, such as the mosquito which conveys malaria and yellow fever, and the hookworm which has in time past stolen the strength of the African natives and of a multitude of the rural poor of our own country. Lice and fleas and innumerable other insects have proved to be not only pests but also environmental factors of a most adverse sort.

\* Charles Darwin, *Naturalist's Voyage of the Beagle*, p. 351.

The conquest of yellow fever is perhaps the most dramatic example of the social significance of our recent knowledge of microscopic life. Only those now living who can remember the effects of the scourge of this disease can faintly imagine the suffering, the poverty, and the social disorganization that followed the periodic epidemics of yellow fever in the United States. Periodically the disease broke out on the Gulf Coast and spread through Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida, while occasionally it made its ravages as far north as Boston. As it came and went, it left a death rate greater than that of most infectious diseases, and social and industrial disorganization second only to that brought about by floods, tornadoes, fires and earthquakes. Until 1900, in spite of a constant study of the origin and nature of the disease by students of medicine, no progress was made in the discovery of its cause. In September of that year, as the result of an experiment conducted by physicians in the United States Army with soldiers in Cuba, it was positively proved that the mosquito was the medium of infection. The results of the investigation then made can be summarized as follows:

1. Yellow fever is transmitted in nature solely by the bites of mosquitoes; soiled articles (called fomites) being inoffensive.
2. *Stegomyia* (now *Aedes*) mosquitoes become infected when they bite a yellow fever patient within the first three days of the disease and not later.
3. Mosquitoes can transmit the disease only after 10 to 12 years of feeding from a yellow fever patient and not before, retaining the power to infect during the rest of their lives.
4. The period of incubation (from the mosquito's bite to the first symptom of the disease) does not extend beyond six days.
5. The germ of the disease, still unknown, exists in the blood of cases and in the serum, even after filtering, during the first three days of the disease.\*

Not only has the disease come under control everywhere, except where it has been protected by the practices of semi-civilized people in West Africa and Brazil, but its conquest

\* Aristides Agramonte, "The Scourge of Yellow Fever: Its Past and Present," *Scientific Monthly*, p. 529, December, 1930. Quoted by permission of the Science Press.

made possible the building of the Panama Canal, an event of great significance to human ecology and which gave opportunity for the advancement, the stability, and the prosperity of the entire area of Central America.

Some insects or parasites do not attack man directly but war upon him through animals and plants. The tick which ruined the cattle industry in the Southwest is a striking example. Perhaps there has never been a more remarkable illustration of the power of an insect to bring social consequences than the progress of the boll weevil and the effect that it has had upon the American South by its injury to the cotton industry. It appeared first in Mexico in 1848 and gradually increased its area of destruction. The pests bred so constantly that at one time it was prophesied that the entire cotton-growing industry of the United States would be wiped out. From Texas the plague spread into adjacent territory, especially toward the east, at an annual rate of 5640 square miles. As it decreased the cotton crop, poverty, bank failures, migration, and perhaps most miraculous of all, a change from the one-crop agriculture, followed. The territory it invaded was left with cultural changes of the greatest importance.

The absence of favorable bacteria also modifies the life of man. Although for centuries fertility of the soil has been studied and at times through empiric practices improved, not until the need of bacteria in the soil came to be understood was there any firm foundation for the science of agriculture. The soil is permeated with bacteria substances whose reactions are most complex; but upon their activity the fertility or barrenness of the soil largely hinges.

In the field of plant pathology also we find problems of bacteria that illustrate that it is not merely what the eye sees that determines the physical environment of man. Bacteria influence society also by affecting industry. There are both harmful and useful bacteria that play important roles in various manufacturing industries such as baking, dairying, sugar-refining, and the making of textiles. Indeed, it was Pasteur's investigations of problems of fermentation that started the modern science of bacteriology.



CULTURE *VS.* GEOGRAPHY

Thus, the presence of bacteria, as of other natural elements, plants and animals, climate and topography, set certain limits upon man and at the same time open up certain possibilities to him. How far he will be subject to these limitations and the degree to which he will realize the possibilities are largely matters of his culture. Generally speaking, the more rich and complex his culture, the less he is limited by natural conditions and the more he can use natural elements to his own advantage. Thus modern methods of refrigeration and of preserving foods has enabled man to free himself from seasonal limitations on diet and to serve his table with foodstuffs from all parts of the earth.

Man has improved the natural plants and animals which he has found helpful to him so that they might almost be said to be his own creations. The modern dairy cow, highly bred for production of milk and butter fat, is so far removed from her ancestor of a few centuries ago that she would find it utterly impossible to survive under "natural" conditions, that is, without the aid of her keeper—man. The same is true of other domestic animals and plants.

## NATURAL RESOURCES

Man also has found uses for many products upon which his ancestors placed no value. One of the vital differences between civilization and barbarism is that civilized man uses inanimate sources of energy, principally coal and petroleum, whereas savages and the ancient civilizations were forced to depend upon plants and animals for their energy. Not only has this enabled modern man to create much more energy than was possible under the older economy, but it has made it possible for him to use metals and electricity, mechanized industry, transportation and agriculture, scientific knowledge and a philosophy of progress.

This brings up an interesting question as to the nature of "natural resources." To be a resource of any sort, it is obvious that a material must fit into the prevailing culture, the people of the time and place in which it occurs must have a

use for it. Under this assumption, coal and iron were not resources at all for the American Indians because these people had no knowledge of how to use them. Thus what is or what is not a "natural resource" turns out to depend largely upon man, not upon nature; though it is certainly true that nature must supply in some form the materials which man labels "natural resources." \*

#### MAN'S CONQUEST OF NATURE

In the relatively simple life of the savage the effect of geographic factors is direct and evident; in the more complex culture of civilized man the problem becomes more complex. Man becomes more active in shaping his own fate, in selecting the elements in his natural environment to which he will react and in circumventing those which he finds retard the attainment of goals he thinks desirable. This has led to the idea of "man's conquest of nature" which is not really a conquest at all but only a means of escaping some of the direct influences of the area in which he lives, through the use of his wits and the accumulated store of knowledge which social scientists refer to as culture.

In digging a canal or a tunnel man has not conquered nature; he has merely used a knowledge of the laws of nature in such a way that he derives an advantage from their operation instead of being thwarted by them. Further, he constantly pays toll to nature in the cost of keeping up such utilities.

Most of the efforts of pure scientists are directed toward a better understanding of the forces of nature to the end that man may use them to his own benefit, or at least may realize what he cannot do in spite of them. The knowledge gained by these investigators has enabled man to work within the limits set by nature far more effectively than was possible only a few decades ago. As our cultural heritage has accumulated, as man has advanced, the limitations imposed on him by nature have decreased immeasurably.

\* An excellent discussion of this point is to be found in *World Resources and Industries*, by E. W. Zimmermann.

## MAN AS A GEOGRAPHIC AGENT

Although the influence of physical nature appears unmistakably in culture, it is evident that geography has no automatic determinative control over man and his social organization. Nature sets certain broad limits; within these man selects what his culture has taught him to use. Thus the Hopi and the Navajo occupy almost exactly the same environment in the southwestern portion of the United States. The Navajo are herdsmen, while the Hopi are agricultural. There are other differences in their philosophies of life, their social arrangements in general. Each has selected from a common geographic environment those elements which have meaning in terms of the culture possessed by the group.\*

Man himself has become one of the most active of geographical agents, changing the face of the earth to suit his own fancy, devastating forests, despoiling the stores of coal, petroleum, iron and other minerals, filling the rivers with silt, exterminating the plants and animals he finds obnoxious. Often he has engaged in such activities to his own sorrow, as in the case of the eroded fields of the eastern portion of the nation and the desolate "Dust Bowl." In fact one of the penalties we pay for the rapid utilization of our resources in this country is their eventual destruction or serious depletion. We have been practising a "robber economy" of using up rather than one of using and preserving, a "flow economy." But the point to be emphasized in this connection is that man is no longer passive in his relationship with nature; he is extremely dynamic. As a French geographer has put it, "The man is there, the flint is there, but it is the man who makes the spark fly."†

\* R. H. Lowie, *Culture and Ethnology*, pp. 49-53.

† Jean Brunhes, *Human Geography*, p. 27.

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## CHAPTER IV

### ECOLOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Travelers have often remarked that most cities and practically all small towns look alike. Small county seats, they aver, all have a court house surrounded by a bit of lawn on which stand a few cast-iron statues. Surrounding this central point are business houses with lawyers' offices indicated by "shingles" hung from second storey windows; the better businesses clustered on one side of the square as far away as they can get from the "cheap joints" on the other side. The streets leading to the square are also distinct. On one side of the town will be found the homes of the "upper classes," while "across the tracks" will be found those of the casual laborers and others of low income.

In large cities this pattern becomes even more distinct. Within the central business area the department stores will, customarily, occupy the best corners. The "five and ten" stores, the automobile sales rooms, the banks, the wholesale houses, will all be found fairly close together, as if certain portions of the city had been set aside for their use. Farther out will be found boarding and rooming houses, middle class homes, exclusive residence districts, industrial belts, and so on, all occupying well defined areas. City dwellers commonly refer to themselves as living in certain sections bearing distinctive names, as "Highlands," "Westwood," or what not. Within large regions cities have carved out trade territories within which persons usually look toward a certain metropolis for many of the services their smaller towns do not supply.

### ECOLOGICAL AREAS OF THE CITY

Ideally, the city may be described as a series of concentric zones, each of which has its own characteristics and performs some particular function in the life of the whole. At the heart of the city is found the *retail shopping area* and offices from which much of the industry of the community is di-

rected, although the industrial plants are almost never in this immediate vicinity. The banks and other financial institutions, governmental buildings, theaters and hotels, newspapers, offices of doctors, lawyers and other professional men, passenger terminals of railways and motor bus lines are all crowded into this compacted center. During working hours and the early evening, the area is crowded, but few persons have their homes here. Hence the transportation systems of the city are so organized as to converge here.

The *interstitial area* lies immediately beyond the central shopping and office center. This portion of the city takes its name from the fact that it is in process of invasion. The business area is steadily pushing outward and occupying the land and many of the buildings. Or, it is hoped by owners that the business area will soon demand their property. The result is that the buildings are old and in poor repair, relics of former eras in the history of the city. Old residences have been turned into rooming and boarding houses; often they have small business houses erected in what was formerly the front yard. The streets and more especially the alleys are likely to be littered with trash. In such an environment live the young men and women who have recently come to the city filled with hope and ambition and who find an anonymous world in which landladies are interested only in promptness of pay for their services and other occupants seem to be interested mostly in the length of time the new roomer will occupy the common bathroom in the morning. In other parts of the zone, prostitution finds the tolerance it demands, the recent immigrant from foreign countries finds houses he can afford to rent, the human derelicts who have failed and have been tossed aside as wreckage drag out their miserable existences. Here, too, criminals find safety in the lack of interest on the part of their neighbors. Missions, police stations, settlement houses, relief agencies are placed in this zone so as to be near the persons with whom they must deal.

*Workingmen's homes* occupy the next zone in an outward direction. Those who have succeeded in the interstitial area move here and flaunt their new addresses as evidence of their rise in the social scale, just as they may, later still, point with



pride to their new homes in the exclusive areas farther from the center of the city. Business houses become more scarce, and are commonly of the type depending on a neighborhood for a portion of its patronage, but also seeking customers from all parts of the city: grocery stores, drug stores, beauty parlors, interior decorators and dealers in antique furniture. Families replace the amorphous and casual groups of the interstitial area. Apartment houses of the older and smaller type house many of these families.

*Upper middle class homes* and large modern apartment houses occupy the zone surrounding that of the workmen's homes. The homes are larger and better built, the streets are quieter, partly because much of the commercial and industrial traffic is lacking and also because the automobiles owned by the residents run with less clatter. In the apartment houses are found well-to-do families who do not wish to be burdened with such things as repairs to house and the care of lawn and shrubbery which form part of the routine of the home owner. Business houses are distinctly of a service nature: grocery stores, drug stores, neighborhood theaters, a few specialty shops.

The fringe of the city is made up of an assortment of areas of widely different characters. On one side of the city may be found an industrial district devoted to the manufacture of heavy goods which require close access to railway facilities, such as brickyards, foundries, and other metal working establishments, stone cutting and finishing plants, lumber yards, grain elevators in the north and cotton compresses in the south. In another portion of this fringe zone may be found the finest homes of the city; in still other parts shacks built of discarded automobile license plates and other such refuse. Intensively cultivated truck farms may also be found. Along the highways are strung out tourist lodges, eating places, taverns and roadhouses.

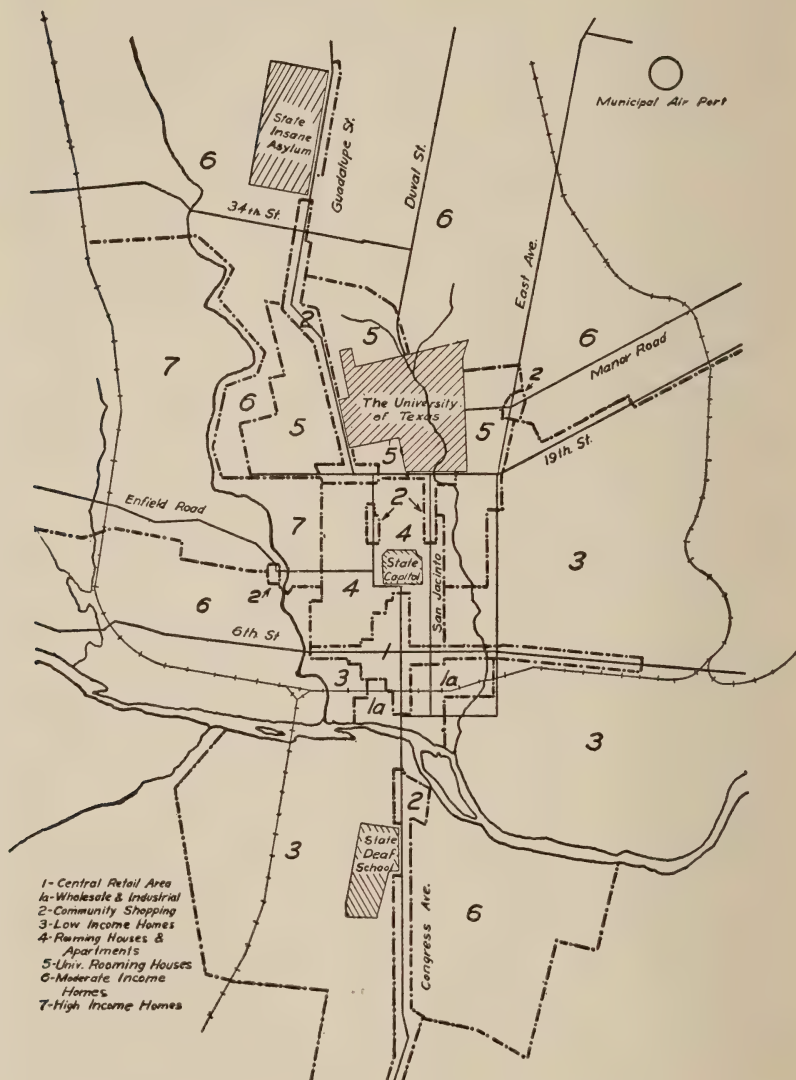
Such is the ideal pattern of the city. But this ideal is seldom, if ever, illustrated by an actual city due to interference by geographical or social factors. If the city is built on the seacoast, or a large river, its center will be very near this body of water and unless the river is bridged at frequent intervals it may mark one boundary of the com-

munity. Only a little heavy industry exists on the west bank of the Mississippi at New Orleans, for instance, and there is almost nothing across the same river from Memphis. Hills or swamps may prove to be an effective barrier against the expansion of a city, as is true of Montreal, which has assumed a kidney shape as it has grown around Mount Royal.\* Such man-made barriers as railway yards, cemeteries, parks, or the occupancy of an area by a particular occupational or population group are also effective, though not insurmountable, checks to the expansion of cities. For many years railway tracks held in check one side of the downtown business area of Dallas.

Too, the rectangular pattern in which streets are commonly laid off influences the expansion of cities. Those streets running directly to the center are most convenient to use, and are commonly occupied for greater distances than those which miss the center. There seems to be a tendency also, most noticeable in the smaller cities, to expand along the major highways passing through them.

A brief description of Austin, Texas, may illustrate this ecological pattern as it is shown in an instance in which unique factors have had an obvious influence. Although the population of this city is less than 100,000, it displays in fairly concrete form the zones as described above. Austin is located on the Colorado River, which at this point runs through a flood valley about one mile wide. The railways run through the city parallel to the river at a distance of about five blocks. The highways run in a north-south direction through the city, crossing the river on a bridge on the main street. The street car and bus lines converge at Sixth Street and Congress Avenue. Sixth Street is the principal east-west business street, while Congress Avenue carries most of the north-south traffic through the shopping district. This corner is easily identified as the focal point of the city. From it, retail businesses extend for several blocks along each of these streets, giving the retail shopping district the shape of a cross. But it is to be noted that the shops handling the better grades of merchandise are practi-

\* Cf. Carl A. Dawson and Warner E. Gettys, *An Introduction to Sociology*, for an interesting description of the ecology of this city.



ECOLOGICAL PATTERN OF AUSTIN, TEXAS

cally all to be found along "the Avenue," while the shops catering to those of smaller incomes are strung along Sixth Street.

Just south of the retail area, along the railway tracks are to be found the wholesale distributors on either side of Congress Avenue. Within three or four blocks these give way to industrial plants surrounded by slum dwellings.

The capitol and other state buildings serve as a barrier to the retail shopping district to the north and occupy several blocks. About ten blocks farther to the north is found the University of Texas with its campus of approximately two hundred acres. Lying along each flank of the retail district and between the capitol and the university campus, forming a great horseshoe, is the area of rooming houses. In this zone small apartments, restaurants, cleaning and pressing establishments are mixed in with many of the older homes of the city, a large number of which are still occupied by the owners. Along the western side of the university campus is a subsidiary business center, and back of it and to the north are found rooming and boarding houses, fraternities and sororities used by students.

Away from the retail district to the west are found the workingmen's homes, giving way to the northwest and especially across a creek with a wide and deep valley to the zone of high class residences. Throughout this area beyond the creek, businesses are prohibited.

To the north of the city, save along the highways, and except for the "shanty town" of small size, the homes of workingmen and small business men extend to the open farming country. To the east of the downtown area live the Latin-Americans and the Negroes, their homes being intermingled with the wholesale houses and industrial plants near the center and forming most of the city's slum area. Farther to the east are found the better homes occupied by these population groups, with small businesses along the street-car lines. Although there is a zone in which much intermingling of these groups has taken place, on the whole their homes occupy separate areas, the Latin-Americans living near the east-west line of the railway tracks, and the Negroes occupying the area just north of them and extending in a



broad belt for many blocks. Below the Latin-American zone, and nearer the river, are found Caucasians of low incomes and old homes in a process of deterioration.

Across the river is found a large residence area divided by the street along which the highways to the south leave the city. This street is almost entirely given over to neighborhood stores, taverns, eating places, tourist camps, and, on the outskirts of the city to entertainment places which find most of their patrons during the evening hours. To the east of the highway are found well-kept and fairly expensive homes, while to its west is another area of workingmen's homes; both extending to the open farming country surrounding the city.

Thus, in spite of the obvious disturbance of the river, and the state institutions, this city exemplifies fairly well the ideal ecological pattern of development.

These patterns do not arise by chance, but as the result of impersonal forces of competition which assign to persons and to their institutions particular positions within the area. This spatial distribution of persons and institutions may be in part the effect of geographic conditions, but other factors enter the picture also. Further the social position or status of a person, and, therefore, the opportunity he has to do many things, depends largely upon the position he has within such a social area. Similarly, the geographic position he occupies is in part the result of what he does, or has done, or has had done for him. The way in which persons and institutions come to be located within a community or region, and the system of relationships which grow up as a result of this distribution of social units, is the concern of human ecology.

Human ecology, then, is the study of the spatial arrangement of an area as it affects the social relationships between the social units within the area, rather than a mere description of the units themselves and their positions. This emphasis is in line with the modern trend in sociology toward fixing attention on what happens rather than on who or what acts.

A community or a region is determined by a set of relationships, rather than by geographic boundaries such as

rivers, mountain ranges, or such physical barriers to movement. For example, in a vast open plain, such as the Mississippi valley, we find cities with areas dependent upon them which are not separated by any sort of physical barriers, but merely by social factors, such as custom, convenience, cheapness of transportation, etc. This ecological viewpoint also tends to an interest in the whole unit rather than in its parts separately; since it stresses the dependence of one unit upon others. Highways, railways, sea lanes, telephone and telegraph lines, newspaper and radio station coverage; all the means of transportation and communication are of the greatest importance in outlining such ecological areas and in welding them into units.

#### BIOLOGICAL NATURE OF ECOLOGY

Ecology is one of the approaches to the study of society which has been borrowed from the natural sciences. Studies of plant and animal ecology have been made by biologists for several decades: these studies have attempted to determine the "natural" relationships between living organisms and their physical environment and the equilibrium the various forms of life finally establish within an area. Thus, a region is defined as "an area where many dissimilar species of inhabitants adapt themselves to a common existence so that the ecological community as a whole keeps on."

The delicate equilibrium worked out by the varied inhabitants of an area is referred to as the "web of life," a set of relationships in which all of the inhabitants are more or less dependent upon all the others. It is this that the conservationists have in mind when they warn against destroying the forests, for example, on the argument that such destruction upsets the natural equilibrium and brings a whole chain of unpleasant results upon man. Rivers are filled, fields are flooded and the fertile soil is often covered by coarse and unproductive sand, navigation becomes impossible or very precarious, the rain waters run off rapidly and so are not available for growing crops, and so on.

Man and his institutions are conceived as a part of this web of life, and man is warned that interference is at his

own peril. The Great Plains area might be pointed out as an example of this disastrous effect of upsetting the natural order of vegetable life. What man is doing in such cases, of course, is accepting responsibility for his own welfare and the welfare of his descendants who must occupy the same space. He substitutes an active evolution for the natural processes working through nature, with results not always to his credit. But, usually, man's interference with natural processes enables him to support a much larger population than is possible without such interference. All cultivation of the soil, elimination of animal and insect pests, drainage of swamps, and similar activities constitute such interference. But it does remain true that man must or should take into account the dangers he incurs as well as the immediate advantages he gains, in changing the natural order within his area.

Illustrations are numerous of the blunders man has made in this field. Rabbits imported into Australia have destroyed vast grazing grounds for sheep and have cost the government of that continent immense sums of money in efforts to control them. Goats placed on Saint Helena destroyed the brush, the soil washed into the sea and the land is now incapable of growing anything worth while, it is reported. Within our own country, man's destruction of forest and prairie sod has produced large areas of waste lands which form other illustrations.

#### ECOLOGICAL PROCESSES

There are a few well defined ecological processes through which persons and institutions are assigned their appropriate places within an area. All of these are manifestations in one form or another of the basic ecological process, *competition*, which may be defined, socially, as an impersonal striving for advantage by a struggling person or institution without any conscious attempt to destroy or even to hurt others engaged in the same struggle.

When men recognize those against whom they are struggling and try to eliminate them, we have conflict or rivalry. For instance, so long as two merchants attempt to sell every-

one entering their stores, they are in competition with each other; but if they learn of a contract to be let and try to underbid each other, or if they try in any other way to divert trade from each other, they enter into conflict. Similarly, plants compete with each other for the supply of moisture in the soil, or animals compete with each other for the supply of food within their area without consciously trying to prevent others from taking what they need at the same time. In the city, the areas given over to banks are areas of competition, but conflict seldom enters into the picture.

Further, the banking area and the automobile area, as a simple example, are mutually dependent upon each other. Many of the loans made by banks are for the purpose of buying automobiles, a transaction in which both the banker and the automobile dealer find a profit. This mutual helpfulness is known as *symbiosis*, and is largely the result of the division of labor which is one of the chief differences between our complex civilization and the relatively simple society of savages. This specialization reduces conflict and increases symbiosis, since the person or institution which does only a few things for itself must depend upon others for a greater variety of services. The result is that the welfare of one becomes more dependent upon the welfare of others as society becomes more and more complex.

*Concentration* refers to the process by which large numbers of persons are brought into relatively limited areas. Manufacturing and industrial areas in the northeastern region of this country offer an excellent illustration of concentration in comparison with the hinterland, the outlying territory, which depends upon the city for specialized services. Concentration is the result of particularly favorable circumstances for the sustenance of large numbers of persons. This may be a rich soil from which a living is easily extracted and on which a dense population may be supported without reference to other regions. Such concentration is known as *passive*. The dense agricultural areas of eastern Asia are examples.

In our society, however, concentration is more commonly due to the development of techniques of industry and manufacture and the advantages growing from specialization. In



this *active* form of concentration the geographic resources of the place may have little if anything to do with the process. Such specialized areas are highly dependent upon other regions for foodstuffs, raw materials, fuel, or markets for the materials manufactured. The Northeast may be taken as a type region of active concentration. Here is centered a high percentage of the manufacturing and commerce of the nation, but most of the materials dealt with originate in other regions. Even the fuel which turns New England mill wheels must be imported. Without its relationships with the remainder of the nation such a region would be impossible.

*Centralization* is closely allied with concentration, but must be distinguished from it. Where concentration has to do with density of population, centralization has to do with the arrangement of persons and facilities of various sorts to a center of focus at which the greatest activity of the area is to be found. In terms of the region, this focus is the metropolitan center; in terms of the city it is to be found in the downtown shopping district. In both cases the central point is that point at which lines of communication and transportation tend to converge. This is the process which gives form to the city or the region through the segregation of specialized functions into definite areas. Those institutions and businesses which are most able to compete take over the localities at which they may gain access to the greatest number of potential users and customers; those less able to compete range themselves into zones or areas surrounding this most favored point.

There are, within a city or region, many minor centers for education, for recreation, for specialized businesses, and so on. Some of these select their locations in order to escape the noise and confusion of the central business area, others are forced out toward the edge of the city because they cannot afford to pay the high rents demanded downtown. This process is known as *sub-centralization* since each such point will attract to its neighborhood persons and institutions whose interests are closely connected with the activity which is represented there. Thus within the larger area these smaller centers build their own little kingdoms.

This process leads to *segregation*, which is the tendency of persons and institutions more or less alike to form units which are more or less separate from their surroundings. Banking districts and slums are examples of this process at work. However, the term is most commonly used in describing the population of a given area. In most cities Negroes are usually, but not always, segregated within certain well-defined areas and sometimes are forbidden to acquire homes elsewhere. Harlem, a section in New York, is the largest of these. In like manner the more recent immigrants, the Poles, the Italians, and various Slavic groups are commonly found in compact areas within cities. Segregation also takes place along economic lines. The slum is a segregated area in which are found those who must live at a minimum expense. At the other extreme are the exclusive residential developments in which no home may be erected which costs less than a specified sum.

Once an area becomes known as the habitat of a certain group, persons of that character tend to drift into it, so that the tendency is toward perpetuation of the type of life found within the area.

*Invasion*, however, operates against the permanent occupation of a space by one group. This is the process by which unlike institutions or persons force their way into an established area. If the invader is an institution, the result is a change in the means of using the land, as when a residential section occupies a farm, or a business takes over a downtown church whose members have moved toward the outskirts. If the invaders are persons, the land use may or may not change immediately, but the character of the population changes. Usually a change in the type of buildings on the land will also accompany such a change in population. If the newcomers are of a lower income group, the buildings will be allowed to deteriorate; if of a higher income level, new buildings may be erected or improvements made in those in use. This process is often accompanied by open conflict, the older residents resenting the newcomers and resorting to boycott, social discrimination, and sometimes riots, in their efforts to repel the invasion.

When invasion is successful and complete, *succession* has

taken place. This is the end-product of the invasion process. In the case of a change in institutional form, this result is accomplished rapidly; but in case of replacement of one occupational group by another, the succession may be said to be complete when the institutions typical of the newer population group have replaced those of the invaded group. In the case of immigrants, changes in the names, and perhaps denominations of the churches would form an excellent index to the completion of the invasion. Succession is a process growing out of and reflecting changes in the basic population and institutional arrangements of an area and producing a new social set-up.

Through the operation of these processes the social area takes on a characteristic pattern, in which the various parts are placed in relation to other portions, each depending upon all the others. The location of these units is at once an effect of these relationships and a cause of their continuance. It is in this way that ecology organizes areas.

#### TYPES OF ECOLOGICAL AREAS

A few easily recognized ecological areas emerge from an examination of relationships in a large nation such as the United States. The largest of these is the region. In a stable, self-sufficient social order, such a region may have no definite point of centralization and is delimited only by a common way of life as reflected in ways of earning a living, common religious and political faith, the same type of family organization; in short a distinctive set of customs, attitudes, and habits. Such regions are found in many parts of the world where little contact is maintained with the outside world.

In societies organized for exchange of goods and ideas over wide areas such as ours, and in which transportation and communication facilities are developed to a point of high efficiency, such regions are more commonly organized about a metropolis. Surrounding this central point will be found, in order, satellite cities which depend upon the metropolis for many of their needs, the smaller cities which supply most but not all of the needs of the area immediately

surrounding them, the towns, villages, hamlets and finally the open-country farm. Each of these units depends upon the one just higher, so that such a region takes on a hierarchical structure.

The metropolis serves as a sort of cultural reservoir for the entire region since it is there that services and materials which are not to be found anywhere else in the region are available; such things as universities, large libraries, expert medical and hospital care, ample banking facilities, stores with wider selections and more unusual items. It is also in the metropolis that the large newspapers and the better radio stations are commonly located. This means that the metropolis dominates the remainder of the region. But it is true that the smaller cities and the towns also have their own areas of dominance within the region, areas within which the inhabitants commonly look to the city for services available there, and beyond it for those to be found only in the metropolis. Such smaller cities often are fairly well specialized in function, or may even be dominated by a single industry, as in the case of Akron, Ohio, while the metropolis has a well-rounded and complete economy.

What has been said of the smaller city applies with diminishing force to the towns and hamlets. In general, the smaller the place, the more limited the facilities it offers, and the more important becomes the sheer fact of geographical distance in explaining the hold of these units over the inhabitants of their areas.

Not only does the metropolis serve as a cultural reservoir for the region, but it is through the metropolis that new or foreign products and ideas ordinarily enter the region. That is, the metropolis collects, stores and exports the products of the region, both economic and social, and at the same time imports and distributes the products of the rest of the world for which the region finds desires. The metropolis serves as the connecting link between its region and the remainder of the world, and since it is thereby subjected more than any other point in the region to outside influences, it is in the metropolis that most change takes place. It is thus that the metropolis has earned its reputation as being a hothouse of cultural change.



## ECOLOGICAL FUNCTIONS OF COMMUNICATION

The influence of transportation and communication facilities in organizing the region about the metropolis is evident. It is in the metropolis that the highway and railway systems converge. It is in the metropolis that banking and other commercial facilities are centered. It is here, too, that control over many of the industrial and commercial plants of the smaller cities and towns of the region is centered. Indeed such things as newspaper circulation, banking relationships, location of regional headquarters for businesses, and freight rates furnish excellent means by which such a region may be delimited. Freight rates exert a tremendous influence on the whole life of a region through their ability to control the level of prosperity to be found. As one student of the problem has said, "Freight rates go far to determine the habits of whole communities as regards the things they eat, the houses they build, the fuel they consume, and the particular employment they find profitable." \* More recently, southeastern and southwestern states have made serious charges of discrimination against those regions in the freight rates prevailing.

Through all of these means, the metropolis organizes and integrates the region of which it is a part. It seems apparent, then, that the metropolis and the hinterland are only parts of the same unit, the region, existing in symbiotic relationship, without which the existence of either, at least on the present level, would be wholly impossible. Although it is convenient to separate the two for purposes of study, it should be remembered always that if and when their mutual interdependence is forgotten, the whole picture loses its essential perspective.

\* Albert Shaw, "How Railroads Adapt Themselves to National Conditions," *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, Vol. X, p. 97. Quoted by permission of the Academy of Political Science.

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## CHAPTER V

### HUMAN DIFFERENTIATION RACE AND MIGRATION

Race is another of the terms, like ecology, which social science has taken over from biology in its efforts to find a clue as to why persons form social groups and why these groups and their members vary from one another. Racial differences are easy to observe provided the number of races is kept small enough and the observed member is somewhere near the "average." It is also very evident that different racial groups have different customs and ways of meeting their needs. The Negroes of Africa, the Mongoloids of Asia differ both in physical appearance and in the structure of their society from the Caucasians of Europe. Hence, it is easy to argue, race explains the way in which persons will behave. This is one of the easiest conclusions to reach and one of the most questionable as to validity in the field of social science.

#### RACIAL VARIATION

It is very evident that human beings vary widely in physical appearance from one portion of the earth to another; and that within a given area, in the absence of migration, the inhabitants look pretty much alike. Any human group living to themselves and interbreeding over centuries of time will come to have a fairly definite physical appearance by which its members may be identified. But it is also true that the members of such groups never come to be exactly alike in a physical sense. There are always individual differences which cover a wide range in height, weight, muscular strength, color of hair and of eye, and manner of speech. Even in the case of so-called identical twins, there are physical differences.

The presence of individual variations within such groups means that we can have just as many racial groups as we care to describe. We may select any set of physical character-



istics we desire, and classify as belonging to a particular race all those persons who display those characteristics. This is what has been done by the anthropologists, with varying numbers of races as results. In the case of a person who displays all, or nearly all, of the features agreed upon as representing a particular race, there is little difficulty, of course. But there are always great numbers of persons who display some, but not others, of these characteristics. The Polynesians, for example, may be classified as Negroid, Mongoloid, or Caucasoid, according to the particular criteria selected. This makes the idea of race rather vague and unsatisfactory, even from a purely physical point of view, as a means of classifying persons. From a social point of view, as we shall see later, the problem becomes more complex.

Professor Ellsworth Faris observes, in discussing the difficulties of using the idea of race, that the number of races described by various scholars ranges from three to nineteen and that there are always groups which seem to fit into no certain racial group even with such large numbers of races.\* This is true because human beings vary by slight degrees along scales constructed in terms of any available characteristic, but the various characteristics in terms of which they may be classified do not vary together. In the case of the Negro we find dark skin and flatness of nose associated, but when we select other groups with lighter skins, we do not always find a corresponding change in nose shape.

#### RACES

In ordinary conversation we use the word *race* carelessly and this often confuses thought. Sometimes we speak of the *human race* for the purpose of differentiating men from the other animals, just as we use the term primate to separate one group of animals from the rest. We also speak of the Anglo-Saxon race in comparison with the Latin or the Celtic. Here we are trying to group the people on a language or a historic or a political basis. When precisely used, the concept *race* is of zoological significance, permitting us

\* "Remarks on Race Superiority," *The Social Service Review*, March, 1927, p. 39.

to classify together groups of people with certain common physical characteristics of a hereditary character, as when we speak of the *Negro* or the *Caucasian race*. Even political writers at times use the term incorrectly. They refer to the French or the American or the English or the "Nordic" race when they mean nation or people, or perhaps only an idea, and this ambiguity clouds thinking in a field where the emotions are easily aroused and where, therefore, clearness and precision are especially desirable.

#### PHYSICAL MARKS OF RACE

Several methods of classifying human beings into separate races have been worked out by anthropologists, based upon the physical traits of head shape, hair, or skin. Of the different schemes for separating people into distinct divisions the most common and impressive has been color of skin. This has led to the threefold classification of whites, yellows, and blacks, although in each division there are marked variations in color, the "black" ranging, for instance, from intense black to light yellow.

The history of the attempt to classify races shows how difficult this is. For example, when we separate people on the basis of color, we have no trouble with the extreme types such as an African Negro and a European Nordic, but when we come upon intermediate shades, as the American mulatto, we are puzzled as to where the individual, so far as mere color is concerned, belongs. There has been so much interbreeding, there is so much overlapping, that classification on a color basis becomes confusing. Kroeber, for example, tells us that a wide zone stretches across Africa where the dominant types, on the basis of color, may be classified as either African or Caucasian.\* Duckworth escapes the difficulty of a color classification by stressing three characters of the skull: the cranial capacity, the cephalic index, and the degree of prognathism obtained by taking the angle which the most projecting part of the jaw makes with the forehead. By this method Duckworth distinguished seven groups of peoples.†

\* A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, p. 36.

† W. L. H. Duckworth, *Morphology and Anthropology*, Chap. 16.

Keane considers the hair the best basis of classification, and he separates mankind into three fundamental types: the woolly-haired, the straight-haired, and the curly- or wavy-haired, each being divided into sub-classes. Cuvier made a classification in 1817, based on the three sons of Noah: Shem, Ham, and Japheth, which had much vogue among religious people, but no scientific validity. The classification by Blumenbach in 1775 has been widely used by the anthropologists and recognizes Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, Malayan, distinguishing five colors: white, yellow, black, red and brown. His five primary types have been reduced to four, giving us the Australoid, the Negroid, the Mongoloid and the Caucasian. This is similar to a recent classification of an American authority who considers the Australian to be the living race most close to the primitive type.

The Veddahs of Ceylon, the Papuans of New Guinea, and the Dravidians of India make up with the native Australians the Protomorphs, or the least specialized, while the Caucasians, the Mongolians, and the Ethiopians comprise the three other groups and the most differentiated.\*

One means of classifying races, and incidentally of assigning them places on a scale of superiority, has been to select traits most unlike those of the apes, as Franz Boas has shown. Apes have flat noses. Among humans the Mongoloids, the Europeans, and especially the Armenians have high, thin noses, while the Bushman, Negroes and Australian natives have flat ones. Apes have narrow, thin lips. The Caucasians are also marked by such lips, while those of the Mongoloids are somewhat thicker, and those of the Negroes thickest of all. As to the hairiness shown by apes, the Mongoloids have least, the Negroes a fair amount and the Europeans and the natives of Australia most of all. That is, while persons may be arranged according to any characteristic chosen, the arrangement will vary from one characteristic to another so that no arrangement is possible which takes in all of the features displayed.† Because of the vague-

\* H. H. Wilder, *Pedigree of the Human Race*, Chap. 6, pp. 335-361.

† Quoted in *The Making of Man*, edited by V. F. Calverton, p. 125.

ness of the term and the impossibility of finding pure races, Julian Huxley has declared :

It would be highly desirable if we could banish the question-begging term "race" from all discussions of human affairs and substitute the non-committal phrase "ethnic group." That would be the first step toward rational consideration of the problem at issue.\*

Whatever physical marks the anthropologist chooses for his basis of classification, he never uses it exclusively in his study of mankind. Peoples are also distinguished by the following physical characteristics :

1. *The cephalic index.* This gives the shape of the head ; that is, the ratio of the breadth of the head to its length. Mathematically expressed, it is :

$$\text{Cephalic Index} = \frac{\text{breadth} \times 100}{\text{length}}$$

Since the skull is the least variable of man's physical structure, the cephalic index plays an important part in the study of races. Commonly, three types are recognized : the *dolichocephalic* or longheaded, having an index less than 75 ; the *brachycephalic* or roundheaded, having an index greater than 80 ; and the *mesocephalic* or intermediate, with an index from 75 to 80. Because of individual variation within each racial type it is considered necessary to have measurements of at least fifty of the same sex in order to determine the average index.

2. *Stature.* We have individual variations in physical height ranging from that of the dwarf to that of the giant, both being, of course, pathological types. We also have racial averages, computed by taking the measurements of many individuals of the same group. On one side are the African Pygmies, seldom reaching five feet, and on the other, various groups of which the Scotch Highlanders are an example, seldom falling below five feet, six inches. Although stature tends to be inherited and therefore provides for the anthropologist a useful means of distinguishing people, it is

\* "The Concept of Race," *Harper's Magazine*, May, 1935, p. 698. Quoted by permission of Harper & Bros.



in individual cases influenced by disease and by the physical environment. For instance, in the measurement of children in California at the present time it is found necessary to use a scale that calls for more rapid growth than occurs among average American children elsewhere. This variability in stature, due to physical conditions or disease, does not mean, however, that in the mass there is either considerable or rapid change in stature.

3. *Hair.* Attention has already been called to the use of hair as a basis for classifying races. Several features can be distinguished, for example: color, length, amount, distribution over the body, even proneness to turn gray or to disappear, and, most important of all, cross section. Black and yellow people almost always have black hair, while the color of the European's hair varies. Black hair is most common in southern Europe, and various shades of brown in the north and west, while flaxen, golden, and golden-yellow are common among the Nordic type which prevails especially in the Scandinavian countries. Red hair is a variant that appears more or less commonly among Caucasians, as, for example, the Scotch Highlanders, but there is no red-haired race. With red hair there is usually associated freckles on the skin. Red hair has been thought by some to be the result of much crossing among representatives of the Caucasian sub-races, especially the dark and light types. The form of the hair, or its cross section, is its most marked feature. There are four types: woolly, curly, wavy, and straight. In cross section, woolly hair is flat, straight hair round, while wavy and curly are elliptical. Woolly hair tends to be short, and straight hair long. The European has much hair on the body, and the Negro very little. Woolly and kinky hair are black, while curly and wavy hair tend toward a lighter shade. The form of the hair is a persistent hereditary characteristic and a most useful one in distinguishing races. Among many American Negroes there appears to be more emotional reaction to their hair distinction than their color, leading them to attempt to artificially remove the kinkiness of the hair.

4. *The Nose.* The nose is another physical mark of race.

The anthropologist standardizes his measurement by the nasal index, determined by taking the length of the nose from its root to the place of its meeting with the lip and expressing its ratio to the width at the nostrils as a percentage. A relation between the shape of the nose and physical environment has been shown by Thompson and Buxton, the index tending to be high in sections where the air is moist and hot, low where it is cold and dry, the intermediate form corresponding with the appropriate combination of humidity and heat. The broad nostril permits an abundant taking in of air while the other formation protects from cold by warming the air in its passage through the nose.

5. *The Eye.* Pigmentation shows itself in the iris of the eye. There are three fundamental shades: the light, the dark, and the intermediate. Blue and gray eyes form the first, brown and black the second, while in the third are found various colorings from green to yellowish-gray. Blue and gray eyes are found only in fair Europeans. Most of the peoples of the world have dark brown or black eyes. The Mongolian race has a peculiarity in the oblique eye which distinguishes it, produced by a puffiness of the upper eyelid caused by a fold of skin at the nasal end.

In his study and classification of races the anthropologist lists many other physical traits, but these described are the most important. Some of the others are the facial angle which measures the length of the lower jaw, the shape of the face, the capacity of the skull, the proportion of the different parts of the skeleton, and various physiological differences, including possibly even the ductless glands.

#### EUROPEAN RACES

The anthropologist has also come to distinguish in the European peoples three separate sub-races, the Nordic, the Alpine, and the Mediterranean. Each of these has such characteristic traits as hair, color of skin, head shape, height, and general body form. It must be remembered, however, that these peoples, moving about in Europe for thousands of years, have intermingled and crossbred. Not one of them

represents a pure segregated type, so that it is particularly difficult to distinguish the sub-race to which an individual belongs. In the same family appear children differing in their general likeness so that one suggests the Nordic race and another the Mediterranean.

There has been an effort on the part of some writers, contrary to the teaching of anthropology, to tie up to each of these sub-types marked differences of mental traits and then to assume that an individual having the physical marks of the Nordic or the Alpine type possesses corresponding psychic characteristics. Along with this has also gone the teaching that one of the groups is mentally superior to the others. All of these discussions are fanciful since it is only in the most general terms that mental traits can be ascribed to these subdivisions and it is largely a matter of choice what an author will emphasize as a mark of superiority to permit him by his interpretation of history to give to one of the races outstanding superiority. This should be sufficient to demonstrate the ridiculous nature of the Nazi claims of Aryan superiority and Jewish degeneracy. Anthropologists recognize neither as a racial type.

It is most important that the student recognize the difference between *nationality* and *race*. The inhabitants of the United States represent many races. Our people have come from all parts of the world. European nations are more homogeneous than we, but none of them are composed of one racial type. England, France, and Germany, for instance, are nations composed of representatives from three sub-races—the Mediterranean, the Nordic, and the Alpine. Norway and Sweden, although predominantly Nordic, have Mediterranean, while Sicily is not without Nordic blood. Attempts have been made to describe European nations on the basis of their anthropological constitution, that is, their racial differences, but without success because of the lack of parallelism between race and nation. *Nation* defines the group on the basis of culture and political organization, while *race* brings together people of similar biological heritage and physical traits. This distinction between race and nation is important to the American for the United States is composed of representatives of diverse races.

## INNATE RACIAL DIFFERENCES

It is this mixing of nationality and race in popular thought which leads to much fallacious thinking. It is naively assumed that there is a direct connection between race, i.e., physical characteristics, and cultural achievement, i.e., degree of civilization. As a matter of fact, the two things are of entirely different orders, exist on entirely separate levels. Racial characteristics are biological in nature, are passed on from one generation to the next through the germ plasm and, so far as is known, vary only by chance, or mutation. Presumably, racial groups change only by intermixture with other races, or through the selection of chance variations appearing in members of the race. Culture, on the other hand is purely social, consisting of the accumulated and remembered experiences of any group of persons, handed down from one generation to the next by means having no connection whatsoever with the germ plasm. Culture is constantly accumulating and changing, whereas physical heritage is relatively constant. Culture may be, and often is borrowed by one racial group from another. Further, the cultures of various groups of a single race will vary greatly.

## RACIAL ATTAINMENTS

But the fact still remains that some of the races have made much greater attainments than others, and the explanation is offered that the only true test of the innate ability of a race is what it has achieved in the past. Differences in achievement in the cultural field, it is argued, must result from differences in racial equipment, native capacity. Concretely, it is argued that the Negro has never created a great culture, therefore this race must be innately incapable of such achievement.

This is a plausible, but dangerous argument. A few centuries ago, the Chinese might have used it against the Europeans; more recently the Greeks and Latins might have argued so as regards the English and Germans. As Robert H. Lowie points out, culture changes much more rapidly



than does race \* Advocates of Nordic supremacy insist that this sub-racial group has remained relatively pure within historic times and owes its accomplishments to this fact. But they neglect to state why this superior pure blood did not develop a race of leaders until within fairly recent times. In this connection it is very interesting to note that it was only after the ancient Cro-Magnon race degenerated physically that it produced its notable art.†

This of course does not prove that savage peoples have the capacity for producing complex cultures; but it does prove that the difference of their culture from ours is not necessarily explained in terms of racial differences.‡

#### MENTAL TESTS

Psychologists have busied themselves for some time with this problem of innate differences between racial groups. By means of tests of various sorts, they have attempted to compare the innate endowment of large numbers of various groups. Such tests have commonly found a higher attainment level among Caucasian children than among those of any other race. But, it is objected, these tests were fashioned by Caucasian scholars in terms of Caucasian culture. It has been suggested that if a Samoan were to devise such a test, including as he would, ability to swim and to gather food from the sea while escaping dangers of coral reefs and predatory sea animals, most Europeans would probably rank as idiots. The same argument is applied, within narrower limits, to the situation in this country as between Caucasian and Negro children; the Negro children, it is said, do not have equal opportunity to learn of the things used in the tests. This contention is given weight by the scores of Negro children who have attended the better schools. For instance, Negroes who grew up in Chicago made much better scores than those who had spent their lives in Louisiana. Similarly, Negroes from states with good educational facili-

\* "Psychology, Anthropology and Race," *American Anthropologist*, July-September, 1923, pp. 295-298.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

ties made scores above those of white persons from states with poor school systems.

An analysis of such tests made some years ago by Thomas R. Garth led to the conclusion that there is no such thing as "racial personality." He says:

There are no sure evidences of real racial differences in mental traits. While heredity operates according to laws, qualitatively considered, mental traits are distributed among all races, for all possess these human traits. Such a trait as intelligence, though really a racial possibility in all races, has been isolated and emphasized in some races more than in others. But this is not saying that it could not be so emphasized in the unfortunate race.\*

The consensus, then, of those best qualified to judge, is that race, as such, is not a matter of importance in explaining the differences in culture between the large groups of people on the earth.

If this is true, it may be asked, why bother with a discussion of racial differences. The answer is not far to seek. Race is important to an explanation of social organization because persons react to each other, not according to their racial capacities, but according to social custom. Negroes are placed under very definite limitations throughout the United States; and these limitations are imposed upon them because they are Negroes. Further, social pressure of this sort may actually have biological consequences, as is shown in the changing appearance of the Negro group in this country. The trend toward a lessening of the physical traits characteristic of the Negroes in the American habitat is unmistakable. It appears not only in the decrease of pigmentation but also in an approximation of facial form to the Caucasian. The hair trait seems most persistent, hence on the part of some Negroes we find the cultural habit of straightening the hair artificially. This lessening of racial traits comes partly from a selection among the Negroes themselves which discriminates against the blacker type, especially the woman. It appears in industrial, social, and marriage choices. The process has been described as follows:

\* *Race Psychology: A Study of Racial Mental Differences*, p. 211. Quoted by permission of McGraw-Hill Book Co.

But just as she is being crushed economically, just as she is being made to know that she is not wanted socially, so is she being mercilessly driven from the one sanctuary which many believe to be woman's place first, last and always, from marriage, family, and home. Rarely does the Negro man mate legally with a black woman. He may be black himself, but his wife is from brown to white in color, more often the shades lighter than brown than any other. More than one unmarried male Negro will frankly say that a black girl as wife is unthinkable. The determining influence here is, of course, the fact that in America "white" symbolizes privilege. Indeed this fact controls, consciously or unconsciously, the forces which are progressively eliminating the black girl everywhere.\*

#### SOCIAL IMPORTANCE OF RACE

Race is a fact of primary sociological importance only because we have definite ideas about racial characteristics. Whether these ideas are scientifically sound or not has little to do with the situation; what is important is that they exist in our thinking and condition our actions when we come into contact with members of other groups which differ from us in some obvious manner. Differences other than race may be just as powerful in directing our relationships, but we are likely to lump most of them under the vague term "race." As Donald Young says, "With superb disdain for the findings of the scientists, popular belief lumps biological, language, cultural, political and other groups under the one heading of 'race,' and behaves accordingly."†

From the sociological point of view the great importance of race is that physical characteristics are obvious and mark their possessors as members of certain groups toward which we have certain customary ways of acting. The higher the visibility of such marks, the greater their importance. Further, where nature has not made a difference in physical appearance, men often undertake to supply the lack, by such means as scarification among savages or distinctive dress among more civilized peoples. Such customs have the value of making identity easy and save the difficulty of investi-

\* G. A. Steward, "The Black Girl Passes," *Social Forces*, p. 102 (September, 1927). Quoted by permission of Williams and Wilkins Co.

† *American Minority Peoples*, p. xiii. Quoted by permission of Harper & Brothers.

gating each person separately to discover his status. They enable us to apply ready-made group behavior patterns, to treat the other fellow as a member of a group rather than as an individual.

Such a generalized way of behavior has manifest advantages where one group dominates another, especially if the physical differences are great enough that members of the dominant group may convince themselves that the subordinate group is not quite "human." The slave-holding Southerners almost persuaded themselves that Negroes did not have souls; if they had succeeded fully, their conscience would have been clear of any feeling of guilt on account of the treatment the slaves received. The slave would have been reduced to the position of a barn-yard animal. The same basic idea, in somewhat sophisticated form, appears in the "White Man's Burden" notion popularized by Rudyard Kipling, among others.

It is because of such ideas as this that problems of education, religion, political rights, economic status, social retardation and race consciousness are outgrowths of a bi-racial situation, although physical differences, as such, may have nothing to do with the situation. This is well illustrated in the case of the American Negro, who is not a pure racial type by any means. An unknown, but certainly very high, percentage of the Negroes of this country have varying degrees of white blood in their veins; but so long as any member of this group retains enough Negro blood to make its presence apparent, or even discernible by careful investigation, he is defined socially as a Negro and receives the treatment reserved for this particular group. Since many of these persons have only one-sixteenth, or even one-thirty-second Negro blood, it is certainly not their racial characteristics which control their treatment. Nor is the Negro the only group which finds itself in such a situation.

The same arguments are applied to the Indians, and especially to Orientals. Formerly they were applied to the Irish, the Germans, and other European peoples. But those immigrants from northern Europe soon learned the American version of the English language, adopted American clothing, food, and other tastes and mannerisms and so became prac-



tically indistinguishable from the older residents of the country. When this had been done, the basis on which they were set apart had disappeared; they had become "Americans." An unknown number of Negroes escape from their position each year by the same mechanism. Having lost nearly if not all of the physical marks of race, they simply move into a neighborhood in which no one knows they are supposed to be Negroes and take up life as white persons. This is referred to as "passing."

The position of the immigrant is the same in nature, though varying greatly as to degree, as that of the member of a subordinate race. The newly arrived immigrant is looked upon as an outsider, a "greenhorn," and the presence of his group is resented in exactly the same way as is that of the members of another race. But the immigrant has one great advantage over the member of another race: he is able to lose his distinguishing marks as soon as he has acquired the culture of his new country, whereas the racial group must carry such badges indefinitely, until, in fact, intermixture has eliminated them. Sociologically, it is the conflict of differing ways of behaving which causes the trouble, not the possession of different physical features.

#### AMERICAN IMMIGRATION

These problems of race differences are not merely academic questions for the thoughtful American. Since the United States has admitted such a diversity of individuals from Europe, Asia, and Africa and is now attempting to regulate advantageously as a nation the inflow of foreign peoples, it becomes necessary to take into account in the making up of an immigration policy all the known facts regarding the anthropological differences between human beings.

It is clear that the effort to bring to America valuable stock includes both a racial and an individual problem. We have the best of reasons for supposing that an individual of any particular race may represent a higher or lower capacity than that which can fairly be credited to the average of that particular group of people.

Of the utmost importance is our recognition of the diffi-

culty of adjustment met by people of cultures widely different from our own, even though racially they may not be far distant from the American type. This question of the assimilation of peoples who, representing unlike social experiences, do not easily fall into accord with present-day American culture, becomes all the more pressing if such individuals are so numerous as to become a foreign settlement in the American commonwealth and to continue with little modification their former way of living. The American immigration policy must therefore concern itself not merely with race but also with differences of mentality in the individuals of various nationalities, their characteristic culture and the size of the group they represent in this country.

Even when it is advantageous to mix racial and cultural traits, as has often been proved in the history of human evolution, this mixing process cannot succeed in bringing forth unity and the birth of a new racial type if the variations be so great and the introduction of new stock so continuous that no development of general likeness takes place. In the past our free policy with reference to the introduction of new stock, stimulated by our vast territory open for settlement, the rapid development of industry, and our idealistic philosophy which made us offer a refuge to all who desired to migrate from Europe, led us into the predicament revealed by the World War, when a large number of our citizens were called for service before being able to speak or understand the national language.

#### RACE MIXTURE

The problem of race mixture cannot be solved by general statements. Everything depends upon who are being mixed and the contribution that is brought by the various individuals concerned, physically, mentally, emotionally, and culturally.

Racial mixing is both a social and a biological problem. Biologically, the desirability of race mixing is determined by the heredity of the mating individuals. Socially, it depends upon the habits and attitudes the parents will teach their offspring and the traditional status such persons are given.

If two low-type persons propagate, it matters little whether they be members of the same or of different races. Because this has not always been recognized, there has been much misinterpretation of race mixture and an exaggeration of its evils. Of course, if it is shown that one race is superior to another in any characteristic which is inherited, a general mixing of the two groups will hurt the superior race through weakening this characteristic. But in the present state of knowledge, it seems impossible to assign any such superiority to any particular race. Cultural differences seem relatively unimportant since they are passed from one race to another with rapidity under favorable circumstances.

The history of the American Negro illustrates the rapidity with which a race can assimilate a new and dominant culture to which it has been introduced. Although the Negro, on account of his experiences in Africa and while a slave in this country, was from the beginning of his freedom handicapped in his contact with the more fortunate white Americans, his economic and social progress is encouraging to any member of the white race who realizes the seriousness in any nation of adding to the racial differences in its people a wide separation of cultural standards.

Science has no means by which to measure how much of the general cultural backwardness of the Negro in America must be charged to racial inheritance and how much to environmental experiences. In the interpretation of this relative retardation of the Negro in comparison with the culture of the white there are two extreme schools of thought—one charging the Negro's cultural lag to an inferiority entirely due to race, while the other considers his predicament altogether a matter of environment. In such a complexity there can be only a speculative opinion upon the proportion of racial and environmental influence that appears in the history of the Negro in America.

Nearly all historians are agreed that after the Civil War it was most unfortunate both for the Negro and for the Southern white that for a time the free Negro was permitted to dominate politically the Southern states. The policy of attempting to force upon the untrained and inexperienced Negro the responsibilities and full political rights of a citizen

of the American republic was as disastrous as might have been expected. This mistaken policy of forcing the evolution of the Negro race was harmful not only in bringing about ill feeling between whites and blacks in the Southern states, but, by allowing an anthropological problem to become a political issue, in the end retarded the social development of the Negro people.

The policy of Booker T. Washington, long President of Tuskegee Institute, in advocating that the Negro turn his attention to progress along economic and educational lines was fundamentally wise strategy, as racial differences are nowhere less emphasized than in the economic field. It is also true that no people whose status is distinctly inferior economically can succeed in forcing themselves into a political and social equality from which the prevailing culture has excluded them. Economic and educational advancement represent a slower process and a different appeal to the emotions of the aggressive Negroes from that of a pugnacious effort to win their supposed rights against those who appear hostile. In the end, however, no race of people can escape the consequences of their general economic situation.

#### RACIAL ROLES

The result of the existing attitudes concerning race is that members of subordinate groups are assigned fairly definite roles to play in our society. They are not permitted to participate in our culture as fully as are the dominant group members. Schools are inferior both as to equipment and as to training of teachers. For instance, in 1930, Southern states spent an average of \$44.31 on each white school child, as compared to \$12.57 for each Negro school child. In some states the discrepancy was much greater; Mississippi spent \$45.34 per white, and \$5.45 per Negro school child.\* Throughout the nation some Negroes are allowed to vote, many more are prevented from exercising this privilege by one means or another. Differences in treatment of Negroes and others in the courts have been observed and commented upon by many investigators. Use of hospitals and libraries

\* Julius Rosenwald Fund, *School Money in Black and White*.



is often denied Negroes, or supplied in inferior form. Theaters and hotels are often closed to such groups. In short, the Negro, and to a lesser extent other such groups, are allowed to participate only partially and conditionally in the common culture of the nation.

The degree to which any particular subordinate group is allowed to participate in the culture of the area in which it is found will depend largely upon the ease with which such a group is recognized and upon the traditional customs and ideas of both groups. The dominant group assigns a role to the subordinate one, and both are well aware of the distinctions which are to be maintained. The Negro, for instance, tends to accept the position to which he has been assigned and this acceptance conditions his participation in the common culture. Likewise, the white person is acutely aware of the role he is expected to play when Negroes are involved, and his behavior is also conditioned by this awareness. There are many things he cannot do, also. For instance, in the Old South he can no more invite a Negro to eat with him than a Negro can offer such an invitation to a white person. Thus, we have a socially defined situation in which the participation of the two groups is restricted and limited, is contingent upon the traditions and ideas prevailing in the area and in which the social status of the two groups is to be explained in terms of this conditioned participation in the general culture.

#### FORMS OF INTERRACIAL RELATIONSHIPS

There are several common forms which this limitation upon the participation of subordinate groups may take. Efforts may be made by the ruling class to eliminate the other group. This was the method employed generally by the English colonist in this country in dealing with the Indians. At various times payments from the public treasury were made for evidence of having killed Indians, the scalp usually being accepted as such proof. In Australia concerted drives were made to kill off natives. More commonly, however, the undesired group is forced to leave the area desired by those in power; Indians were placed on reservations or

forced to move farther to the west as the lands they occupied were needed by the whites. Plans were drawn up to deport all Negroes to Africa and the Republic of Liberia was formed and colonized as a part of this plan.

Segregation is a form of partial elimination. Here, the group is concentrated into a specific area so that the majority group will not be forced to come into contact with it except as it desires such contact; but the members of the segregated group are allowed to move freely about the larger area to perform certain functions. Usually this movement is confined largely to economic activity. Persons leave such areas for work and to make purchases. But most of the social life is confined to the segregated territory; the churches, the clubs, the theaters and often the schools are within or very near such districts.

Segregation performs distinct functions in the case of racial and immigrant groups. Here the immigrant finds many of the customs and institutions of his old homeland and so feels more at ease. His contact with the new culture is slower and the transition is less painful and disorganizing because of this fact. On the other hand, many persons growing up in or entering such colonies find it possible and pleasurable to escape taking on the ways of life of the new land and of making any contribution to the culture of their new home. In so far as this is true, it results in a divided society which finds it hard to act as a unit. Such groups often find themselves out of sympathy with, or even opposed to, the aims of the larger community.

It usually happens, however, that the subordinate group is valuable to the rulers and efforts are made to keep them in place, both socially and geographically. Terrorism is often used in this attempt. Lynching is an example of this sort of treatment by which it is hoped that the victim group will be so cowed that it will accept without question the edicts of the dominant group. The placing of Jews in concentration camps, the wrecking of their business houses and the destruction of their churches in Germany furnish a close parallel to lynching. This method of dealing with the Jewish problem seems to have become traditional in parts of Europe.

Less forcible is the consistent practice of discrimination

against racial groups. The school situation mentioned above illustrates this method of treatment. Denial of the right to join labor unions, the practice of giving Negroes lower wages for similar work, of firing them first when a reduction in labor force is ordered, charging higher rent, the use of "Jim Crow" cars on railways are other forms of discrimination to which Negroes must submit in this country.

Still less drastic is the use of ridicule and patronage as a means of keeping minority groups in the social position assigned to them. Ridicule is designed to destroy the dignity of the person or group against whom it is directed and is remarkably effective. Patronage is an implicit assumption of superiority on the part of the patron and, since it is not expressed concretely, it is difficult to meet. Ridicule is employed through making members of the subordinate group the butt of jokes, by laughing at peculiarities in speech, dress, or mannerisms, by pretending not to understand customs peculiar to the group. In literature and in the theater representatives of such groups are assigned roles as comic characters, or as villains. Use of patronage is displayed in such activities as conspicuously fraternizing with minority members on public occasions, in the passing on of old clothing, in the refusal to use the form "Mr" or "Mrs" in address and the substitution of the first name as indicative of lack of maturity. However, there is a fine line of distinction which it is often very hard to recognize between patronage and sincere efforts to aid an under-privileged group. The distinction often depends not upon the action itself but merely upon the manner in which it is performed.

#### RACE CONSCIOUSNESS

Such subordinate groups react to the situation in which they find themselves by developing race consciousness. This is a feeling of being set apart, as regards other groups, and the accompanying feeling of common destiny as regards other members of the same group. It arises from some common interest, or common cause. Race is only one of a number of social factors which may induce such feelings. Religion, political beliefs, economic position result in the

same sort of group feelings. Race is one of the strongest of such factors.

Race, or other group consciousness, is also imposed upon the individual by a self-conscious group. One of the critical events in the life of a child of any such group is the moment at which he becomes aware of the fact that his group membership makes it impossible for him to do certain things, that he is set apart from others because he belongs to a particular group.

This awareness of being set apart leads in two directions, antagonism toward the dominant group and a feeling of loyalty toward the suppressed group. The field of Negro literature is rich in illustrations of both attitudes. Negro newspapers find two themes of everlasting interest to their readers; incidents tending to show up the weaknesses of the white population, and examples of attainment by Negroes. Most of the news in such journals appears to have been written to demonstrate one or the other of these conditions. This is apparent in the following headlines, taken from two representative Negro newspapers:

PHYSICIAN CHARGED WITH HITTING [NEGRO] WOMAN IN  
HOSPITAL

RUMORS OF MARRIAGE OF ETHIOPIAN PRINCE TO  
JAPANESE GIRL

JEALOUSY JAMS OOZE SIMMONS AT IOWA

LAWYER FORGETS NEGRO CLIENTS FACING DEATH IN  
JACKSONVILLE

LOUIS KAYOES AL ETTORE

BARES INTERRACIAL ROMANCE OF DETROIT MINISTER

Pride and loyalty to the group is encouraged by displaying pictures and circulating laudatory stories of the group members who have attained great recognition. Nearly every rural Negro school in the South displays a picture of Booker T. Washington, just as most Swedish homes possess pictures of Greta Garbo. The exploits of the boxer, Joe Louis, are



told and retold by the Negroes. Within recent years the *Journal of Negro History* has recounted the glorious deeds of Negroes in various epochs of the national life. The fate of Ethiopia was a matter of great concern to this group, since it was the one remaining independent kingdom of black folk.

The poetry of Negroes is filled with race consciousness. Paul Laurence Dunbar sang : \*

No other race, or white or black  
When bound as thou wert to the rack  
So seldom stooped to grieving ;  
No other race, when free again,  
Forgot the past and proved them men  
So noble in forgiving.

Other Negro poets employ satire, as does Joseph S. Cotter in this selection : †

AND WHAT SHALL YOU SAY ?

Brother, come  
And let us go unto God  
And when we stand before Him  
I shall say —  
"Lord, I do not hate,  
I am hated.  
I scourge no one,  
I am scourged.  
I covet no lands,  
My lands are coveted.  
I mock no people,  
My people are mocked."  
And, brother, what shall you say?

Or this from Countee Cullen : ‡

EPITAPH

*For a Lady I Know*

She even thinks that up in Heaven  
Her class lies late and snores,  
While poor black cherubs rise at seven  
To do celestial chores.

\* From *The Complete Poems of Paul Laurence Dunbar*. Used by permission of Dodd, Mead & Company, Inc.

† Quoted by permission of the Cornhill Company.

‡ From *Color* by C. Cullen. Quoted by permission of Harper & Bros.

Race consciousness serves to unite the group, to give it pride in the accomplishments of its members and to weld it so that it tends to act as a unit. When carried to great lengths, it promotes open conflict. But the natural history of race relationships seems to indicate that antagonism decreases as races remain in contact with each other. Intermixture seems to be one of the inevitable consequences of racial contact, and although race consciousness has the effect of lessening such relationships, it never entirely prevents them. This intermixture tends to break down the rigidity of relationships between the groups, although, again, the speed with which this is accomplished will vary with the traditions of the two groups. Too, the awareness of such a breakdown often arouses emotional resistance which slows the process. But as the group approaches biological uniformity, as persons are confused in their attempts to identify other persons as members of a particular racial or ethnic group, it becomes impossible to maintain a set of relationships based on race alone, and other criteria must be substituted. The initial situation of open conflict gradually gives way to one of established rights in which each group is expected to follow closely established patterns. But these patterns normally are softened by time, the subordinate group is gradually given more and more privileges until finally, after a few decades in some cases, after centuries in others, the two groups merge into one. This is commonly accompanied by amalgamation of the biological stocks and assimilation of the cultures of the two races, though the former is not an essential.

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## CHAPTER VI

### BIOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

Regardless of racial and individual differences, all persons have a similar biological heredity which makes possible some forms of behavior and precludes the possibility of others. Because of his biological structure man is able to maintain an especially complex set of relationships with his environment, geographic and social. Because of the complexity of his endowment, particularly his nervous system, man also possesses an inherent capacity for variation and educability which allows him a richness of adjustment not possible for other animals.

As is true of other animals, man is regarded as an organism which is stimulated by and responds to his surroundings so as to make an adjustment which meets his needs and desires more or less adequately. The individual as a whole is the adjusting unit, and the role played by the cortex of the brain, although more commanding, is not to be isolated from that played by the other parts of the body. The sharp distinction between body and mind is replaced by an interpretation which does justice to the unity of the human organism and personality.

#### LEVELS OF ACTIVITY

Formerly there has been much discussion of man's activity as taking place on three levels: the physical, the mental, and the social. It now appears that these levels are not so distinct and separate as has been believed, but that, rather, they represent different ways of looking at a given action. For instance, a person may have his blood so poisoned by typhoid infection in the intestines that when it goes to the cortex it produces the insane ideas of a maniac and as a result he may attempt to kill his nurse. His action may be explained from the physiological point of view as a toxic condition; from the viewpoint of the psychologist as a mental aberration; and

from that of the sociologist as an example of violent overt conflict which, in a responsible person, would be regarded as criminal.

These levels are not to be thought of as higher or lower in the sense that one supersedes the other, but merely as attempts to adjust. Normally, the attempt to adjust on either level is influenced by and in turn influences activities taking place on the other levels, so that a stimulus reaching the human organism at any level brings about a reaction affecting the person as a whole.

#### MAN'S PECULIARITIES

Although the similarity in the structure and physical processes of man and animals is obvious, it is equally clear that man has his own peculiar equipment as a responding organism, and that his endowment gives him great advantages over the animal. Without forgetting the continuity of structure which man's body demonstrates when compared with that of other animals, the question has to be asked: What, then, is distinctive of man from the point of view of his behavior-equipment in the meeting of environmental needs?

The moment the question is asked, "What is the human equipment for life?" it becomes plain at once that the answer cannot be discovered by the analysis of the behavior of modern men and women. The effects of social experience on present conduct are too compelling to make possible the certain separation of those elements in human behavior that are clearly the products of man's original nature from those that have resulted from social achievement.

Likewise it is impossible to work backward and discover man's original nature prior to the time of the accumulation and transmission of culture when past experience came to have a contributing influence upon human conduct. A study of savages will not yield us what we wish to discover, since, however simple their life, they represent a stage of experience far beyond that which would uncover the human equipment unmodified by the transmission of culture. We therefore seek in the infant the information we desire. Even here, however, almost from birth, social culture begins to

modify conduct, so at present we have to be content with the meager insight we get from observing the behavior of young infants. We find stimulus-response mechanisms that persist unchanged from infancy throughout life. The blinking of the eye at the approach of an object is such a mechanism. Our study reveals how largely even the early responses of children, brought forth by environmental contact, are subject to modification by social influence.

We find a nervous system with a richness and a capacity for growth which give to man a distinctive character in his ability to receive stimuli and transmit responses, thus providing him with the opportunity of making complex adjustments to his environment. Although the resources furnished by his structure, as expressed in motor activity, are similar to those of the higher animals, the superiority of his nervous system enables him to make more highly organized adaptations. Though the manner of his body control is the same, the possibilities of more complicated adjustment furnish him with an immense superiority.

One advantage that man has over other animals is his erect position. Since this enables him to make rapid changes of position and to assume various postures, it establishes him in a place of vantage with his repertory of possible reactions. Another resource which is exclusively man's is the hand with its richness of flexibility and its superior thumb. Anthropologists assert that it was the erect position which permitted the development of a hand allowing such multifarious manipulation.\* The erect position and the flexible hand have been related by anthropologists to the increased development of the nervous system which finally resulted in a cortex with the capacity of growth and expression which we now regard as characteristic of man.

This development of brain furnished man the opportunity to make vocal responses quite different from those of the animals closely allied to him by structure. Out of this attainment came human speech which has had incalculable influence upon man's conduct for it enables him to receive stimulations and make responses that would otherwise be impossible. Without this power of communication through

\* R. Munro, *Paleolithic Man*, p. 15.



speech, man as an organism would be greatly restricted in his reactions and the intimacy of contact which permits a rich social life would be denied, preventing his present cultural achievement.

Man's upright posture, his increased cortex, his power to make free use of his fingers and thumb, and his ability to communicate his ideas to others and to receive from them so as to profit by their experience led to the use of tools. This increased his skill and gave him, through more efficient manipulation, a fullness of experience denied the animals nearest to him in structure. As soon as man took to tool-use he attained a position of preeminence which opened up a line of progress in achievement without which social culture as we now know it would have been impossible. Whenever man has discovered a new tool or mechanical principle, he has originated a distinct line of cultural evolution. Some of our commonplace tools and machinery are the final products of thousands of years of development. Likewise the finding of a new mechanical principle or a novel method of utilizing energy leads to a multitude of applications of the new resource in advancing man's conquest of nature.

#### PLEASURE AS MOTIVE

The most fundamental of all animal characteristics is the ability to distinguish between pleasure and pain, or what is desirable and what is not. This capacity is seen even in the amoeba, which incorporates particles of foodstuffs and rejects other particles which it cannot assimilate. In the more simple forms of life the experience of feeling leads the organism to continue desirable activities and to check those it does not find pleasurable. In its adjustment to the environment the human organism is far from indifferent to its own feelings. Report is made to consciousness in terms of feeling as the human organism changes its behavior under the impact of stimuli from the environment or as it attempts to produce a more satisfactory adjustment through its responses.

But in human conduct, native feeling tone is not always a safe guide in determining the desirability of a type of behavior. Social approval often affords a greater pleasure than

the physical discomfort which may accompany it. Many persons suffer intensely when called upon to make speeches ; but they suffer gladly in anticipation of the recognition they hope the speech will bring them. Fashionable articles of apparel are often uncomfortable, but the discomfort is usually compensated for by the feeling of being dressed according to the mode of the moment. Further, social approval may be strong enough to overcome natural dislike, so that activities which were at first distasteful may become pleasurable. This is illustrated in the case of foods for which a taste is acquired ; caviar, for example, is disliked by many persons at first taste and later relished.

The feeling of pleasure, however, whether innate or socially induced, still promotes activities which cooperate in accomplishing a person's designs and, when the individual finds his efforts blocked, displeasure arises. Infants react with signs of evident anger when their activities are restricted. Adults experience much the same feeling, but are not always as frank in expression. Persons derive pleasure from the smooth on-going of their activities and anything which interrupts such smoothness is resented. It is true, of course, that persons often welcome interruptions of their work, but this usually indicates that the task has become irksome because of a feeling that it is not progressing as well as it should. The pleasure of smooth-flowing movement explains much of the appeal of the dance.

#### RANDOM MOVEMENTS

In our analysis of the human equipment as it shows itself in activity we deal at first with the random movements characteristic of young children. These incoherent and apparently purposeless movements give the organism preliminary experience which eventually issues into specific and well-organized reactions. As we watch the little child moving his hands, fingers and toes for no apparent purpose, his movements seem to be merely the overflow of nervous energy which was too badly controlled to be directed to its appropriate goal. Two or three years later the infant has largely but not entirely, eliminated these reckless, purposeless move-

ments; particularly when he becomes self-conscious and nervous we find him falling back to a considerable amount of random activity. This tendency to indulge in random movements never entirely disappears. Action seems to be the one basic desire of all animals.

Even the adult under special emotional stress shows his intensity of feeling and self-consciousness by slight, twitching movements, revealing to the observer his inner state of mind. Sometimes these movements without definite purpose become partly incorporated in a habit pattern, so that the individual in order to do a definite, complicated act must also execute unnecessary movements that have come to have for him an indispensable place in the series of consecutive acts. A girl cutting out a dress may unconsciously move her jaws in rhythm with the scissors she is wielding. In certain nervous diseases when the organism begins to lose, especially in the cortex, its stability and power of integration, return is made to the great quantity of random movements characteristic of the infant.

As we watch the little child we soon discover that his random movements are allied with the pleasure feeling and with attempts to satisfy his desires. If, for example, we bring before his eyes a bright red apple, as soon as it catches his attention we see a number of movements accompanied by facial expressions which we rightly interpret as signs that the child is happy. Soon, however, the infant seeks to grasp the apple. Now we have another series of uncoordinated activities, but with a different facial expression which denotes unsatisfied desire, and the baby, if he does not quickly get the apple into his hands, may burst out crying.

It is hardly fair to call these random movements purposeless, since not only do they give a preliminary training in activity which in time leads to useful habit reactions, but these hit-or-miss movements themselves accomplish to some extent what the organism desires. Thus the baby, in the midst of many unnecessary movements, eventually executes some that give him success. What he accomplishes at first as if by accident becomes after several repetitions a regular and more economical method of procedure. Little by little these unnecessary acts are eliminated and in place of move-

ment at random we see action that is purposeful. The infant therefore is not just moving, he is actually practising and getting acquainted with his mechanism so that in time muscles and nerves may come to have good team-play with the cortex where the central authority functions.

#### THE REFLEX

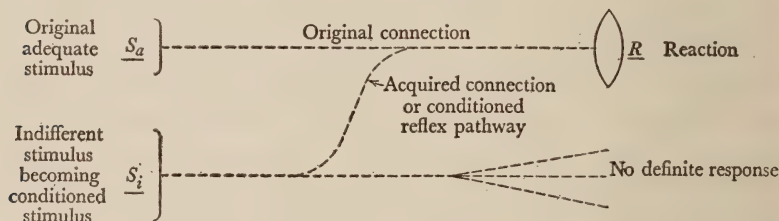
Reflex movement differs from that which is random by its regularity and precision. It is, however, simple in character and unconscious as a mechanism. It has to do primarily with physiological conditions, but, as we shall see, is easily merged into more complex patterns. Because of the definiteness of the body reactions in a reflex movement the process may well be interpreted as the simplest sort of functional integration. It is, of course, the gift of inheritance but as an inherited mechanism it is of less value to the human organism than it is as a factor in the learning process. The reflex becomes an important part of man's social equipment because it can be conditioned by experience and thus merged in a more complex pattern of behavior.

The classic experiment of Pavlov with dogs, which first brought to clear expression the significance of the conditioned reflex, has been so many times rehearsed that it is in danger of being emotionally taboo. For us it is not necessary to go to this original experiment with dogs to get a picture of a conditioned reflex. Every infant provides innumerable opportunities for the illustration of the conditioned reflex. For example, anyone who takes care of a baby or plays with him is building up characteristic conditioned reflex behavior in the little child. The mother by feeding the baby has conditioned his hunger responses in a number of ways. If the two-weeks-old baby is crying for his milk and his mother puts him in a certain position he will cease at once even though she does not immediately begin to feed him. He has learned that when placed in a special position satisfaction of hunger soon follows. A month later his father may concentrate on the play activities of the child so as to build up another set of experiences ac-



accompanied by a series of conditioned reflexes of a different character. Consequently the appearance of his mother just before feeding time turns the child's attention from play with his father to eating, so that he may suddenly begin to cry, while the entrance of his father into the room where the child is being fed will so interrupt the process that frequently the man has to be ordered away so that the child may not cut his meal short. The following description brings out clearly the meaning of the conditioned reflex :

The term *conditioned reflex* bids fair to become more prevalent and important in the social sciences than were ever the Freudians' "libido" or "complex." It designates a simple and fundamental process of the nervous system, a process which is the key to our understanding of many things.



The essence of the conditioned reflex is this. If two stimuli act upon the nervous system at the same time, and one of them,  $S_a$ , already has a connection with a definite response  $R$ , while the other stimulus  $S_i$  is indifferent or has only weak connections, then  $S_i$  will tend to connect itself also with the response  $R$ .\*

#### THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CONDITIONED REFLEX

The conditioned reflex is significant not only because of its social usefulness, but also for the light it throws upon the method of learning. Much that has been thought of as an inheritance is in reality the result of conditioned reflexes which have produced acquired characteristics corresponding to those of an inherited mechanism. Good teaching, in young children especially, consists chiefly in a wise use of the power of the conditioned reflex.

The child who has felt the thrill of accomplishment and recognition of his powers at school experiences a flow of pleasurable feeling whenever he enters the familiar classroom

\* J. K. Folsom, *Culture and Social Progress*, pp. 82, 83. Longmans.

and is expectant of new satisfactions when a recitation begins or an assignment is about to be prepared ; this attitude heightens his capacity for work, since it makes him eager for what lies ahead. In more specific ways the pupil gets the benefit of an economy of effort in the learning process by becoming so habituated to a definite sequence of facts as to have them at his tongue's end for future use, with little expenditure of effort.

#### UNCONSCIOUS CONDITIONING

Conditioned reflexes may be built up without one's conscious knowledge. Whenever two or more actions occur together or in close association with each other for a number of times, the person may become so conditioned that the first action will be followed automatically by the next without any act of will on the part of the actor. In many cases the act which originally conditioned the response may even be forgotten in the sense that it is no longer in consciousness. But tendencies to act in a certain manner, i.e. attitudes, may remain. It is thus that many of our prejudices, idiosyncrasies and opinions, which make up such a large part of the furniture of our minds have been acquired.

The man who tries to prevent his daughter's marrying a man of slightly different religious adherence may find, if he can question his motives in an impersonal way, that his strong feeling against a member of the other sect is due, not to repugnance for the doctrine involved, but to an incident on his first day at school when he was taunted before the other children because of his fine clothes and curly hair, and finally knocked down by a bigger lad whom he knew only as the boy that pumped the organ at "the other church." Hating his persecutor, the little fellow detested everything connected with the older boy, including the church where he earned a weekly dime, and as nothing happened to dispel this hatred it clung to the church represented by the bully, long after the incident of the schoolyard had been supposedly forgotten. Here, as nowhere else, is seen the risk the child runs from contact with an unintelligent parent who transmits to his offspring all the mischievous products of the conditioning experiences of his own childhood.

## COMPLEXITY OF THE CONDITIONED REFLEX

The student must not assume that because of the use of the term *conditioned reflex* the psychologist means to say that the action itself is simple reflex carried on without the cooperation of brain cells by the mere functioning of the lower nervous center. Pavlov found that he could not establish a conditioned reflex in a dog from which he had removed the central hemisphere. He also found that it was more difficult to establish conditioned reflex in an animal whose brain did not work well. In the human realm the same truth holds. For example, those teaching the feeble-minded found that the greatest patience must be shown in building a conditioned reflex because of the inferior brain of such children as compared with the normal. In normal children, not only are there differences in the time required to establish the conditioned reflex because of variation in intelligence, but age and other factors also influence the learning process.

## THE CONDITIONED RESPONSES

The primary emotional responses are developed in the same way as the conditioned reflex activities. John Watson, in his study of fear and rage in infants, found that if he presented strange animals to them their reaction was curiosity rather than fear, but if as the animal made its appearance before the child a loud sound was made, the child would react with fear. If this were repeated several times, fear became his response to the animal when it appeared.

It has been proved by the study of animals and children that the conditioned reflex and emotional response can be dissolved or broken down by a process similar to its establishment. Pavlov took a dog in which he had built up a conditioned reflex so that with the making of a certain sound the saliva of the dog flowed on account of its expectation of food. Then he produced the sound without giving the food. He found that by repeating this experiment the amount of saliva that flowed decreased after several days, during which this procedure was followed and the dog was repeatedly dis-

appointed, the conditioning was lost and finally there was no saliva response to the experiment of sound. Changing the outcome of activity by producing another of a different quality tends to destroy the first conditioning and to produce a new one. If, for example, we should strike a bell and at the same time inflict slight pain on the dog that by previous experience had been led to expect food with the sound, we should soon not only destroy the conditioning leading to saliva flow, but in its place we should have a fear reaction. These processes by which we dissolve conditioned reflexes and emotional responses have a great practical importance wherever we deal with problems of habit. Indeed, when any conditioning is attempted, success depends upon eliminating diverting and conflicting stimuli. For example, in one of Pavlov's experiments it was discovered that the attempt to inhibit a stimulus that had been tied to a reflex failed on account of the buzzing of a large fly which entered the room while the experiment was being performed.

#### HUMAN INSTINCTS

Any observer of animal life has been impressed by the significance of instincts apparent in the behavior of those animals relatively highly organized in nervous structure. The value of the instinct to the animal is evident ; by means of his inherited nervous mechanism he is led under definite stimulations to perform that activity which in his ancestors represented an appropriate response. Even in the life of animals the role of instinct is less clear than common thought assumes and when we attempt to interpret the instinctive life of man the difficulty is far greater. It is both easy and natural to regard habitual activities widely found among men as true instincts on the assumption that what is commonly found must be based upon an inherited mechanism.

With the progress of psychology it becomes evident that to define an instinct as it appears in man on the basis of the universality or regularity of response is unsafe. As we have already seen, with man's step forward from his lower and more animal life his activities have been accompanied by greater use of the learning process and the transmission of



culture. This would tend necessarily to lessen for man the significance of instinct and to increase the value of acquired response.

Doubt as to the validity of the instinct explanation of human behavior has been brought about by the apparent inability of psychologists to agree upon the nature and number of instincts possessed by man. If an instinct consists of a definite, but complicated, response determined by inherited nerve connections, then it might be assumed that students of the subject could agree on the basis of scientific observation as to their presence or absence. But lists vary from two, hunger and sex, to hundreds.

Much fruitless discussion would be avoided if students of human behavior would keep in mind the purpose for which the concept "instinct" was developed. The investigators responsible for the use of the term were not primarily interested in structure. What they wanted to know was why human beings behave in this way or that. The concept "instinct" was developed in response to the need for a theory of motivation rather than as an analytical tool necessary to a description of the mechanisms of human behavior.

Evidence of this is found in the fact that we seem to "invent" instincts in direct correlation with the social importance of the behavior under observation. That is, if the behavior is deemed important, an instinct is postulated to account for the action. We do not, however, trouble to invent instincts to account for behavior of little social consequence. Thus, we notice that women have children and explain the fact by recourse to a "maternal instinct." Noting that men acquire property, we endow them with an "acquisitive instinct." Observing that they go to war, we rationalize it by an appeal to a "pugnacious instinct." These are all important forms of behavior. No one, however, has ever felt compelled to invent an instinct to account for the fact that we comb our hair or wear shoes!

All of which is weighty testimony in favor of the social derivation of much "instinctive" behavior.\*

This confusion has led to doubt as to the existence, or at least to the importance, of instincts so far as humans are concerned. Some time ago Ellsworth Faris asked:

At the present time (1921) there is the widest diversity of opinion as to what an instinct is; there is the utmost confusion as to how many there are. What are the implications of this diversity

\* Rex D. Hopper, unpublished manuscript.

and this confusion? Perhaps the explanation is that human instincts are explanatory assumptions and not observable data? \*

Consideration of any of the so-called instincts as they appear in the behavior of persons in our society throws further doubt into the picture. If there is an instinct of motherhood, for example, how explain the desperate efforts many women make to prevent becoming mothers? Or the neglect and active hostility they show their offspring in many cases? In the case of the so-called sex instinct, is it possible for anything more definite than an impulse to account for such diverse behavior as romantic love, prostitution, homosexuality and asceticism? Such considerations led recent writers to conclude:

It looks as if we can dispense with the concept of instinct in the study of human nature. Experimental observation of young babies fails to reveal the existence of inherited grooves and tendencies which unfold into complicated social behavior. And, besides, we can explain all that instincts were used to explain under the captions of reflexes, unlearned behavior (in Watson's sense) physiological impulses (e.g. sex, hunger, thirst), wishes or desires, social habits and attitudes.†

But even if the hypothesis of instincts is accepted, there is no reason to suppose that the instinct cannot be and is not conditioned in the same way as the reflex. This would mean that whatever man inherits as a mechanistic basis for a complicated response can be incorporated into a still larger series of acts, thus becoming a constituent part of what we call a behavior pattern, and can be attached to almost any stimulus which is socially determined. If there is a sex instinct, for instance, this would explain how it happens that courtship customs vary so widely from one society to another. From this point of view we could hope to find the relatively pure instincts only in the behavior of very young children. It also seems reasonable to suppose that the influence of man's social environment is sufficient to prevent the development or expression of instincts which might otherwise appear.

\* "Are Instincts Data or Hypotheses?," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 184-185. Quoted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

† E. T. Krueger and Walter C. Reckless, *Social Psychology*, p. 158. Longmans.

## HABIT

It is to habit that we must turn for an insight into the most important characteristic element in man's reacting equipment. The habit, like the reflex and the instinct, represents a specific method of reacting to environmental stimulus, but one that is more complicated and better adapted to human need. Habit may contain a series of activities which represent a mechanistic chain rather than an immediate specific response to the impact of environment. Thus the habit functions in a serial development. One part, as it operates, awakens the next element in the series; a long, complicated activity thus takes place without the concentration of consciousness. Anyone who analyzes his process of dressing in the morning can get a detailed illustration of such a series of automatic activities, each part becoming a stimulus to the next.

Random movements, reflexes, and instincts, all contribute to the more complex socialized mechanism which we call habit. Habit largely replaces in man the more simple mechanistic reactions of reflex and instinct which enable the animal to adjust to its environment. Since man's habitat is so much more complicated, constantly changing, and composed in great measure of the cultural content which has been transmitted from the human experiences of the past, an acquirable mechanism capable of operating without consciousness, as a directing force and in a stereotyped way, becomes a necessity.

It would be erroneous, however, to suppose that we find nothing in animal life which gives intimation of the coming of the highly organized human pattern-reaction. Even animal instinctive behavior has some degree of variability so that slight changes of adjustment in the stimulus-response mechanism are provided for. The narrowness of the animal's capacity for adjusting instinctive behavior to meet new conditions appears in such cases as that of a dog which took good care of her puppies until they were moved from the back to the front piazza, when she would have nothing more to do with them until they were returned to their original pen. The animal's limited variability emphasizes the richer resources granted man by the possibility of acquiring habit-

reactions with the automatic advantage of the instinct and at the same time the broader scope of acquired activity.

#### HABIT AS GROUP EXPERIENCE

We may think of society itself as the sum total of the habits of those in association. In the same way civilization consists of the habit-life of those who share an environment in time and place. From this point of view our institutions such as the church, the home, and the state are habits of social behavior. Traditions are ways of thinking handed on from time to time. Customs, also, are persisting social practices. As social experience progresses these various forms of habit-expression multiply and become more complicated. This increases the difficulty of social adjustment, for frequently the incapable person, even the criminal, comes into difficulty because his habits are too ineffective or primitive for success in present-day civilization. Thus civilization is the elaboration of habit and as soon as a child is born his elders start to establish in him a habit-life well adjusted to the social conventions with which they are familiar.

This habit-life is built upon and uses whatever inborn mechanisms the infant may possess, but does so in accordance with the customs and traditions of the particular society in which he is reared. It seems to be undeniable that there are innate motivating factors which do find expression in this manner. Hunger, thirst, sex, are desires present in every normal person from birth and they drive persons toward some sort of action designed to satisfy them. The same is true of the desire for social approval, or recognition, the desire for response, the desire for participation in social behavior, the desire for security and the desire for new experience, to use Ellsworth Faris' \* modification of the original list by W. I. Thomas. It is fairly easy to identify behavior expressing these fundamental desires in any social group. The craving for recognition leads the child at an early age to develop sundry "show-off" techniques by which he hopes to gain attention. This is also the basis of rivalry, ambition and eagerness for distinction. The wish for response finds

\* Cf. Krueger and Reckless, *op. cit.* p. 175.



expression in the attempts to secure companionship and to find a mate; the reaction sought being more intimate than that of recognition. The tendency to participate is shown by efforts to take an active part in games or other activities, and also in the vicarious pleasure obtained by watching such events. Adventure and the lure of travel appeal to the desire for new experiences, which may also arise from the desire to escape monotony. The desire for security is opposed to that for new experiences and may alternate as a motivating factor. Such action as the practice of thrift and the clinging to the family may be so motivated and this factor helps to explain why any question of parentage is so disturbing to the child.

The particular manner in which any person seeks satisfaction for any wish will vary greatly from one society, or even from one social group, to another. Thus security in our society may be gained through a savings account in a bank; in a savage society by finding an area abounding in game. But in both cases the action would spring from the same motive; its expression would be controlled by the social environment. This theory allows full play to the plasticity of the human organism in adjusting, but does not make it subject to every whim of the environment in which it exists.

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## CHAPTER VII

### POPULATION PATTERNS

Nations, regions, and communities, with their distinctive culture matrix and social organization, find fundamental to their diversity the people who inhabit the land. Nor do these differences necessarily arise from race or ideology. Such factors as the number of persons per square mile, the preponderance or scarcity of old persons, young, or of small children; the distribution of men, of women, of married and unmarried; the place of residence in or out of cities; the mobility of the folk—all serve to change the tonal quality and color of the social picture, giving it character and identity.

When groupings of folk are treated in terms of numbers and are manipulated as statistical fact, such treatment is called population study. Cause and consequence of population trends has comparatively recently gained the name *social demography*.<sup>\*</sup> Since sociology uses statistics only as a tool for social analysis, its treatment of problems of population is more social demographic than statistical.

### FOOD, SANITATION, AND FOLK

Perhaps one of the most striking social consequences of the Industrial Revolution was its effect on population: its growth, distribution both as to sex, age, and place; and its mobility.

Pessimistic indeed was the outlook for natural increase before the days of sanitation and transportation. T. R. Malthus in 1798 after the Industrial Revolution was under-way, in his famous "An Essay on the Principle of Population as It Affects the Future Improvement of Society, with Remarks on the Speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and Other Writers," was positive that peoples always tended to outrun food supply; that whenever there was an increase in means of subsistence, there was an accompanying and out-

<sup>\*</sup> Lorimer and Osborn, *Dynamics of Population*, p. 399.

of-proportion increase in numbers to live off that subsistence unless prevented by positive checks which increased the number of deaths; or preventive checks, which reduced the number of births.

But Malthus had reckoned without the far-flung effects of economic and social changes that were finding their origin in the shift from handicraft to machine craft. He had not anticipated modern sanitation, transportation, food preservation, mobility of population, and widespread contraception with their corollaries in elimination of fatal epidemics, famines, shift of peoples to meet situations, and increasing premeditated limitation of offspring.

It has been estimated that there were about 850 million people in the world in the early 19th century, and the League of Nations 130 years later estimated that that number had increased to 2028 million. Nor had this startling increase been made without the operation of positive "checks," as Malthus called war, famine, pestilence, and other "natural" catastrophes.

In fact, in this century and a third the world had staged its greatest war plus such minor conflicts as the Civil War in the United States, the Boer War, the Franco-Prussian War, and others of like size. Besides "preventive" checks in the form of controlled births through the use of modern contraceptive measures, late marriages, increase in celibacy had come into definite account with the era of science and invention.

Lower death rates had more than kept pace with lower birth rates making for a true rate of increase large enough to build constantly the numbers inhabiting the world. Famine in the Western world was a thing of the past. Invention of means of food preservation and transportation, combined with increased production, had eliminated to a large degree the chance of peoples outrunning food. At the same time technological advancement cut the death rate drastically because improved methods of sanitation made it possible for large numbers to live in close quarters without risk of diseases carried by filth.

However, in the Eastern world Malthus' theory more nearly holds true in its prophecy. High death rate, famine,



war — positive checks in active operation have not been able to stem the growth in numbers to the point where crowding, with its social implications of the submerged individual personality, unceasing toil, extreme intensive cultivation of land, rigid institutional organization, limitation of social change, and a minimum of aesthetic development, is a thing of the past.

Edward A. Ross says of the world that "The annual growth is 1.2 per cent, which means a doubling every sixty or seventy years. Keep this up and at a date no more distant from us than is the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, humanity may with perfect justification hang out on our planet the sign 'Standing Room Only.'" He continues with the statement that herein lies the failure of *science* and *invention* for the harnessing of natural forces and the development of labor saving devices "*have not gone to help people live better but to sustain more lives.*" \*

Whether future fact will sustain this pessimistic view or not, there seems to be no apparent reason to believe at this stage of development that there will be any great slackening of population growth in the world as a whole in the immediate future. While it is true that many countries of Western Europe are reaching a static population and that predictions of such experts as Thompson and Whelpton, Dublin, Reed, and Pearl point to a stable population in the United States within fifty years or less, it must be remembered that technology is still in its infancy in the areas of greatest density in the world. When famine becomes a thing of the past in China, India, and other eastern people-producing countries, when sanitation has reached the same stage of near-perfection there as in more "progressive" sections of the world, when production methods are "modernized," with a resultant lowering of an exceedingly high death rate, the rate of net increase in the world at large can be maintained for years to come.

Without the resources to lower the death rate materially, particularly high in infant mortality, Asia increases from eight to ten million people annually. India adds 3.4 mil-

\* E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology*, pp. 29-30. Quoted by permission of D. Appleton-Century Company.

lion; China from 4 to 4.5 million; and Japan 0.9 million. What rate could be obtained under more favorable circumstances is impossible to estimate. Certain it is that laissez-faire economy, democratic government, the individualistic philosophy of family relationship, a high standard of living in terms of Western civilization could scarcely find seed for growth where the density of population runs from 195 per square mile in India, 105-109 in China as a whole, 360-380 in China proper, 349 in the Japanese Empire and 440 in Japan proper. Nor is there any reason to believe that if the United States, with its density at 40.1 per square mile, should acquire as dense a population as Japan or China that its people would still maintain a so-called "Western standard of living," or set of "modern" institutions, or democratic social organization in the face of maximum numbers and minimum subsistence.

Overcrowding gives rise to a multitude of social and economic adaptations, but it is often difficult to determine whether some population experts consider these less or more serious than those arising from a stable population. Dire indeed are the predictions being made concerning the future of the United States, which, according to experts, will probably reach its stable population about 1956 with approximately 136 million people.\*

Out of a static situation results predicted are a change in economic structure to meet a steady, but not increasing demand for production goods; a shrinking agricultural market; an aging population since fewer children would be born to grow old. Churches might become more active with an older group dominating; government would become more conservative for the same reason; schools and universities would cease to grow and eventually would begin to decline.

However, the answer to these predictions by a more optimistic seer would point out that perhaps fewer people would use more goods per capita and thereby raise the standard of living. Agriculture might produce different products to meet a new demand. Fewer children might be better children since more emphasis would be placed on quality than

\* Thompson and Whelpton, "Population Trends in the United States," *Recent Social Trends*.

quantity. A government by older men might be more conservative, it is true, but at the same time it might be more peaceful, more efficient since it would be built on mature judgment. Innovations might be less frequent, but more wisely planned. Schools and universities might lose population, but that likewise would probably be advantageous in that "mass production" would give way to individual attention.

Like so many of the world's problems, only the actual situation when it arrives will determine its advantages and disadvantages.

Such men as Fairchild, Thompson and Whelpton, Wolf and others have brought forth the concept of optimum population, which they are attempting to define in terms of the maximum number of people in relation to resources to give them the "more abundant life." Neither too many, crowding the edge of subsistence with ill health, malnutrition, insufficient leisure; nor too few, strangling production with too little consumption would be feared if an optimum could be attained. It is interesting to note that our present situation is very like what Plato considered ideal.

#### BIRTH AND DEATH

"Survival of the fittest" has been a stereotype since the days of Darwin, and there are many who apply it in their attitude toward population growth. That is, they feel if "nature takes its course," an optimum in population both as to quality and quantity will be reached. High birth rate plus a high death rate among infants will allow the best children born to survive. Those who die are assumed to be the weaklings and not fit for survival anyhow.

Such a philosophy, of course, does not take into account the fact that survival of babies is largely a social matter rather than an hereditary one. Whether an infant can live past its first month is usually due to its own physical stamina, but whether he can survive after that first month depends almost wholly on such matters as food, cleanliness, physical care by the parent, protection from infection, from exposure, and the like. Malnutrition can wreck the best of native physical

equipment, and a severe case of "summer complaint" — food poisoning — can eliminate the strongest.

Herein lies the basis for concern among objective students of birth and death rates among infants. One of the most startling phenomenon of the modern world is the consistent decline in birth rate in most nations, and the decline has been noted to be, in most instances, among those of higher economic, social, and educational status. Obviously the "survival of the fittest" is, from the outset, a myth, since more children are born into families least able to give them care and fewer children are born into families who can give the greatest advantages in food, clothing, housing, education, and social opportunity.

The consistent decline in birth rate throughout the world would lead one to speculate on the eventual elimination of the human race. Some nations have taken this so seriously that encouragement to produce large families has been offered in the form of subsidy. This has been done in Germany and Italy. Recently France, with her almost stable population, has outlawed birth control information in an attempt to raise its reproductive rate. Considering present events,\* one is inclined to suspect that not a better society but a better war machine is back of this population policy.

Actual figures on birth rates in some of the civilized nations where such data is available paint a vivid picture of the decline in children born. Sweden, one of the most intelligent of nations, has had a decline since 1750 from a rate of 35.10 per 1000 population, to 27.00 per 1000 in 1900, to 13.76 in 1935.

England's births have decreased from 32.3 in 1845 to 14.7 in 1935; France during the same years from 28.1 to 15.2; Germany from 36.7 to 18.9; Italy from 36.8 in 1880 to 23.1 in 1935. In the United States, for which authentic information is not available except from 1915, the decline has been from 25.1 per 1000 to 16.8 in 1935.

Some countries have maintained a high rate of births, but there is much speculation as to whether the same decrease affecting other countries will not take place in them. In other words, the same phenomenon will be experienced with

\* European countries entered war the day this was written.



its beginning at a later date. Bulgaria in 1935 had a high fertility rate of 26.2; Japan in 1931, 31.6; Poland in 1935, 26.1; Russia in 1928 when the last figures were available, 41.8; and Spain in 1935, before the recent Civil War, 25.7.\*

Accompanying the downward trend in births has been a similar trend in deaths among adults as well as infants and children. Life expectancy has been increased from 48.23 years in the United States in 1900 to 59.09 years in 1930. Ross says "The expectation of life at birth has risen to 50-67 years among the most advanced peoples, while among the backward peoples it lingers in the twenties."

Certainly it is apparent that heredity has a minimum to do with average length of life, and that science, economics, and social organization play the major roles. Where control of disease is lacking, where standard of living is pitifully low, where social organization is based on family size, birth rate is high and death rate accompanies it.

Differential fertility rates are apparent in all countries where information is available. Usually the higher the economic position, the better the social position, the fewer the children. However, China with its religion of ancestor worship, works in the reverse. Here, the higher the family status, the greater the economic security, the higher the birth rate. This is the state of affairs that Germany and Italy are attempting to accomplish.

If we grant that chances of survival, that opportunity for social participation, that cultural-intellectual attainment, in our present social order depends on the ability to buy in a money economy, it logically follows that the more children the families with economic security have, the higher the level of adjustment in the social order. However, this in no sense should be taken to mean that low economic status and minimum of education, within themselves, produce less desirable persons from an hereditary standpoint. What peoples become depends, in the main, on how they are reared; not on to whom were they born.

Not only do birth and death rates of children integrate

\* All figures used on birth rates are from Alfred J. Lotka, "Modern Trends in the Birth Rate," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1936, pp. 2-13.

with social and economic situation, but also with geographic location of families. Fewer children are born in cities, and a greater number die in infancy there than in rural areas. In fact, it is a recognized truth that cities do not reproduce themselves. In order to survive, they must import from rural areas man power to work in their industries and commerce. As Carl M. Rosenquist of the University of Texas has pointed out, the number of children in rural areas is not so much a matter of better health for children in the country as it is economic need for them. He says, "Wherever there is cotton to be picked, there will be children to pick it." Certain it is that large families are an economic asset in the country and a definite liability in the cities.

The laboring man, recently of the country, carries into his city living the pattern of rural reproduction, and it is in his group that the largest families of the urban areas are found.

Since sufficiency of a nation depends upon the quality of people it produces, the obvious social implication in differential fertility rates between classes, economic levels, and place of residence is that the nation, the region, and the community must take on the responsibility of making participation in culture more nearly equal for those children produced in homes of limited opportunity. Cities have taken this into account with their public recreation, city health work, public school curriculum, libraries, and other public advantages made available to those of limited income. It is a social necessity that these same opportunities for cultural adequacy be brought to rural sections of nations.

Particularly true is this in the United States where the child-producing sections are the poorest in economic goods both because they are supported by agricultural production, a depressed industry, and because of the preponderance of children in proportion to those in productive age groups.

#### AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION

Distribution of folk by age and sex within a given nation, region or community plays an important social role. Its effect is felt in every institution whether it be marriage and the family, the economic structure, governmental action,

school attendance or religious participation, and extends its modifications into the less tangible realms of culture such as attitudes, folkways, and *mores*.

When a nation or a region is young, when there is still a physical frontier to be conquered, where flexibility is a necessary attribute, where there is rapid social change, there will be found a preponderance of youth and young middle aged, a higher proportion of males than females, fewer children than those in the productive age group, 15-45, and few aged who find it difficult to withstand the rigors of hard living.

As the area becomes more settled, as agriculture takes the place of exploitation of natural resources, as security for homes becomes more possible, women increase in numbers, marriages take place, children are born, and the population matrix changes to meet a changed social world and at the same time has its part in bringing about those changes. The frontier gives way to a pioneer pattern of land settlement and cultivation.

Small trading posts of frontier days become centers of economic and social activity and the city comes into being. Or perhaps the city has developed as a port of entry into a new frontier as so often has been the case. It may have served as the point of distribution of peoples into a hinterland. As Vidal de la Blache says, it may have been the center where the spot of oil was dropped on the water and from which the film went farther and farther into uncharted waters until it reached the fringe of its area.

Like the rural frontier's shift into a pioneer population and economic pattern, so the city as it grows older changes its structure from a lopsided arrangement of few children, many men, proportionately fewer women, and a small number of elders to a heavy proportion of those aged 15 to 45 years, with more women than men, and with limitations still on the number of children and elders.

Frontiers draw the young men. Pioneering communities develop into a rural pattern of heavy child burden, a limited productive group delicately balanced as to age and sex, and a heavier pattern of elders. Cities tend to draw off from the country both young men and women, highest in productive powers, both economic and physiological.

Emigration and immigration throw off balance the distribution of the population in a given nation, region or state. Rural New England in the United States is a section where marriage is difficult, where conservatism is evident in its whole structure, where an appearance of having reached its zenith is apparent, because out of that geographic unit has migrated the youth to the cities leaving behind the elders to fight the rigors of agricultural production in an unfavorable climate.

Immigration into a new country, such as Alaska, or California during the gold rush, or Texas in its early settlement, brings in a high proportion of young men, vigorous in attitude and action, inclined to take the law in their own hands with an "eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" as their legal philosophy, with exploitation of nature as their economics, with unrest as their personality problem, since there are no stabilizing ties. Immigration from Europe into the United States brought in a larger proportion of young males than of females. True that is whether it was immigration from Europe or Asia.

Migration from country to city has changed the urban pattern in many instances. Cities where males predominate because of industrial demand are in existence, but as a general rule, more women than men are found in cities, probably because it is easier for women to gain a living single in a city than in rural areas.

A clearer understanding of the social significance of age and sex can be gained if the United States and its component regions are examined. Northeast and Middle West are the industrial sections of the nation. They are the urban centers of the country. Their need is for workers, young and vigorous, not necessarily skilled but always available. Hence within the three hundred years of the nation, these two regions have shifted from a distribution of population from that of the rural pattern, still in existence in the Southeast, Southwest, and Northwest, to an urban matrix.

With the change from agriculture to industry, these two regions have drawn off from others large proportions of producers, many women so that they outnumber men in numerous cities, and with this concentration of production power



has gone into those regions the money wealth of the nation. Out of this money wealth has been created the centers of science, invention, music, literature, health, education. The cream of cultural advantage has been concentrated in regions of lowest reproductive rate, in regions which sustain themselves from generation to generation by a constant infiltration of youth. Here where population is concentrated, where cultural advantages are centralized, is the nation's hotbed of social change, the seat of innovation—both economic and social.

On the other hand, in the Southeast, Southwest, and Northwest, traditional agricultural economy and social structure still holds sway. Baby production is second only to cotton production in the Southeast and Southwest. Children and wheat and corn are chief crops of the great Northwest. Too, when the city gets too hard in competition for those who grow old in her productive process, they drift into the regions of their origin, increasing the burden of those remaining.

Unfortunately for the quality of folk in the United States, regions of highest people-production are regions of lowest income. No protective tariff has upheld the price paid the farmer for his cotton, corn, and wheat. No WPA has taken over his burden of too many workers for the job. Instead his income has steadily decreased but the number for him to support has not. He has been unable to pay taxes high enough to afford the same excellence in schools as those regions which will use his children in their production; he has been unable to furnish rural medical clinics of equal rank with those of his northern neighbor; he has been unable to buy books for rural distribution; he has not had the funds to take advantage of all the gadgets available through modern invention. His is the burden of raising the man power for the nation. His is the income on which to do it least effectively.

Still another regional problem due to peoples is discernible in the Far West, region of immigration of old to spend the declining years in the warmth of the western sun. Here is concentrated the greatest number of those past 45 years in

our nation. In this group is the source of inspiration for utopian schemes that range from \$200 per month to \$30 every Thursday. Here is the epitome of the problem of an aging population out of proportion to producers and children to replace them as they grow older.

As far as the United States is concerned, she has within her power the control of social problems arising from variation in age and sex distribution. Payment for the supply of youth that must come from the rural regions into the urban might be made in federal subsidy of institutions—families, homes, churches, schools, libraries—as a self-protective measure. The quality of folk born and raised in the end determines the quality of the nation as a whole. Regional planning in order to assure a national culture-equilibrium is the only economic policy that can be followed by the nation. Assistance to the aged in the form of pensions is already being undertaken cooperatively between states and nation.

Any consideration of our national picture, likewise, must take into account that we are a nation growing older. The decrease in birth rate, most rapid in Northeast and Middle States and Far West, has likewise come into reality in the Southeast, Southwest and Northwest, though in these latter regions the reproductive rate is still high enough to replace present population and furnish numbers for internal migration. With the aging of the nation, problems of adjustment of attitude toward older persons are upon the country. Workers today are in demand only from 15 to 45, with men past forty having difficulty in gaining employment. Government has been manned in the main by the young. Traditions and ideals have been colored by a new, young frontier to go to in case of need.

In not so many years, as the aged appear in greater proportion, industry and commerce must readjust their attitudes toward the older worker and take into account his skill, his years of service, his mature judgment as well as his speed since he will not be so easily replaced as heretofore. Government may take on more conservative trends. Attitudes will show the impact of more slowly accepted social change.

As nations grow older, sex distribution becomes more nearly equal. The rate of increase declines, with a third or less of the folk under fifteen years of age, and the elders become more numerous in proportion.

#### IMMIGRATION AND INTERNAL MIGRATION

Closely related to the problem of distribution of peoples by age and sex are those of immigration and internal migration, since the country or region left by the migrant feels the impact of his leaving as well as the country or region to which he goes.

Migration of folk is as old as man himself. Since he started his movement off the high plains of Asia, his original home according to Fairchild and others, he has kept up a constant search for new and more productive land. Since the Industrial Revolution his search has been for the equivalent of new and better land in that it has been for economic advancement in factory or commerce.

First movements of people were simple dispersions, a moving over from one location to another, but when migration became a conscious process, it arose from other forms of motivation than sheer movement for movement's sake. It became movement not *from* but a movement *to*, as Fairchild in his book on *Immigration* says. And this holds true whether it is a shift from nation to nation, such as from European countries to America, or from the Southeast region of the United States to the Northeast in search of better economic opportunity. Invasion and conquest have carried waves of peoples into new lands. Colonization has shifted the location of living of many others. And finally, immigration as it is commonly used has accounted for the change of residence base of many more.

Spain's conquest of Mexico has left an indelible print on the people of the invaded nation, and not yet has the hatred for the invader disappeared from the thinking of the native Mexican. Colonization of the North American continent brought unceasing numbers from North Europe to America, until no frontier remained to be colonized within the United States proper.

After the colonial period, the immigrants continued to come until the United States felt that governmental action in the form of legal limitation of numbers to enter must be set. Such is the movement into the country with which we are most familiar.

Colonists and immigrants leave their native heath for one of two reasons: What a new land has to offer furnishes the impetus for leaving ties, traditions, relatives, and all that goes into affection for a native land. Or, the home country makes it seem expedient for the person to leave. Early settlement of the United States was based on the need to leave, and later immigration into the country was built on a desire created by what the new country held out in promise.

Invaders, primarily male, carry with them culture traits, patterns of living, that are characteristic of the country from which they come. If a conquest of the country invaded is accomplished, soldiers remain, intermarry with natives, produce a hybrid culture, so that gradually the culture of the invaded country becomes neither that which it was before the movement into it nor that of the group who moved in. Culture cannot remain "pure" in constant association with other cultures.

Colonization, on the other hand, which is a movement of men and women for the express purpose of setting up homes, of populating the country with their stock, of exploiting its resources for the mother country, carries its culture from the homeland into the new land. To say that it remains unmodified by geography, by climate, by circumstance faced in the new world is entirely erroneous. What does occur is a modification of a dominant culture matrix in order to meet existing need but without relinquishing basic folkways and *mores* that have been transplanted.

As an example, when the English colonists arrived in this country, they were not assimilated by the Indian nor the Indian by them. To this day our laws, our customs, many of our attitudes are in the main of English origin. Contact and conflict with the Indians did bring about an adoption of Indian methods of agriculture, of Indian techniques of fighting adapted to the European weapons, and other processes of living on the frontier. But, the culture of each remained



basically different until the new American strangled out the old and left him to a cultural no-man's land of reservations, neither white American nor native Indian.

Conquest and colonization face a common problem on taking up residence in a new world. Either there must be a blending of social patterns between the invader and the invaded, or there must be the complete annihilation or isolation of the original residents of the invaded land. Too often failure of what appeared to be a successful invasion has come about because the conquering country has tried to superimpose a strange and un-understandable set of attitudes, values, *mores*, and folkways on a people who have had no experience on which to interpret the new ideology. Certainly the colonist to this country took the easy way out when he got rid of the American Indian, because had he recognized the Indian's cultural integrity, the processes of give and take would have had to be mutually accepted.

Immigration into the United States has roughly been divided into two periods: that of colonization and that of immigration after the nation had become independent and was well on its way to national maturity. The first group who came in, the colonists, brought with them and established what we are wont to call "the American" way of life. Later immigrants, often referred to as less easily assimilated and "different" from the early arrivals, had the misfortune to come into an established culture different from that to which they were accustomed. Too often the so-called North European is lauded because he cannot be told from the native American after a short stay in the nation. It should be remembered that he had a basis in experience fundamentally like that of the country to which he comes. Easy adaptation in his case should be taken as a matter of course.

The South European was faced with the double hazard to assimilation of color and culture. It was not his economic or social institutions which had served as the pattern for the United States. It was not his standard of living, of values, of morals slightly modified into which he stepped. It was literally a new world. Just as an American would more rapidly become an Englishman were he to migrate to England, so would he find it more difficult to become Italian in

thought and action. Both his color and his code would be against him.

To a less marked degree this same phenomenon takes place within the United States itself. It is much easier for a New Englander to adapt to the living of the Middle West; or for the Southeasterner to come to the Southwest, than it is for the New Englander to become Southwestern or the Middle Westerner to become a Southeasterner. Everyone has known persons from different regions who constantly reiterated, "Now back home, we do so and so."

Within the United States itself there have been definite patterns of internal migration. First, was the great movement from east to west, a matter of conquering the wilderness and colonizing vast expanses of agricultural land. This was a movement led by frontier advance of traders, Indian fighters, and finally families to begin settlement. Exploitation with all its lawlessness, its open and free living, its predominately male character has been known once in not so recent times and once in fairly recent years. The Gold Rush into California furnishes a gaudy chapter in American history, and had its counterpart in the late 1920's in the oil discoveries of East Texas.

Alaska, frontier land even yet, had its first great mass movement of families into it during the depression of the 1930's when the farm colony of Matamuska was established to place on fertile land some of the "dust bowl" refugees. This, of course, followed years of male movement into Alaska for exploitation of natural resources. Truly, it looks as if the United States had begun the colonizing of its last frontier.

After the boundaries of the nation had been filled from New York to San Francisco and from Brownsville to Detroit, "go west, young man, go west," was a thing of the past. The golden opportunity seemed not to lie in land, but in wages in cities for factory production, and the American movement became country to city. So startling has been this trek of peoples, young and virile, from the country that O. E. Baker, agricultural economist for the United States Department of Agriculture, sees it as an unsolved problem portending no good to American living. The net migration from country to city in the decade from 1920 to 1930 was over 6,000,000

people, and 60 per cent of these came from the South. This decreased during the five years of the depression, 1930-1935, to 400,000.\* With the decrease in population in rural areas, Baker sees a diminishing birth rate, a lowering of quality of people, and a depletion of folk attitudes fundamentally rural, fundamentally American, fundamentally sound.

Speculation as to the effect of rural-urban migration on both the country and the city has been great. Some contend that the city draws the best and the worst from the country. Others feel that the best remain in the country, for they are the only ones able to wrest a living from the soil under highly competitive conditions. Proof that either of these contentions is correct is lacking. Certain it is, however, that it is the young producer, male and female, who leaves the country home and goes into the city to find more of the attractive things of life available there.

In the last few years, the United States has become aware of a new type of internal migration: that is, the constant migrant, the family without a home, without a community, without institutional ties. John Steinbeck in his *Grapes of Wrath* has made the country conscious of the increasing group of migratory workers, ranging east and west, north and south hunting eternally for an opportunity to work in a market crowded with their like. They, like homeless animals, range from place to place, gaining nothing from and giving nothing to the culture about them, literally peoples without a social anchor.

Migration, regardless of type, it must be remembered, is not only a matter of movement of peoples, diverse as to age and sex, but likewise a shifting of cultures. Assimilation means far more than taking up residence in a new land, whether that land be a city, a region, or a nation. It means becoming adapted to and adopting the new way of life; change of old patterns brought into the new location. It means a shift of *habitat* and of *habit*.

\* O. E. Baker, "Rural and Urban Distribution of Population in the United States," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1936, pp. 264-279. Quoted by permission of the Academy of Political Science.

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## CHAPTER VIII

### MAN'S SOCIAL HERITAGE: CULTURE

Man lives in two environments and has two means of inheritance. Both of these facts set him apart from all other animals and enable him to live as a social being.

As for environments he adjusts and adapts himself to the world of nature. But he does more; he remakes that world to a very considerable extent and in various ways; through surrounding himself with natural products which aid him in satisfying his desires and through circumventing some of the natural factors which he cannot change. Likewise, man inherits the equipment which enables him to live in these two environments in two separate and distinct ways; through the germ plasm and from the social group into which he is born. Through the germ plasm he receives those physical traits which have much to do with his success or failure in adjustment. But supplementing this physical equipment he also acquires from those who have lived before him tools, techniques, customs, ideas, values which are essential to his life. These material objects and the ideas which accompany them constitute an artificial environment which man has created for himself and to which he must adjust as surely as he must to the natural physical world. This man-made environment is what social scientists have in mind when they speak of culture.

There is no sharp line of distinction between culture and nature, or the artificial, man-made environment and the natural one. On the contrary they fade into each other by imperceptible degrees. Just as it is impossible to separate sharply the natural expression of emotion from emotional expressions taken over from culture, so is it impossible to say that at any given point the natural environment gives way to the cultural. A tree, it might be argued, is a part of the natural environment; but if the particular tree under consideration is of a variety which man has changed greatly by breeding, or has transplanted far from its native habitat, or even if man has endowed it with mystical qualities which

trees do not usually possess, as imagining it to be the abode of a spirit, then it is apparent that the thing to which man is reacting is not a natural but a man-made thing. Similarly, a stone lying in a forest is a part of nature, but the same stone, seized and used as a weapon is a tool by which man seeks to accomplish certain ends.

This brings us at once to the two sorts of culture commonly discussed: material culture, or objects, and immaterial culture, or ideas, ideals, values, and what not. But a moment's reflection will demonstrate the impossibility of maintaining any such distinction save in the broadest of terms. It is true that we have objects—things which we can feel, see, taste, hear, smell, measure, weigh and otherwise sense. But it is our ideas about such objects which give them meaning to us, which make them a part of the world in which we live. In addition to our raw perception of such objects we must attach to them some sort of notions as to their place in the scheme of things, some ideas of what we may do with or about them, of how they may affect our lives. We must define them in some fashion, no matter how tentatively, before they acquire meaning; before we have acquired them as objects.

At the very outset of any investigation of culture we must recognize that it is something which lies entirely outside the range of physical phenomena. The form, the content, and even the existence of cultures can only be deduced from the behavior to which they give rise. The term *behavior* is here used in a very broad sense to include not only ordinary acts but also the manufactured products which may result from certain series of acts and the externalization of culture through speech. Culture itself is intangible and cannot be directly apprehended even by the individuals who participate in it. The student of culture is thus in a position somewhat like that of the student of atomic physics. Both must deduce the existence and nature of things which are themselves completely outside the range of direct observation by observing the effects which they produce. . . It is clear from the foregoing that culture is essentially a socio-psychological phenomenon. It is carried in the minds of individuals and can find expression only through the medium of individuals. At the same time, it differs in numerous respects from the individual personality. While it corresponds rather closely to the ideas, emotional values, and habitual behavior patterns which make up the bulk of the personality, it does not include any of the rational functions. Although culture provides the basis for his rational

activities, the actual processes of thought and reasoning are individual and not cultural. Conversely, the adherence of many individuals to a culture reinforces the strength of its ideas and values in each of them and gives these a super-individual quality. It is therefore impossible either to explain any culture completely in terms of individual psychology or to explain it without constant reference to individual psychology. In culture, society and the individual meet and each makes its own contribution.\*

It is not so much the physical nature of an object as it is the ideas which we possess about that object that is of importance for our behavior. From the point of view of the person and the social group an object is something which aids or hinders us in our seeking of satisfaction. It is what the object does or what we can do with it that makes it important. Further, the same material object may serve various functions in different, or even within one society. For example, a piece of clothing may serve to keep one warm, to please one's aesthetic tastes through its color or texture, to designate social status through its cut, color, or other attributes, to display one's conformity to the dictates of fashion, and, in an emergency may be made to serve as a bandage to cover a wound, a bag to carry other objects, a gag to prevent an enemy from calling for aid, a signal of distress, and so on. Clearly it is the function of the object, not its intrinsic nature, which is of importance from the social viewpoint.

Culture, whatever its form, whether material or immaterial in content, registers human experience. It accumulates from human interaction and is present wherever a social group is in existence. Wherever people come together and interact with one another they gather from their experience ideas, sentiments, inventions, organizations, which they pass on to their neighbors and which are used in their social life. This process has been going on as long as men have lived together, and the result is that we now have a vast accumulation of such results of interaction which is handed down from one generation to another.

\* Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 288-290. Quoted by permission of D. Appleton-Century Company.

## SOCIAL HERITAGE

Social heritage is another term that needs to be understood with precision. It is really a figure of speech taken from the vocabulary of the biologist. Physical inheritance means the passing-on from parent to offspring of certain hereditary influences that can be transmitted. The inheritance may be from an ancestor more remote than the parent, but it is transmitted by either father or mother. We speak of social heritage to emphasize this passing-on which is the essential element of biological heredity. There is, of course, a great difference between the two kinds of transmission. Physical inheritance is conveyed by the germ plasm. It is potentially present at birth, and we now know, thanks to the improvement in the microscope, that this hereditary material is carried in the chromosomes. Very recent investigations are revealing the significance of definite parts of the chromosomes as sources of particular structural traits.

Social heritage has no such mechanism of transmission. Culture is not handed on by anything that corresponds to the germ plasm. It is taught by one generation to another. It is, however, something that is passed on and that has come down to the individual from the lives of those who have lived previously. This culture, which is built into the developing individual from the first period of childhood, is taught both consciously and unconsciously by parents and other adults. The conscious process we call training, while the unconscious comes from the influence of the older person on the younger. No other term expresses so well this passing on of culture as the word *heritage*. That is why it has become a technical expression in the vocabulary of the social scientist.

No child can grow up without this contact with his elders which provides for the passing on of culture. If it were possible to keep him by himself, as it is not because of his early helplessness, such evidence as we have leads to the conviction that his life would fail to develop from lack of social contact. In the home, or the orphanage, or the substitute for parental care, the child is brought in contact with those who



already have characteristic culture. This in turn the child takes up, but not always with exactness.

Thus, as culture passes, it loses some of its earlier elements and gains new ones as a result of personal initiative. Therefore, over a long stretch of time we can see changes in the culture that is socially inherited. These changes are so slowly made sometimes that it seems as if culture were transmitted without variation, but, given time enough, slight differences appear, even in the most static society. As modern man looks backward over great distances of human evolution, the general trend of culture seems to be from a simpler to a more complex form. This means that accretions are constantly made, complicating the elements of the culture and enriching it, at least in the quantity of material, psychic, and social possessions of the group.

The term "culture" has several distinct meanings in our common vocabulary, hence it is necessary to specify the meaning in which the word is to be used in social science. In ordinary conversation the term is often used to designate those social accomplishments of which we approve and which we commonly think of as "refinements": piano playing, elegant manners, correct etiquette. But chewing tobacco is as much a part of our culture as is eating caviar. Both are gustatory habits indulged in by a minority of the population.

Culture is often confused, also, with race because of the fact that the great races of the world have differing cultures. But people of the same racial stock may, and often do, develop different cultures.

An example of this is the contrast between English culture in the eighteenth century and that found among the English colonies of North America. Even in the settlement of Massachusetts one finds two different cultures, based upon the religious separation of the Puritans and the Pilgrims. One of the causes, indeed the chief cause, of the Revolutionary War was the difference in cultural development between the Colonies and the mother country. Australia, also, was settled by English people and is still dominated by people of the same race, but the cultural attainment of Australia is vastly different from that of England. On the other hand, we have people of different races possessing the same culture.

Any American city demonstrates this. We find Africans, Chinese, Japanese, Italians, Germans, and a great many members of other nationalities, representing all the European and Asiatic and African races, and yet all sharing essentially the same culture.

Each group of people, whether tribe or nation, has its own culture which can be distinguished from those belonging to all other peoples. Thus we speak of the culture of the Russian or the Italian or the English or the American Indians. If we say *American culture* or *Swedish culture*, we mean the peculiar characteristics of each of these national groups of people. Each culture represents its own unique combination and includes the *mores*, the folkways, the practices, and the things produced as found among the Americans or Swedes. The word brings together the physical, the mental, and the social ways of living of a definite society. Thus culture contains weapons, food, houses, marriage and family life, government, moral principles, and religious beliefs. The student will recognize that when used in this fashion, culture is similar to our more popular word *civilization*. For example, German culture would be equivalent to German civilization. There is a reason, however, that explains why the social scientist does not use the more common term, civilization. Civilization has come to mean a certain sort of culture. Thus we say that primitive man was uncivilized, but it is obvious that we cannot find the most simple savage tribe without ways of living, for always there are habits, sentiments and material products, and these comprise the sociological culture. To express it differently, every group of people has in some degree those things that are characteristic of modern civilization. They may not have automobiles, but they do have means of transportation, and possibly the wheel, which is of course fundamental to the self-propelling carriage which we now call the automobile. The difference is that among simple people culture itself is simple, while with us culture is intricate, as the result of our long period of accumulation.

Culture, as used in sociological literature, refers to the ways of living, the thinking, the sentiments, the philosophy, the material products of industry—everything used by a group, whether created by it or borrowed from others or adapted

from nature. In a word, culture is the set of tools, mental as well as physical, which a group of persons uses in its struggle for a satisfactory life. Thus culture is a social universal, found among all peoples. Although it is impossible to classify culture into exclusive categories, there are certain fundamental elements which, so far as is known, appear and function wherever there are social groups. These have been classified by Frank H. Hankins under the following heads:

- Language and communication
- Practical knowledge and industrial arts
- Genetic groups and mores
- Ideas and practices regarding the nature  
of the world and man
- Ideas and practices governing private re-  
lations of individuals
- Ideas and practices governing public re-  
lations of individuals
- Art and decoration
- War and diplomacy \*

Such an analysis may be of great value as a means of breaking down a culture for purposes of study, but it should be apparent that there is a great deal of overlapping between the classes. The industrial arts will have much to do with warfare in most, though not in all, societies. The family is closely allied to the church and to the political organization.

The entire set of cultural elements are so intertwined that no one of them can be understood without a knowledge of the others. No study of the separate elements of culture found in any given society can give an understanding of that society. The relationships between the elements, what they mean in the total context, is fully as important as their mere presence. Just as water can never be understood from a study of the properties of oxygen and hydrogen as separate elements, so no society can be understood from a study of its religious life, its economic life, its educational system, etc., as separate entities. Nevertheless, in the study of culture the whole is so complex that the risk must be incurred of losing perspective by breaking this unity into elements more easily handled.

\* *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, pp. 411-412. Quoted by permission of The Macmillan Company.

## CULTURAL TRAITS

The word *culture* is too abstract to provide the definiteness we need in describing social heritage. It includes everything belonging to the people, and we need to be able to single out certain items so as to make comparisons between people of different cultures. For this purpose the word *trait* has been developed. For example, the moment we try to get a clear picture of Eskimo culture, we find that we must enumerate the various things that are characteristic of that particular group of people. We separate each element of the culture and regard this as a trait. Wissler, to whom, with other American anthropologists, we owe a clear understanding of cultural heritage, defines the trait as *a unit in tribal culture*.<sup>\*</sup> By bringing together traits that belong to any tribe we are enabled to describe its culture; by choosing one trait and comparing it with that belonging to another tribe we bring out the differences and make comparison. Trait, therefore, is an indispensable term in modern anthropology and one of great value in helping us understand the socializing process. Suppose we choose for an illustration a weapon found in some primitive tribe, let us say the bow and arrow. This same weapon we soon discover to have been common among primitive people, but we find differences in the structure of the bow and of the arrow and in the use of the bow, which permit us to fix in each tribe its characteristic weapon and manner of manipulation. We can make a similar study of the blow pipe or the war club or the spear, or any other weapon that originated among preliterate people. Our investigation has to do with traits and permits us to single out the individual items from the total mass of human experience which we call culture. The number of traits we find will depend upon the degree of complexity to which any particular culture has attained. In simple society our problem is not so difficult. That is why, in the introduction to sociology, it is necessary to put such stress upon the experiences of preliterate people. We can understand their processes better than ours because their culture is simpler and their traits less numerous.

<sup>\*</sup> Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture*, p. 50.



How difficult it is to enumerate the traits found in modern culture will be brought out if one will think over the different processes and material traditions represented by the traits connected with a dinner of the average modern man. The menu, the dishes, the tables, the chairs, the etiquette, the serving, the silverware, and the cooking comprise the great list of individual traits, although the diner takes everything for granted and is totally unconscious of the amount of tradition and conditioning his experience represents.

The cultural trait, then, is the smallest recognizable unit of a culture. The fork used on the table is an illustration. But by itself a fork is largely meaningless and useless. Its function is tied up with that of the plate, the knife, the spoon, and the other objects used at table. It is also associated with our ideas of the proper manner in which to take food. It must be handled in a certain way and used only for certain purposes at certain times. In other words, the fork, as any other cultural trait, is a part of an integrated and complex whole from which it takes its meaning.

#### CULTURAL COMPLEXES

A group of integrated traits relating to a given activity within a society is known as a *cultural complex*. Each major interest of a people will have its own cultural complex of traits nicely interwoven so as to form an harmonious whole. The activities of the Bontoc headhunters, as described by E. E. Eubanks, furnishes an excellent example of such a complex.\* Among the material traits are such objects as the *pi-nong*, or head axe, ground so as to fit the victim's neck nicely, and the *sak-o-long*, or bag, in which the head is carried. A rigid and well-observed code for the conduct of head-hunting expeditions was set up which included a challenge and its formal acceptance and a ceremony designed to predict the success of a proposed foray. The sport itself was subject to rigid rules as to the manner in which the shield, the axe, the spear and other weapons could be used for this purpose. Other definite ceremonies were used following the

\* *The Concepts of Sociology*, pp. 350-351.

event. Finally, one set of traits had to do with the "reasons" for indulging in such a dangerous pastime. These included enhancement in the eyes of the village maidens, the right to wear certain tattooed patterns and the idea that such behavior would protect from attack by enemies who must be intimidated. Here we have a set of well-defined actions and attitudes clustering about one of the major activities of this people and forming an integrated whole within the general culture pattern which describes their entire life organization. Similar patterns of behavior and ideas and objects might be worked out about major activities in our own society, as Rupert B. Vance has done in his book, *Human Factors in Cotton Culture*.

#### CULTURE PATTERNS

When we put together the cultural complexes that are characteristic of a definite group of people we have what is known as a *culture pattern*. This means that we have all the fundamental possessions of the people gathered into a unique combination. Separate complexes will all fall within a universal pattern, but the results of each group heritage will be different from the others. A culture pattern is the product of past and present experiences forming a particular collection of culture complexes. Suppose we desire to describe the culture pattern of the American Southern Negro in comparison with that of the white and limit ourselves to a discussion of family experience. Our investigation means bringing together all the cultural complexes related to family life among Negroes of the South. Marriage, courtship, industry, employment, political status, as well as houses, diet, cooking, discipline of children, religious beliefs, and many other items would have to be included. The influences that form this cultural complex would come out of both contemporary life and the past history of the Negro, also from the present and past of the white, since the nature of the complex would be in part the result of the interaction of the two races.

Just as cultural traits are combined into complexes, the

cultural complexes, in their turn, are combined into culture patterns which are more or less homogeneous wholes. As Ruth Benedict has said :

A culture, like an individual, is a more or less consistent pattern of thought and action. Within each culture there come into being characteristic purposes [values] not necessarily shared by other types of society. In obedience to these purposes, each people further and further consolidates its experience, and in proportion to the urgency of these drives the heterogeneous items of behavior take more and more congruous shape. . . . Cultures, likewise, are more than the sum of their traits. . . . This purpose selects from among the possible traits in the surrounding regions those which it can use, and discards those which it cannot. Other traits it recasts into conformity with its demands. The process of course need never be conscious during its whole course, but to overlook it in the study of the patterning of human behavior is to renounce the possibility of intelligent interpretation.\*

Out of the combination of the various trait-complexes which compose a culture pattern there arises a configuration which is unique. This configuration is based on the presence of certain traits and combinations of traits, but it is also dependent upon the manner in which these elements are combined with each other, that is, the relationships in which they are caught up.

#### THE EVOLUTION OF CULTURAL PATTERNS

Cultural patterns cannot be understood unless one recognizes their evolutionary character. It is also necessary that the meaning of their evolution be not misinterpreted. Cultural patterns do not show a continuous line of development such as we associate with the idea of constant progress. It is true that as one looks backward over a sufficient period of change the general trend toward the later complexities is unmistakable. But even this does not prove to be steady accretions, for the line of advance is often broken, sometimes retreats, and over long periods of time remains stationary. Familiarity with the facts of human history teaches the need

\* *Patterns of Culture*, pp. 46-47. Quoted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company.

of recognizing that evolution of the cultural patterns is relative, changing in its complexion according to the basis of comparison chosen by the student. This can be made clear by illustration. One of the most elaborate and careful studies of the culture of primitive peoples was made by three English authors, in the effort to correlate the economic life of the people with their social institutions.\*

In this study the cultural complexes associated with economic life were made the line of evolution, and the stages were divided into the lower hunters, the higher hunters, agriculture in the first stage, pastoral life in the first stage, agriculture in the second stage, pastoral life in the second stage, and agriculture in the third stage. These stages of culture were used as a means of classifying a multitude of primitive tribes. Then the authors investigated the government, law, family, war practices, distinctions, cannibalism, infanticide, human sacrifice, and property as they appeared in the culture of each group or tribe. It was found that the cultural patterns of the various social activities were not clearly correlated with the economic stages, although economic development appeared to be a rough index of the intellectual and organizing resources of the various tribes. Clearly, this was a study of cultural patterns, according to economic evolution.

Christopher Dawson, speaking on the life of civilization, divided human culture into four grand divisions: European, Islamic, Indian, and Chinese. Each of these was interpreted as a distinct evolution, developing characteristic cultural patterns. The author found in each cultural history three distinct periods. One was the time of growth in which the old culture dominated a new civilization. Then came the period of progress, with the old culture disintegrating as a result of changes due to progress. Finally appears social maturity, and with it a new culture establishes itself and dominates the new period of growth as the process of change starts again. The discussion shows how the cultural patterns in the four major cultural types respond to these evolutionary periods, thus providing, according to the author, a law by which we

\* L. T. Hobhouse, G. C. Wheeler, and M. Ginsberg, *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples*.



can detect the coming and going of special cultures, or, as he prefers, civilizations.\*

A very common scheme of classifying culture traits according to the history of human development yields five periods: the primitive, the ancient, the classical, the medieval, and the modern. The significance of the fact that evolution of cultural patterns changes according to the basis of comparison is brought out by the various schemes of classifying the history of American culture. American culture can be classified according to economic development or political doctrine. Cultural patterns would not appear or disappear according to the basis chosen for comparison, but the grouping of the patterns would change, as also would the characteristics of the culture combinations. In the economic field, general farming, stock-breeding, cultivation of grain and cotton, and manufacturing, trade, and transportation would provide the basis for the grouping of the cultural patterns, while in the political, perhaps the most common method of classifying our culture, we should have political parties, constitutional changes, legislation, wars, and treaties used to assemble the cultural patterns characteristic of definite periods in the growth of the American people.

The essential thing to notice regarding the evolution of culture is that it has to be an interpretation. A trait, even a culture complex, can be carefully observed and described in detail. The same precision cannot be had in tracing an evolution. For example, even if we had an American with excellent memory who had lived from the days of Columbus until now and kept his faculties alert, we should not trust his statement of the evolution of our culture as something absolutely final, because we should recognize that no single person could draw from his experience, however favorable his opportunities for contact, all that is needed to be known in order to give a complete cultural survey. Such a task is certainly too much to ask of specialists who in looking back upon past experiences must depend upon the traditions and reports, often conflicting, which happen to have been handed on. A cultural survey is an interpretation and re-

\* C. Dawson, "The Life of Civilization," *The Sociological Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, pp. 51-68.

veals in the material selected the influences of its maker's experiences.

#### ORIGIN OF TRAITS

Traits come from two sources, invention and borrowing from neighbors. An original trait represents what we now call an *invention*. It is something new in human experience and comes forth from the social environment as a means of satisfying a human need. Even when it is initiated by an individual, suggested by what seems to be an accidental variation from established practices, it is essentially a cultural product depending upon previous social experience for its persistency and its spread. Usually it is clearly and distinctly related to previous experiences and represents a superior adaptation rather than something that is entirely new. For example, although we do not know with certainty the origin of the bow, it is thought that it came from an acquaintance with a bent twig and a snare. Each of these in turn originated from earlier experiences with the snapping-back of the bent trees and with fiber suitable for use as the string of the bow. Thus one of the earliest and most original of all human inventions was probably itself an evolution from preceding knowledge.

As culture multiplies, it not only stimulates the need of new inventions but provides resources. Hence one invention makes possible another. For example, the gasoline engine, which produced the automobile, added the one thing necessary to make the airplane practical. In the same way the production of the radio has led to the talking movies.

What has been said of material traits applies equally to immaterial ones. A custom or an idea is brought into a society by a visitor or is originated by a member of the group, becomes a personal habit with him and is taken over by other members until it is the common possession of the entire membership. The origin of such behavior patterns is usually unknown, but it is possible to trace the history of some of those more recently introduced into our culture. The habit patterns associated with driving automobiles, for example, were largely matters of individual development a couple of decades ago; now they are well organized so that

if a person does not abide by the custom he is immediately made to feel social disapproval, often in the form of a blast of many horns. Our idea that horse meat is unfit for human consumption is another example of an immaterial culture trait, and, incidentally one which lessens our food supply to a very considerable extent. Still another culture trait which works against the interests of society is the custom of burying property with corpses.

#### FOLKWAYS AND MORES

Such socially approved behavior patterns are known as folkways and *mores*. Folkways are to the group what habit is to the individual; that is they are the customary ways of acting in regard to specific situations which are common in a society. Our custom of eating three meals each day is a folkway, as are our habits of hanging pictures on the walls of our homes, of introducing men to women rather than vice versa, of belonging to bridge clubs, and of wearing distinctive dress according to sex. Most of our daily activities fall into this class of unpremeditated behavior patterns which we have taken over from those about us. The folkways are the great reservoir of habits to which we go unconsciously for our daily habits. We absorb them almost as naturally as the air about us; and it is not until we observe some other person behaving in some other fashion that we ever question their fitness.

Folkways arise as personal actions which serve to increase the satisfaction of the actor. If it appears to observers that he has hit upon a way of doing a certain thing which is more satisfactory than the old way of acting; or if his action meets a new situation satisfactorily, others will imitate the new pattern; it will become a custom within the group and a new folkway has been added. Thus folkways arise in connection with two sorts of situations. A new way of doing some customary action may be brought into a group from the outside, or some member of the group may originate a new way of acting which has manifest advantages, and is taken over. But the advantages of the new way of doing things must be manifestly better from the point of view of the group if it is

to win acceptance. Ordinarily the fate of the innovator is to be laughed out of court. There would be nothing wrong, for instance, in a man wearing his coat so that it buttoned up the back, but any soul so hardy as to appear in public so dressed would be sure to meet the loud guffaws of other men. Thus the existing folkway will continue until some good reason, real or fancied, may be advanced for a change. Nevertheless, folkways do change, and fairly rapidly in our dynamic society. The use of the automobile replaced that of the horse and buggy, literally if not always figuratively, within a few years. We have developed a whole set of new folkways about our religious activities within the last few decades, including such things as gymnasias within the churches and listening to Sunday sermons while driving about the countryside.

#### MORES

Whenever an idea of social welfare attaches itself to a folkway, we have the creation of a *mos*. That is, some folkways are considered so vital to the welfare of the entire group that they are invested with ideas of right and wrong, of morality, and greater pressure is put upon the person to see that he follows the customary behavior. These are the *mores*. Just as the person takes over most of his habitual activities from the folkways, so does he take over most of his ideas of ethics from the mores. He observes behavior patterns in those with whom he is in contact, he hears such behavior either praised or condemned, and on this basis decides whether the particular act is right or wrong.

The mores differ from the folkways in that they are more likely to be concerned with immaterial aspects of culture. It will be noticed that the examples of folkways listed above, and others which will have been thought of by the student, usually have to do with specific acts or objects. But the mores quite often have to do with ideas. The belief in monogamy in our society is a *mos*, as is the belief in the sanctity of the marriage relationship, or of the Constitution of the United States, the right to possess private property, or the belief that national honor must be protected by warfare. Quite often they are reinforced with theological sanc-



tions; it is held to be a sin to act in ways not in accordance with the mores.

Mores become the foundations of codes of ethics of business and professional groups as well as of moral codes. As such they constrict the activities of these groups to a very considerable degree, but leave the person concerned free to break the code without the application of any predetermined and specific penalty. Thus, doctors have a *mos* which demands that they never reveal secrets of their patients. A doctor who was guilty of such unethical conduct would be subjected to various unofficial penalties—he might even be ostracized by his fellow practitioners—but his punishment would be spontaneous and its infliction would be left to the persons interested. Such punishment may be more severe, indeed, than a formal punishment ordained by law, but it is entirely different in character.

Usually, the offender against the mores is branded as immoral and subjected to a degree of ostracism as a form of punishment. People refuse to deal with him in the field in which he is known to have transgressed the mores, but may give him a degree of acceptance in other fields of relationships. Occasionally, however, the violator of the mores is subject to the penalty of death and this without the formality of formal group sanction. A few decades ago it was commonly recognized that the husband had an extra-legal right to take the life of any other man known to have had sexual relations with his wife; and, indeed, in some parts of the country the husband was expected to exercise this right. A little farther back in our history men were expected to fight duels when their honor had been affronted, and the man who refused to engage in this form of redress was ostracized. In both of these cases, it will be noted, the mores provided sanctions for drastic actions in fields of behavior not protected by the laws. This is one of the functions of the mores. They regulate conduct within that range between the non-moral folkways and the formally established and enforced rules of the group which take the form of laws or institutional regulations and which are referred to by Giddings as *state-ways*. Public opinion is the great power in enforcing the mores. We depend more upon the inculcation of habit

patterns consistent with the prevailing mores for conformity in this area than upon any other force. That is, the mores, like the folkways, are usually taken over without consideration of possible alternatives and need no formal coercive agency. They are universal behavior patterns, accepted uncritically by group members and followed blindly until someone introduces a conflicting pattern.

#### INSTITUTIONS

Some mores are considered of such importance to the group welfare that certain members of the group are delegated the duty of preserving and enforcing them. When this is done, we have an *institution*. An institution has been defined as a concept plus a structure. That is, an idea, doctrine, value — a notion of any sort — becomes the special concern of a group of persons, known as functionaries. It then becomes the duty of these persons to perform those acts which are commonly associated with the notion they serve, to present and to preserve and to propagate the fundamental concept around which their activities revolve. The church is an institution, of which the priests are the functionaries. The school and the teachers, the government and the officials are other illustrations. A law is an example of such a concept in an extreme form with the law-enforcement officers enacting the role of the functionaries.

Institutions grow out of the mores, but they differ from mores in that they have been rationalized whereas the mores usually have not been. Institutions have definite ways of action in known and predictable situations. Mores are more or less unconsciously held and enforced. Institutions have definite regulations for the government of their membership; mores have no such formal structure. Institutions inflict penalties for violation of their regulations; mores rely upon informal public opinion for enforcement.

Folkways, mores and institutions make up a large portion of the immaterial culture of any society. They comprise the ideas, notions and ideals which are prevalent and which furnish the members of social groups with their ways of behavior, the tools with which they seek satisfactions in their

relationships with other men. It is to the discussion of these immaterial tools that most of the remainder of this volume will be devoted.

#### DIFFUSION OF CULTURE

Although there is no reason why an invention may not appear independently in different cultural areas, and most authorities believe that this occasionally happens, it is reasonable to assume that from the beginning most cultural changes come through borrowing from those who have made original departures, so that each invention has spread widely and become integrated in various cultures of definite areas.

Since an invention represents a superior method of adjustment and contributes to human happiness, its spread through contact is inevitable. Wissler says it has the contagion of measles. As soon as people of different cultures come into contact, each borrows from the other whatever seems to be an advantage. The turkey, which has become an American diet trait for celebrating Thanksgiving and Christmas, came from the American Indian environment, as also did tobacco, which is now throughout the world one of the strongest of traits, and corn, an important cereal. While we were borrowing from the Indian he also took from us, and to him we gave firearms, alcoholic spirits, the horse, and iron utensils.

There is perhaps no better illustration of diffusion of traits in modern life than the spreading of style, because it travels two ways—geographically and from class to class. Suppose we choose, for example, a new style of winter coat for women. It may be created and presented by some famous designer of Paris. Buyers from the most fashionable stores in New York purchase from the French maker copies which are brought to America. Let us assume that they are placed in the store windows in the early Fall. Probably they are carefully observed by artists sent from less exclusive stores for the purpose of copying the newest styles on exhibit. Sometimes within so short a period as a day or two from the time they are first displayed, copies of inferior material will be made by stores that cater to a less wealthy class. Thus

starts the downward diffusion, and in the course of time the new style will be adopted even by the shop girls on the lowest wage. Meanwhile geographical distribution is taking place. Radiating from the larger cities like New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, the style will be passing to the neighboring smaller cities, and eventually it will reach even rural sections. Of course, by this time a new style wave will have started from the distributing centers and a new type of coat will be pushing the former style out of place. Again we have diffusion from class to class and from metropolitan centers onward to the most remote rural hamlet. Indeed, the rate of diffusion is in these days so rapid and so skillfully stimulated by the trade that we have not one style for the season, but several. The spread that once took months may take only weeks or even days, and a traveler starting from Boston to the Pacific Coast will find a recently introduced style rather common throughout his trip. There are many influences that tend to hasten this distribution which once went so slowly that one could find styles of the first, the second, and even the third season worn during the same period in the large cities, the smaller cities, and the small town.

Women's magazines portray monthly new designs and decidedly accelerate the pace with which style now travels. The metropolitan newspapers contain elaborate pictures of the new style, especially for their Sunday readers, while the rural weekly more simply presents changes of style for its subscribers. The influence of the movie and to a lesser extent that of the radio must not be forgotten, since they both have a part in presenting the new styles. The small-town-dweller interested in such matters is likely to know of the changes of the style long before she attempts to carry them out because a change may seem extreme and she will feel queer about introducing it until many have grown used to the idea. Modern business is so accustomed to this particular form of diffusion that were it blocked in any way both the manufacturer and the merchant would severely suffer. Change in style may mean bankruptcy to a factory that does not catch on to the new departure and quickly respond to it. In spite of the skill with which those who profit from this diffusion attempt to guide it, it sometimes



gets out of bounds and factories produce garments which they cannot sell. It is said that some years ago leading New York milliners spent large sums of money to induce actresses and other persons of prominence to wear hats for which there was no demand and succeeded in reviving a business by this deliberate scheme of bringing into style again merchandise they wished to sell.

#### THE CULTURE CENTER

In tracing cultural distribution we find in its spread a center where the culture complex is strongest and where the traits persist in most typical form. This center is the nucleus of the culture from which it permeates the surrounding area. Each individual trait also has a nucleus where it is most developed, and where it originated. This spread of culture has been likened by many authors to the circle that appears on the surface of the lake into which a pebble has been thrown. For an accurate picture one must imagine the rippling circles coming from various points simultaneously and striking against one another. The cultural center is the strategic point for the concentration of influences that establish and vitalize cultural complexes. This appears when we think of the position of London, New York, Chicago, and Paris in the modern occidental world. These places, because of favorable circumstances, draw to themselves resources that build a dominating culture while at the same time they contribute from past experiences peculiar characteristics that belong to a unique cultural combination. In New York, for example, we have contributed by geographical conditions the influence of Manhattan Island, the excellent harbor, the river system, and the concentration of railroads.

It is interesting to notice that the size of the cultural center varies with the purpose of the investigator. New York as a commuter's area has rather definite boundaries. New York as a news center extends farther out into the distances where its newspapers are commonly read. New York as a commercial center has a still greater area, nearly nationwide. Washington, in most respects a secondary city without much industry, many commuters, commercial importance, or news-

paper significance, is from the political point of view also the center of a culture that is nationwide. Thus the area of culture varies from the center according to the interest of the observer.

#### CULTURAL LAG

The term *cultural lag* is one of the most expressive of modern sociology and for it we are indebted to Professor William F. Ogburn. As the term suggests, it designates different stages in cultural development. At one point culture may go forward rapidly while at another we may find it stationary or slowly moving onward. Thus the advance of culture is very like that of the modern army, with greater advance at one point than another and with the same confusion and danger that comes when the attacking army penetrates far into the enemy territory at one point and is held back at another.

The difference in progress may come from less vigor in the pushing process or more resistance to change. Wherever experience does not immediately check up results, and wherever there is little pressure of circumstances that tend toward advancement, retardation easily comes about. In the former case the situation is much as it used to be in regard to the misinterpretation of the effect of measles on the child. Because this disease concealed its effects, since the results did not immediately follow the disease, but the injury done to the organism appeared only years later, it was thought to be practically harmless. Once it was discovered how much measles contributed to the coming of tuberculosis, medical science began to regard it as more serious. Thus it is with culture changes. If the disadvantages of habits continued from the past do not show themselves quickly, the effect of the cultural lag is apt to remain hidden. Wherever social experience responds to strategic cultural complexes, and whenever results closely follow social behavior, retardation is less likely to occur. Because common law registers legal principles of the past, the tendency of court procedure and judicial decision is toward the social lag. Hence the pressure of public opinion is constantly exerting itself as the legal traits fall behind social progress at other points. In the

seventies one of the state judges, Chief Justice Doe of the New Hampshire Supreme Court, in a few simple but revolutionary decisions influenced American court procedure everywhere by striking at some of the most irritating lags. For example, the first time that a motion was made in his court to dismiss a case because of a faulty indictment, the judge asked what the trouble was. When he was told that a word had been misspelled he told the clerk to correct it and ordered the case to proceed.\* In such a simple manner he put an end to one of the most vexing methods of delay in criminal trials and one thoroughly out of accord with modern practices.

The giving of alimony to divorced women is a striking illustration of cultural lags in the legal field. When women had no economic security outside of the family it was just that the husband who divorced his wife should pay her enough to make her future support possible. To extend this same privilege to an economically independent woman who has no children to provide for and whose living often is easier to earn after divorce than before, in cases where the notoriety has led to profitable publicity, is neither just nor socially wise.

If there were any way of checking up the effects of legal traits in the same way that we investigate the methods of industry, this cultural lag would considerably disappear. Or to express the same fact differently, the freedom of such traits as legal practices from competition and critical examination permits them to become a cultural lag.

#### CULTURE A HUMAN EXPERIENCE

Culture, whatever its form, whether material or immaterial in content, registers human behavior. It accumulates from human experience and this gives no group nor race the right to claim for itself the exclusive origin of modern culture. Wherever people come together and interact with one another they gather from their experience inventions, ideas, sentiments, and organizations to which we give the term *cultural traits*. Culture enlarges like the rolling snowball, by

\* Roscoe Pound, *The Spirit of the Common Law*, Chap. XIII.

gathering up more and more of the products of human experience and carrying them on as social heritage.

Human culture comes not from some exclusive source ; it is composed of several cultural centers in contact. Comparison may be made between these different cultural centers, but the only safe measurement is in terms of greater or less complexity rather than inferiority and superiority. The general trend is for the more complex to override the simpler. A rather pathetic instance of this is reported by Darwin in his story of the Fuegians who were taken back from England to their former habitat, where they found themselves helpless. Their residence in England had unfitted them to meet the demands of the simpler environment. Good adjustment was denied them in either country.

Although human experience, when viewed from a great stretch of time, tends toward an increasing and therefore a more complex culture, it also registers protest on the part of individuals against the burdens that come with the on-going social heritage. Men and women in the most complex civilizations attempt to retreat to a simpler way of living, while others failing to make headway in the intense competition become dissatisfied with their conditions and grow socially restless. Whether man can continue to move forward in harmony with the greater and greater complexities of culture, or whether he will recoil from the rapid pace and its responsibilities, is one of the most profound questions raised by modern civilization, to which at present no final answer can be given.



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## CHAPTER IX

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY

#### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PERSONALITY

The sociologist is concerned with the group-behavior of people in contact and he has to keep in mind that he is not dealing with a mass but with an association of persons, each having personality. His interest lies in the interplay of these people with their individual differences and general likenesses, for society becomes what it is, not as a result of the mere multiplying of units but because of the contributions of the various personalities included in its membership.

When we analyze the meaning of personality we find that it not only has significance as a basic element of social life, but that it is itself a product manufactured by the social conditions that prevail, especially during the period of its chief development, childhood. By personality we mean that which distinguishes one individual from another and denotes the special behavior which has become characteristic. Personality is composed of differences of body and psychic equipment, including both inherited mechanisms and capacity. On this hereditary foundation of physical and intellectual variations are built, as we shall see, by the process of social contact the peculiarities that mark one person from another, which we call personality.

#### DESIRE FOR ACTIVITY

Personality is not made like the rolling snowball by simply adding mass to itself with the advancing years. Personalities do not expand—they grow. Behind their growth is the impulse to activity. The individual craves action because it gives him pleasure by permitting him to satisfy his inherent impulses. Not to act means a blocking of the energy which his organism has created for discharge. From contact with things and with other people the individual receives incite-

ment to express himself in activity, and as he does so, from the day of his most aimless movements, he begins, within the limits of his inherited resources, the process of making a personality.

Very early in his career his restless activity takes on a changed meaning for he begins to develop purposes. This introduces him to a new type of conduct which is to be the chief business of his conscious acts through life. His purposeful activities start, of course, in most simple ways: perhaps he merely tries to grasp the side of his crib or cling to his mother's finger, or to draw to his mouth his brightly colored toy. In so simple a beginning starts the life process which distinguishes man.

Individuals differ greatly in dynamic capacity. Some have abounding resources for purposeful activity, some have quantities of energy but inability to direct it to specific goals, while others are inherently deficient and make relatively few or feeble responses in their contacts with physical and social experience.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRE-SCHOOL CHILD

The progress of the infant in the co-ordinations which provide him with the foundation of purposeful activity and the development of personality is exceedingly rapid. To the observer the infant's progress may seem slow, but he little understands the complicated nature of activities like walking, for instance, in the life of the child, nor can he realize what vast changes in the nervous structure are required by the new movements which the infant from time to time initiates.

If it were possible for us to have a complete knowledge of the structural changes as the cortex rapidly assumes control over activities previously under the authority of the nervous mechanism at lower levels, we could follow in detail the elaboration that takes place within the brain as it makes its rapid growth. We have to get our understanding mostly by inference based on the increase of cortex substance, which reveals the quantity of new abilities that are being incorporated in the developing personality.

We can observe individual differences at once, for no two



children are alike in the rate of development or in the complexity of their muscular achievements. Their new activities do not appear according to a set schedule, since the personality is already disclosing characteristics that spring from its individual inheritance and contacts which have provided it with stimulation.

Although there is no standard rate of development in the infant's progress toward personality, his advancement may be stated in general terms and is most impressive because it shows so much activity. At three months the baby is able to register stimulations from many sources and to adapt his behavior in response to them. For example, he hears sounds, and speaking or singing will for a moment hold his interest. His eyes can follow moving articles, touch has come to have meaning to him, and to the dismay of his mother nearly everything he touches finds its way to his mouth. While most of his arm and leg movements are still random, they are firmer and better co-ordinated than previously. He also has attained several kinds of sounds expressive of his emotions, some of which his mother has learned to interpret, thereby understanding his feelings. He is interested in people and begins to coo in recognition of members of his own household.

#### RAPID PROGRESS OF THE CHILD

It is amazing to see how much has taken place in the development of the child by one year. He is full of energy which he discharges constantly during his waking hours in response-activities. He probably stands alone and reveals impulses toward walking. His toys now do not commonly go to his mouth but are manipulated with considerable skill in movements that make use of thumb and forefinger. His memory has reached the point where he recognizes many familiar things and this memory lasts over a period of several weeks. The father who returns from an absence is now instantly recognized, while a few months before, his return required a new introduction. The child not only notices, he also imitates. Some of his sounds prophesy the coming of speech. He is beginning also to be sensitive to the attitude

of the persons about him. Besides building the basis of personality, he is to some extent revealing the characteristics that are to be his possession through life.

By two years what a change has come about! He has learned to run and walk, to undress himself, and perhaps to dress with little help. A complete catalog of his various attainments demonstrates astonishing progress in personal development. He can mark with pencils, play with dolls and toys, pile blocks, and throw a ball with considerable accuracy. He not only talks, but talks incessantly. He may even speak in complete sentences with subject, predicate, and occasionally adjective and adverbial modifiers. As a rule he knows his own name and has learned in an elemental way the meaning of numbers. His memory has increased remarkably and he is now able to recall simple events and parts of stories frequently told him.

Socially, also, he has changed. He wants to be with people, and if his impulses have been given a reasonable chance for development, he craves sympathy and affection. His reaction to people tells us that he has already acquired a considerable degree of social personality, and henceforth through life he will largely act in harmony with his present disposition and habits. His social maturity has reached such a point that we are justified in saying that already he has achieved in rough outline a personality structure which henceforth he is to fill in, as he grows in experience.

The personality of the two-year-old in contact with parents and other children is of great significance to the sociologist. First of all, we must recognize that the social behavior of the child is organically related to his efforts at adaptation. We select it as a specialized type of his self-expression because of its interest as a mark of his increasing social maturity.

The child now has a makeup of his own which has mainly resulted from the happenings of his infancy up to this period. Although he makes clear his desire for affection, along with it he shows strongly the spirit of independence which he must exercise if he is to have much personality of his own. We catch glimmerings of the conflict between him and his parents which from now on will become inevitable as the contrast between his purposes and social authority increases.

He is in contact, however, not only with his parents, who represent authority, but with an environment which provides external forces that restrict him or deny him satisfaction, and he has begun to be conscious of this fundamental relationship which requires from him adaptation or perhaps, when possible, manipulation of environment.

The emotional life of a child necessarily looms large. Much of his future happiness is at stake as he reacts to the events of coercion and restriction which so largely make up the history of his days. Fears easily originate and are often deeply anchored in the inner life. Anger, jealousy, and various kinds of self-pride tempt the child to develop inherent weakness in his social personality. His parent or nurse is likely to draw up a detailed indictment of the child's social behavior. He may show himself over-sensitive and shy or he may attempt to dominate his playmates to an extraordinary degree. Frequently he has a spirit of contrariness which drives his mother to distraction and brings quick attack from his older brother or sister. By this time he tends to express initiative or to be docile in his following of others. He may show the spirit of command with younger children and abject obedience when in the company of those older. A child of three years also may become easily suspicious and generate a morbid curiosity such as Freudian literature so profusely discusses. This unmoral little creature often acts in ways that his elders characterize as lying, stealing, and behaving with cruelty.

#### THE SOCIALIZATION OF A YOUNG CHILD

The rapid physical growth of the pre-school child puts a great strain upon his body and as a consequence in this country nearly one-third of all deaths each year are among children less than six years of age. The child runs special hazard from accident and this liability is now enormously increased by the automobile. Physical defects in children show themselves early and their correction when feasible needs to be made as soon as possible lest the personality suffer increasingly.

The brain of the pre-school child grows relatively faster

than the rest of his body. This makes the pre-school period the most significant in the entire history of the individual from the point of view of mental health. The foundations for morbid characteristics are easily laid during the first few years. It is during this time that unwholesome emotional attitudes arise and other trends begin that will eventually produce problem children and unhappy or badly adjusted adults.

During the first six years, when the character is so largely formed, the opportunity of directing its development is just as strategic for good construction as for evil. Social economy requires therefore that more attention be given to this period when the personality is so pliable, if educational effort is actually to function as a means of bringing about a better kind of society. Physicians, psychiatrists, and psychologists unite in their insistence upon a wiser use of this formative period when personality can be influenced by social conditions more deeply and with less effort than at any later time.

#### CONSERVATION OF THE CHILD

The nursery school, which undertakes to give social training to the pre-school child and to interpret to his parents the needs of the child, is a product in this country of the new understanding of the meaning of early childhood. The Federal Children's Bureau, established as part of our government, is another indication of our growing appreciation of the importance of the first years of a child's life. The emphasis which our colleges and universities put upon child training in home-preparation courses in home economics is another example of the changing public attitude toward the pre-school child. Such organizations as the American Child Health Association, the Child Study Association, child-habit clinics, and mental hygiene clinics for children are products of the new attitude toward the child.

The kindergarten represents the orthodox school program for the conservation of young childhood. Since this institution normally gets the child when he is about four it is evident that it does not begin its operation until the child's personality is already largely formed. If society is to give



justice to the little child and enable him to make the best possible use of his resources for the development of personality, efficient child-training must in some way reach down earlier than the kindergarten period. Such a program demands the training of parents.

#### PSYCHO-METRIC CLASSIFICATION

The most casual observation of children detects their differences in general intelligence. Modern child study has been greatly indebted to Alfred Binet of France for originating a method by which the development of children can be compared and their differences standardized. The famous Binet measuring scale of intelligence was worked out by its author in 1903 in an effort to find a better method than those then in vogue for diagnosing mentally deficient children. His method of mental testing was based upon an investigation of a large number of young children. The idea of going to the child to obtain insight into the early development of intelligence had already been sponsored by G. Stanley Hall of Clark University and others. As early as 1880 Hall had studied a large number of Boston kindergarten pupils in the effort to discover their mental content at the time of starting school. Similar studies of child life developed rapidly until soon there was abundant literature. Binet's measuring scale proved a decided advantage since it gave a method of comparison between children.

Interest in the scientific study of children developed rapidly in America. Since Binet's scale was based upon observation of French school children several revisions were worked out in America, more adapted to American conditions. The most widely used of these is known as the Stanford revision. This was the work of Professor Lewis A. Terman of Stanford University, and, like the pioneer scale, was based upon original observation and testing of a large number of children. Terman also added the plan of getting a ratio between the chronological age and the mental development of the child which is called the *intelligence quotient*. For example, a child whose chronological age is 10, but whose mental age, according to this method of measurement, is 7,

would be given an intelligence quotient of 70, or 30 points below normal. The symbol *I.Q.* has come to have a large place in the science of child study.

The idea of mental measurement has been carried over into many of the activities of children and even those of adults. Many kinds of scales have been developed to test different kinds of achievement. Out of this movement tests have developed for all the important phases of school work, and to some extent the same idea of a measuring scale for general intelligence has been employed in industry and in the colleges.

The wide use of methods of mental measurement must not deceive the student into thinking that psychology has developed tests of intelligence that measure with the accuracy of the yardstick or the balance. The use in the American army of specially-designed tests to measure the intelligence of the soldiers gives convincing evidence of the important influence of the social environment in determining the rating of the individual. In studying personality from the aspect of intelligence it is as difficult as from other points of view to separate that which belongs to the individual by original inheritance from that which has developed out of his resources as a result of social contact.

#### INTEGRATION OF THE SCHOOL CHILD

As soon as the child goes to school he comes under the influences that have been organized by society consciously to direct his progress. By this time he has begun to have definite characteristics which express his personality in so far as it is already formed. Although he has passed the foundation period he is still open to the influences of the school. His personality, it is true, has already been given its general outline but its inner content must now be filled in mainly as a result of the school experiences.

The child is still a long way from the goal of integration, the attainment of which will demonstrate his fitness to assume the social responsibilities of the fully matured adult. Conditioning his quest for integration are his interest and attention. Both of these belong normally to the child but are

characteristically intermittent. For the moment, his concentration may be even greater than that of the adult as the child attends to some happening so interesting that his mind is given completely to his experience, but this intensity is fleeting. Because of immaturity the child cannot for long keep his mind upon the thing at hand. As his personality hardens into shape and becomes more complete with the passing years, his power of concentration develops and reveals with increasing clearness the limits that have been set upon his capacity by inheritance.

The teacher busy with classroom routine is likely to conceive of school education in terms of subjects passed and curricula finished. From the social point of view education is essentially an attempt to direct the processes of the child in his movement toward integration and its success depends upon the measure of integration he eventually achieves. Since the testing of integration is made by social experience the purpose of education is conceived as fundamentally a social preparation for life. As we move away from the philosophy of education which made the school task exclusively intellectual, we see distinctly the tendency of present-day education to widen and socialize the training the child receives. In former years when the school did so little to influence children socially, compared with the experiences provided by the child's everyday contacts outside of school, education could afford to be bookish. Now, however, when a broader and more varied task is presented to the schools both the spirit and the content of education are necessarily changed.

Whatever the school attempts to do with the child during the first few years, nature decrees that the bodily growth must have right of way. Since personality rests, as we have seen, upon a physical basis, the first necessity of a good education must be conformity to the biological needs of the growing child. Integration of personality cannot be had by process of drill which endeavors to exercise the cortex without regard to the demands of the physical organism as a whole. This explains the growing interest in the health of the school child which is now passing out of the stage of mere physical examinations and correction of defects to a

health program that makes the conservation of the body the first consideration in an educational policy which undertakes seriously the social objectives of education.

#### ADOLESCENCE

With the appearance of adolescence the body changes and growth occurs with rapidity, resulting in a quick transformation in the social behavior of the child which surprises and baffles the teacher and the parent who have grown accustomed to dealing with the pre-adolescent. These swift changes, however, prophesy that growth will soon slow down and even stop, so that both physically and socially the individual will become relatively fixed.

With the onset of adolescence the personality is more freely expressed than previously and its deeper trends more strikingly revealed. Adolescence, however, is not merely a more adequate expression of personality trends; it is in itself an originating experience. Because of changes of structure the organism begins to respond differently to stimulations. New interests are created and the attention, as a consequence, is fixed upon a new set of experiences. Attention to the other sex normally develops and has a dominating position as the new desires emerge.

As we watch the adolescent it is evident that the original nature of the organism is exercising a determining influence upon the seasonable expression of the personality. The period of growth is soon to come to an end and with the maturity of the individual nature's emphasis switches to reproduction. If behavior could be confined to the physiological level much of the stress that now belongs to adolescence would be eliminated. There are, however, social values that must be maintained even though the individual's adjustment may temporarily become more difficult.

Society, in its effort to conserve and advance its social heritage, seeks to continue the growth process along intellectual and social lines, even if this policy, by delaying marriage, complicates adjustment of the personality by creating two opposing lines of interests. Fortunately the checks which modern culture brings upon the individuals to prevent pre-



cocious marriage and reproduction do not in the end prove hostile to the integration of the personality. Premature settling of the personality is prevented, for the purpose of integration on a much higher level even in the realm of sex.

#### ADOLESCENCE AND LIFE

In no other aspect of life can the distance between the culture of the savage and that of modern man be seen so clearly as in the greater romance and affection of the latter. This has come in large measure from sublimating and retarding adolescent sex attraction so as to permit further growth. However, it is difficult for formal education to accept the fact that adolescence is so fundamentally engaged with the interests that lead eventually to the choosing of a life mate. If the goal of social integration for the individual is kept in mind, the prevailing interest of adolescence becomes the proper expression of the individual's need. The social adjustments demanded by this appeal of the other sex are of primary importance and should at this time get recognition in the training society provides for later life.

Adolescence, however, does not merely face forward; it also points backward to earlier experiences. Because of this we often discover in the career of the adolescent social maladjustments that are due to conflicts of personality which had their start in the earlier years. Adolescence is both a period of fruit gathering and a final planting of what must be the adult harvest.

To add to the confusion of this period there is commonly a development of a new sense of independence and, unless curbed by social culture, the craving to break from early authority and to control one's own destiny. From this come the problems of management which cause many anxious moments to teachers and relatives. Here again appears a lack of concord in two opposite interests of the individual. If he is to achieve any substance of social integration he must learn to stand on his own feet and he has a right at this time to assume a high degree of self-control. Unfortunately, it is also true that in our complex society his lack of experience makes guidance necessary or he is likely to make mistakes in conduct

which cannot later be rectified and which he always will regret.

Again the evolution of culture produces a separation in the interests of the individual. He must have freedom and he must have direction. These he must combine by means of intelligent self-discipline, if he is to attain a stable, well-integrated personality. Here, as in the problem of sex-adjustment, temporary confusion permits social integration at a higher level. The individual does not gain full freedom in adolescence; but that which is temporarily denied him he receives in fuller measure when later he attains integration on a plane forbidden to those who reach a quick maturity during adolescence.

#### ADOLESCENT CONFLICT

When we delve down into the meaning of adolescent conflict we discover that it is a social product, the evidence of temporary maladjustment. This conflict frequently issues in unexpected forms such as stealing, lying, vice, and suicide. However it appears, it reflects restlessness and unhappiness. It is the bursting out of personality traits under the stimulus of a definite social situation. Since the social circumstances are so largely the creation of adults, juvenile delinquency accurately reveals the state of society as young life strikes against the construction built by the elders.

A smooth passage through adolescence is hardly to be expected in the complicated conditions of present-day life, but the amount of pathological conduct to be found among adolescents must necessarily be in inverse ratio to the sanity and wholesomeness of the environment into which through pressure of years the adolescent is forced. Much of our present trouble comes from a misplacement of values in current thinking and acting. This has been wisely expressed by Dr. Van Waters in her statement: "When in adult society the emphasis is shifted from transitory economic goals and seeking for power, to the primary biological goals of healthy childhood, juvenile delinquency will no longer be an unsolvable problem." \*

\* M. Van Waters, *Youth and Conflict*, p. 284. Quoted by permission of the New Republic.

## ADOLESCENT STRAIN AND SOCIAL PRESSURE

Adolescent strain is relative to the quality of the social culture into which the child is born. The anthropologists have in recent years gathered information regarding the childhood of preliterate peoples which shows how easily the boy and the girl in a simple society make the transition from childhood to maturity which is beset with difficulties for modern youth. There are differences in the quantity of adolescent conflict characteristic of unlike cultures because of variation in the amount of social coercion resulting from customs and conventions. To a great extent the social pressure is relative to the complexity of social experience, which explains the long-demonstrated interest of students of psychoanalysis in primitive experience. Their writings show constant desire to get from anthropology greater insight for dealing with the problems of their patients by an understanding of the thinking and practices of people of simple culture. Indeed, this interest characterizes the entire psychiatric group and there is no other body of scientists, outside the anthropological specialists, that has taken more seriously the literature that interprets primitive behavior.

Valuable as are these comparisons between relatively simple and very complex social experiences, they offer no hope that the civilized will adopt habits and attitudes characteristic of savage peoples. Any program that bears promise of reducing adolescent conflict in modern youth must be built with recognition of the existence of the social values of present-day culture and cannot borrow one element out of the total configuration of primitive ways of living. Occasionally we have advocates of coarser and simpler diet, who credit all our present physical ills to our wrong food and urge us to adopt the menu of savages. Food habits must not, however, be separated from other habits. The savage, nearly always out-of-doors, using his muscles constantly, living in rude shelters, free from competitive worries born of a highly organized industrial society, is one kind of individual, and the desk-chained city clerk hurrying back and forth in the subway from lodging to office, beset with economic uncer-

tainty, is another. Merely changing the diet will not give the second the advantages of the first.

This is equally true of social conflict among adolescents. Adolescent conflict as we now have it as a characteristic cultural experience of our time is a composite in which we find at least four major interests that demand new adjustment in the individual's life-attitude: physical sex, the effort to find a life-partner, the breaking of home ties, and a new concern regarding future vocation. The position each of these takes in any individual's adolescent experiences naturally varies from person to person, depending upon the previous social background and the present situation of the individual.

In addition to these four interests that appear in the adolescent crisis the individual also faces a considerable emotional disturbance which has a body origin. The changes in body structure that characterize puberty, especially as they have to do with a new adjustment of the endocrine glands, cause tension in more or less degree, so that the adolescent experience, even if it were entirely free from the necessity of reconstructing the behavior program, would be for many a considerable ordeal. It is doubtless true that even these physiological disturbances are magnified by the conditions of a highly civilized culture. However, nothing but the most radical revolution in our educational program at the time of puberty for the boy and especially for the girl would make possible any considerable decrease in the adolescent strain that originates from body changes.

At present there is nothing that promises the complete reversal of educational policy that would be required to permit physical interests to predominate in the educational program during puberty. The biologists have comparatively little influence upon educational practice and there appears to be on their part, as is true of the doctors also, little disposition to insist that the education of the adolescent shall be primarily concerned with the development of the body as a foundation for health and racial vigor. An educational policy absolutely committed to biological values would require freedom rather than discipline, out-door activity instead of the study of words and ideas, and the elimination of the



supervision, testing, grading, and competitive pressure characteristic of school life as the average adolescent finds it today. Such a program would mean the removal of nearly everything that the pedagogical specialist and the ordinary citizen consider education. It is doubtful, however, whether such a radical change, even if it were possible, would reduce physiological strain to the point experienced by the adolescent savage, for whatever the school conditions, modern youth would still face along many lines the complexities, tension, and speed which accompany our machine culture.

No matter how simple a culture is or how near the people live to nature, adolescence brings a degree of social strain, for it is the point of departure from the freedom of childhood to the responsibilities of adult life. Society cannot exist without prohibitions and obligations and adolescence is the time when these are felt seriously. We do not learn from the experience of the adolescent in society simpler than our own methods that we can imitate with success but we learn that we must seek the same elimination of strain, so far as possible, by policies consistent with the social values that we have inherited and developed in the complex standard that we maintain. Whatever the success of the savage in dealing with the adolescent, the cost of imitating his program becomes too great for us to contemplate, since this would mean ridding ourselves of much that makes civilization possible. Childhood freedom and adolescent policy must be tested eventually by the influences they have upon the adult who has to deal with the present-day world.

Adolescence cannot be made an isolated experience of one particular period in the growth of the individual. The only escape from strain in the passage into adult responsibility is to have meager social possession for the individual to share. Therefore, it is useless to eulogize the conditions of primitive people after the fashion of Rousseau. Progress in decreasing adolescent strain depends upon working out a saner group attitude, a lessening of unintelligent coercion, and a more reasonable educational training for life. In a period like ours we may look longingly toward those of simple culture who have a lighter adolescent burden, but the insight needed to construct an adequate program for our own problems must

be gathered by a study of contemporary experiences and we need to recognize that adolescence as well as civilization has become complex.

#### THE ADULT PERSONALITY

The adult is, as we have seen, a personality that has been formed by the experiences of life out of the substance provided by inheritance. Considered as a reacting organism man is impelled toward an integration upon the highest level of complicated reactions to the environment. It is not what is born in man or what happens to him, but the combination of heredity and environment which makes him what he is. The individual cannot shake off at will the limitations imposed upon him by nature's original gift, nor free himself from the mischievous influences of his past experiences.

Not only is he in part a social product, he is also a contributor to the social situation that helps mold himself and others. Like the most simple organism, in his social behavior he is taking in stimulations and giving out responses which in turn modify the environment from which his stimulations are received. In spite of his unrivaled attainment of power which separates him from the world of animals, he must be considered fundamentally a reacting organism. Integration is his goal, a goal he never fully attains. Desire pushes him and environment shapes him. He makes and is made by his contact with people.

Social maturity is not a mere matter of years, although this is a distinction too delicate for the law of the state to recognize. Some savages understood that there were individuals who were unfitted to take their normal responsibilities in the tribal life and out of this came the *squaw* man who was denied masculine prerogatives. Psychiatric literature is replete with illustrations of men and women who have failed in spite of their years to reach full maturity. Frequently their childishness appears in certain aspects of their lives while at other points they may be not only mature but efficient and distinguished. The significance of this adult retardation is only beginning to be felt by sociologists but those who deal with problems of guidance and of childhood adjustment have, like

the psychiatrist, been forced to recognize the social difficulties that originate in the immaturity of adults.

Maturity implies quite definitely a dependability assured not only by practice and drill, but one that is intrinsic, ingrained, expressed in terms of growth. . . Expressions of mature living are the balancing of expectation against reality, and the capacity to fit into groups; in business; in home; . . . in our allegiances as well as in our emancipation. It implies the capacity to accept illness, disappointments, bereavements, even death, and all that which is largely beyond our own control and influence; to accept our own make-up and individuality, the perfections and imperfections of self and others, success and failure, sportsmanship and the social comparisons which we call advice, criticism and authority. Finally maturity assumes a philosophy of objectivity about the past and a vision of creative opportunity for the present and the future.\*

It is especially in the emotional reactions that we see the bad effects of the childish character. Without question the adult in a modern complex society finds growing up more difficult than it would be in a simple civilization. Thus we find in adult experience difficulties of adjustment similar to those characteristic of adolescence. Practical men who attempt to manipulate social forces and to influence public decisions not only take into account this emotional immaturity but also frequently stake their success or failure upon their skill in exploiting it.

#### SENESCENCE

There is a tragic fact which each individual perceives if he lives long enough to discover it, a shadow spreading over individual social achievement. There comes a time when the progress toward integration reaches its climax and the movement turns to regression from the goal. We find nowhere in nature examples of unrestricted growth. When maturity is finally reached the end of life sets in. Senescence is not literally a return to second childhood for it has its own characteristics, but it is certainly accompanied by decreasing vitality. It is not merely that the body ages; the entire man, the reacting organism, exhibits the marks of senescence.

\* Adolph Meyer, pamphlet on *Maturity*.

This is of the utmost importance to the student of social behavior since the individual's social power very seldom reaches its maximum at the time when he attains the summit of maturity. In a simple society like that of the savage, unless recourse is had by the elders to a protective tradition or organization, such as the secret society under the dominance of old men in Australia, old age carries with it a lessening authority.

In the artificial culture of the present when power is so largely social and results from achievement which, carried on in earlier years, leaves permanent possessions and provides enormous power, in the form of wealth or reputation, the fading-away of spontaneity of adjustment with the coming of old age may not be attended by any decrease in the power of the individual to influence society and thus operate upon the behavior of others. As a result of this situation faulty social integration on the part of the group originates because the power to influence social behavior does not pass with the decrease in sensitiveness of those who have attained positions of authority.

At this point it is easy to detect a cause of social friction. Critics of society, from Plato to the present, call attention to this practical difficulty which results from lack of harmony between personal achievement and social control. Never was this problem stated with more fascinating pathos than by Barrie in his famous rectorial address at St. Andrew's University. In his insistence that the time has arrived for youth to demand a partnership in the running of the affairs of the world he echoes a passionate desire which society has long been expressing, particularly as it has emerged from sufferings due to irresponsible power, but a goal it has not yet discovered any effective means of reaching.\*

\* J. M. Barrie, *Courage*, p. 5.



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## CHAPTER X

### THE PSYCHOANALYTIC INTERPRETATION OF PERSONALITY

#### PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PSYCHIATRIC MECHANISMS

Our knowledge of personality has been greatly enlarged in recent years as a result of the analysis of human nature that has been made by psychologists and psychiatrists. The psychiatrists who have had to deal with practical problems of personality difficulty have found it of advantage to classify their findings. This has resulted in what we know as *psychiatric mechanisms*. Since the psychiatrists study personality as it functions in the social group, their material is indispensable to the sociologist in his interpretation of social experience, and the present chapter discusses the most common concepts of personality behavior that have come out of psychological and psychiatric investigation.

#### THE UNCONSCIOUS

We use the word *consciousness* to signify the experience we have when we turn our attention inward. This actually is the point where interest and attention concentrate and about it is a twilight zone of material which lies outside of the immediate awareness of the person but readily can be brought to the central point. By the *unconscious*, however, the psychiatrist means that accumulation of experience which is not under normal circumstances brought into consciousness and made the center of interest and attention. By *psychoanalysis* is meant the technic by which this reservoir of past experiences may be tapped and brought to the surface of consciousness. Hypnosis is another method by which, through suggestion, the unconscious may be forced to give up what it has concealed. In dealing with practical problems of human adjustment the value of this concept of the unconscious has been amply demonstrated. The student needs to notice that

the word *unconscious* is differently used by psychologists and psychiatrists. According to one school the unconscious, or, as they sometimes call it, the *sub-conscious*, is a source from which psychic elements arise into consciousness without apparent antecedents. This notion gets its supreme expression in the writings of Sigmund Freud. He regards the material outside of usual memory as the most important on account of the influence it has upon the personality. Elements that are deeply fixed in memory, requiring special stimulus to bring them forth to consciousness, are defined as *foreconsciousness*. That which is kept out of memory by emotional barriers that must be pushed aside by skilled technic is called the *unconscious*. It is this latter that furnishes the detached and distorted elements which, according to Freud, are found in abnormal mental stages, especially in dreams.

This concept of the unconscious is not acceptable to the majority of psychologists who consider it a sort of magical self—a wish-box from which can always be drawn any explanation of conduct in accord with the choice of the observer. Many of these critics agree with Woodworth\* in using the concept in a narrower sense for the purpose of calling attention to the fact that earlier experiences produce the roots of present conduct so that any effort to understand behavior requires digging into the individual's past in the attempt to bring again to memory conflicts and emotional reactions that have been forgotten. The theory of the unconscious has provided the mystically inclined with an opportunity to build systems of thought and explanations of behavior out of material of personal imagery with the feeling that their constructions have the sanction of science. However useful the theory of the unconscious has been as a hypothesis it has certainly led to a renaissance of mysticism.

#### LIBIDO

This is a term coined by Sigmund Freud, founder of the psychoanalytic school, one of the most brilliant of modern psychologists. As used by him, it signifies the source of the drives of life. These he considers two: self-preservation and

\* R. S. Woodworth, *Psychology*, pp. 5-8.



sex. Sex urge, on account of the inhibitions it receives from social attitudes and regulations, produces repressed wishes and these furnish largely the content of the unconscious. Adler came to a different concept, finding the urge of life in the effort to overcome feelings of inferiority, and this he named the *masculine protest*. Jung formulated the libido as a vital urge—a sort of life-energy—similar to that of the energy we study in physics. An American psychiatrist, Kempf,\* has developed still another theory of the libido, which he defined as the incentive for integration, involving the relationship of the autonomic nervous system and the emotional reaction of the person striving for survival and success.

The theory of the libido has stimulated the effort to obtain greater knowledge of human conduct, but it is clear that the term thus far is rather a label for human behavior than an explanation. It is also evident that the urges that can be found in human conduct are more than the single one of sex upon which Freud first built his system. During early infancy the struggle for self-assertion appears distinctly while most observers consider the sex elements of the Freud theory far-fetched and exaggerated. It must not be forgotten, also, that the child's efforts for self-expression are interfered with from the start by the social environment in which he finds himself and that this leads to conflict in the same way that Freud pictures sex repression.

#### AMBIVALENCE

We like to think of human attitudes as being entirely consistent. Psychiatric literature, however, abounds with illustrations which show that human reactions often consist of a mixture even of opposing trends. The love-and-hate attitude so frequently found in the child is a good example of this *ambivalence*. The little child consistently neither loves nor hates its parents but sometimes maintains an attitude which combines both hostility and affection. In adult character it is not uncommon to find oneself both attracted and repelled by an experience which is in accord with one ele-

\* E. J. Kempf, *The Autonomic Functions and the Personality*.

ment of the personality while opposed to another, an attitude which must be recognized by any serious student of human behavior.

This double emotional attitude of love and hate, of attraction and repulsion, is common enough in adult experience to make us all familiar with it. In ordinary cases the two different emotions do not persist in constant opposition, but one tends to dominate and kill off the other. The ease with which we can pass from love to hate and from hate to love discloses that whichever emotion is in ascendancy is followed closely by the other, as a shadow. In abnormal states, that is, in persons who are incapable of making good adjustment, there frequently is constant discord through the continuous clash of the contrasting emotional attitudes. Sometimes this contrast is at last settled and the person comes under the sway of love or falls into the clutches of a permanent hate. At other times the battle goes on with no final victory for either side. The inner life becomes divided as if it were possessed by two hostile spirits. In such circumstances the sufferer often develops the belief that he has become captive to an evil influence that will not permit him to become self-directing.

#### COMPLEX

The term *complex* appears often in both psychological and psychiatric literature. It designates the masterful emotional core about which cluster ideas, imagery, and persistent feeling. Complexes are products of experience, and once they are established by the same sort of process that we find working in the *conditioned reflex*, they become the nuclei of strongly organized and often-repeated responses. Falling in love is such a *complex*, and the control it has of thought and feeling, pushing aside ordinary judgment, is recognized by a multitude of proverbs found in nearly every language. Hate, into which we fall as certainly as we fall into love, is another *complex*. In the character development of Othello, Shakespeare shows us the complex of jealousy in the process of being made and lets us see the power it has to destroy love and remove all sense of justice. Psychiatrists tend to use the term *complex* in an unfavorable sense. For example, White

defines the complex as a constellation of painful ideas repressed in the unconscious. As an illustration he pictures an individual so fearful of developing habits of intemperance that he cannot discuss with calmness any problem relating to alcohol. The mere mention of the subject is sufficient to bring forth an overpowering discharge of emotion.\*

The significant element in the psychiatric definition is the repression which makes the victim utterly unknowing with reference to the origin of his strong feeling. In the field of abnormal behavior *phobias* and *obsessions* illustrate complexes developed to the highest degree.

#### CONFLICT

When a complex appears that cannot fit into the life as a whole, we have *conflict*. The individual fights his complex because it brings him pain or is contrary to his code of conduct. It may be that the conflict comes from the collision of two complexes. The individual finds himself divided in much the same way as a nation in the throes of civil war. There is persistent emotional stress which eats up energy to such a degree that the victim cannot give himself wholeheartedly to any behavior. A common cause of conflict comes from the feeling of difference between desire and achievement and the inability either to give up ambition or to attain more success. In children the harmful effect of conflict appears in delinquency, in neurotic illnesses, and in habitual daydreaming.

The more integrated the individual, the fewer the conflicts. The historian who said that Napoleon Bonaparte's chief asset was lack of conscience illustrated the weakening effect on the personality of any conflict.

The failure of the Pennsylvania system of prison reform was chiefly due to misunderstanding of the mental life of the criminals. The system was inaugurated by persons extremely sensitive to moral behavior who thought if the prisoners were given time for meditation they would feel repentant because of their misdoings; in other words, that they would develop

\* W. A. White, *Outlines of Psychiatry*, 7th ed., p. 31.

*emotional conflict.* As a matter of fact, the majority of them, because of previous experience, had ceased to have any tendency toward such conflict and the solitude imposed upon them could do nothing more than irritate them and break down their nervous stability. A few who were conscience-stricken on account of their criminal behavior did make emotional reaction, but even for these there was no advantage in exaggerating this by forcing meditation upon them. It merely created a guilt feeling leading in some instances to suicide.

Napoleon's career is not the only one that shows the advantage that comes to personal ambition from having emotional insensibility to the misfortune of others. The tender-minded persons whom Professor James described so vividly many years ago are poor candidates for any competitive stress and strain. Their victories over others in business or in any other field of endeavor often lead to emotional conflict by making them feel cruel or unjust. Such experiences the hard-hearted, or in James's words the tough-minded, take as a matter of course often actually enjoying their victory all the more because it brings hurt to others.

#### REPRESSION

We usually think of *forgetting* as a mere accident. We explain our memories by the interest we have in those experiences that we easily bring back to consciousness and assume that the mere lack of vividness explains our forgetting. This is a mistake for at times the causes of forgetting are strong and definite. We may forget, not on account of our indifference but because the experiences that we drive out of our memory are so painful that we wish to get rid of them. This process of eliminating experiences from consciousness is known as *repression*. Complexes that bring disagreeable thoughts are hounded from the memory until they seem to have no longer any relation to consciousness. The theory of *repression* assumes, however, that many of these complexes do not cease to exist merely because they do not appear to be a part of conscious memory; the unpleasant thoughts and



feelings are forced down into the deeper levels and consciousness has to be on constant guard lest the repressed ideas slip back again and obtain attention. Such a process of forgetting is a positive mental activity and one that has to continue so long as the repression persists. In hysteria and in morbid experiences, such as somnambulism, repressed ideas frequently rise again to the surface sometimes occupying, at least temporarily, the entire field of consciousness. *Repression*, although found in extreme form in the abnormal, is in milder form something so common that one can see it in simple expression in the behavior of children.

#### DISSOCIATION

Repression helps us understand the meaning of *dissociation*, one of the strangest of human experiences. We use the term *dissociation* to characterize the life that has been so broken in consciousness that we have two or more clusters of experiences that do not coalesce. For example, a man who had suffered from a recent nervous shock disappeared and though much effort was made to find where he had gone, no clue was discovered. After about a year this man, who had been living as somebody else with no memory of his former personality, came to himself suddenly with a vivid recollection of the events preceding the year in which he had been away from home but no recollection at all of his more recent experiences. He telegraphed the family and finally came home but was never able to give any explanation of how he had reached the western city where he had been living for nearly a year under a different name and in a different occupation. One of the most interesting cases of such dissociation is that of a clergyman who one morning drew some money from a bank in Providence and entered a street car. Some months later he disturbed the people with whom he was boarding in a town in Pennsylvania by suddenly awakening in the night and asking them who he was and how he got where he was. He had been keeping a small store in a Pennsylvania town but could remember nothing of the weeks during which he had been living there, while he had a clear memory for the events in Providence. Everything that had

happened to him from the time he drew the money from the bank had disappeared from his recollection.

One of the most remarkable and fascinating cases of dissociation known to science was that of a college student who developed several distinct personalities. She was studied and treated by Morton Prince, a Boston psychiatrist, and the strange history of her multiple personalities is recorded by him in his book entitled *The Unconscious*. The patient was suffering from hysteria, and her multiple selves were the result of her disease. Dr. Prince was able finally to discover what was her real self and to put an end to the dissociation which was responsible for the splitting of her consciousness. As a result, she recovered her first self which proved to be a personality not found among the various ones that Dr. Prince had come to know while the girl was under his care. There are many cases of *multiple personality* known to science. This case of Miss Beauchamp, as Dr. Prince anonymously names her, is perhaps the most complex yet studied.

#### RATIONALIZATION

Rationalization provides one way of ending *conflict*. The person who finds his conscience protesting against his conduct puts an end to the unpleasant feeling by disguising his motive, thus giving himself credit for good rather than evil intentions. Rationalization is a favorite method for the covering up of failures of social adjustment. For example, B, when he went to college, found himself so homesick and disinterested in the course he had undertaken that after a few weeks he returned to his home. His explanation, which he still gives, is that it was necessary for him to help support his family, his father being dead. His career proves, however, that this is mere rationalization. Support had been provided for the family when he entered college, and his subsequent history shows that he was unwilling to break home ties and was lacking in courage to assume self-responsibility and to meet social competition. Thus, by merely twisting the facts in his own consciousness, this individual has made his weakness seem strength. *Rationalization* shows to what extent our behavior must obtain social sanction in order to

guarantee happiness to most of us. We are unwilling to feel that we are being criticized for what is really selfish or weak conduct, and we are equally determined not to surrender our desires. We escape the dilemma by doing what we want and at the same time crediting ourselves with high motives. The product of rationalization is chiefly self-deception, for the onlooker is apt to detect the fact that we cover up to save ourselves from self-criticism.

In the study of any social relationship, the importance of rationalization has to be recognized. In the interplay of family association we find children constantly explaining their conduct by motives that illustrate rationalization. A tendency toward this appears just as soon as the child feels concerned for the opinion that others have of him. In rationalization the sociologist sees testimony of the strength of social ties. It is a rare person who does not struggle to make all his conduct square with the standards and ideals held by the society of which he is a member. Wrong policy of parents, generally chosen with a high motive, not only encourages the rationalization of children but practically forces it upon them. I was such a mother. She would turn any confession of fault by one of her children and assert that the action was good or meant to be good. She assumed that this would make them ashamed to do anything wrong but actually she held up to them standards they could not possibly meet. After a time they ceased to be honest with her, finding it impossible to make her accept things as they were, and soon two of her four children entered upon the program of willful deceit and became involved in such serious delinquency that the mother was forced to recognize their bad conduct. One of these children never attained successful social adjustment and at an early age ended life by suicide. Although rationalization is too common to be interpreted as something necessarily morbid, it is, in homeopathic form, an illustration of the misinterpretation of personal behavior that we find in the delusion of the mentally diseased.

## SUBLIMATION

Sublimation is another term frequently used by the psychiatrist. It means the turning of energy from its original channel to a by-process so that the secondary activity gets the advantage of the momentum that belongs to something more primary. The man enraged at a pestiferous lad who has escaped him runs the lawn mower as if his life depended on it, in this way getting rid of the surplus energy that was ready to be poured out on the young offender. The term *sublimation* is most used with reference to sex, though, as Allport suggests, the term is often wrongly applied to experiences that are not true sublimations, but merely attempts to accomplish the most satisfactory sex adjustment possible in the circumstances.\*

During the World War an unmarried woman of about thirty, highly sexed but unattractive to men, living near a cantonment, assumed, against the wishes of her family, the self-appointed mission of giving public talks to groups of soldiers on the risks of venereal disease and their obligation to keep pure. Her people understood as she did not that she was using the unexpected opportunity provided by war conditions to give expression to her sex interests.

*Sublimation* represents a wholesome method of dealing with *conflict*. The desire that leads toward unacceptable behavior is not repressed but made to yield an energy which enters into the dominant interest. The term is used especially to denote the blocking of primitive urges and the forcing of them to contribute to more complex behavior on a higher level. Civilization provides both the opportunity and the need of sublimation. The utilitarian and æsthetic activities are carried on by energy from such primitive drives as sex and self-preservation. Some individuals feel the strain of attempting the sublimation that our complex modern society requires, and if they fail they run risk of developing an emotional conflict.

The custom of head-hunting among many primitive peoples provides an interesting illustration of the social sublimation of a group custom. Sometimes this code of head-hunting has

\* F. H. Allport, *Social Psychology*, p. 75.



been broken down by providing athletic contests. In one case the tribute that was formerly given to the successful head-hunter is paid to the efficient hunter of game and as a consequence the young men strive to win public approval by the new test of skill.\*

Victor Branford, one of the foremost sociologists of England, finds in modern society the contrasting attitudes of the hunting and the pastoral type.† In the present-day civilization the hunter no longer satisfies his pugnacious impulses by seeking wild game in the wilderness or by primitive fighting, but rather as a soldier, as a business man, or in politics, finds opportunity to sublimate his desires for contest. Thus he becomes responsible for certain characteristics of modern life, while the pastoral type, differently driven, contributes opposing qualities.

#### FANTASY

The word *fantasy* is an indispensable term in the psychiatric vocabulary. The *complex* besides being expressed in direct action or by sublimated behavior may be satisfied by *fantasy*. In such a case the individual who finds himself unable, because of either unfavorable circumstances or inner protest, to work out the wishes that his complex prompts turns to daydreaming. He removes himself from the real world and becomes content with imagery that pictures success without any of the liabilities that come from actually working out his desires. Daydreaming is particularly common in adolescence, as a result of the new ambitions that come with the increased maturity of the child and the inability, on account of social circumstances, to bring them to a successful expression. It has long been known that daydreaming is therapeutic, helping individuals who find life too hard for them but who, if they are permitted a part of the time to live in air-castles, can endure the stress and strain of the rest of their life. On the other hand, any form of fantasy is clearly evidence of weakness in meeting the demand of social adjustment and therefore is looked upon by

\* J. B. McGovern, *Among the Head-Hunters of Formosa*, p. 119.

† Victor Branford, "Economic Roots of Evil and Ideals," *Sociological Review*, Vol. 17, No. 3, pp. 209-212.

the psychiatrist as potentially dangerous. In mental diseases we see individuals who have carried themselves so far away from the world of reality that they no longer have contact with facts. Such people have moved away from the actual world and retreated into their complex. They have ended conflicts by banishing everything that stubbornly obstructs their desires. Thus they inhabit a world of their own from which it frequently is difficult to dislodge them because its pleasantness is in sharp contrast to the harshness of reality.

It is interesting to the sociologist to notice that in social reform persons often enlist who want to sublimate conflict, and also at times individuals who seek through social agitation opportunity to build a world of fantasy. Their efforts to advance a social cause are not because of their concern for the social conditions that exist, since whatever they do for the reform itself they do to stimulate their daydreaming. They are troublesome to deal with because they are often taken seriously as social idealists and they hamper and bring into disrepute the efforts of those genuinely interested.

#### INTROVERSION, EXTROVERSION

The distinction between the *extrovert* and *introvert* has also proved of considerable utility in the discussion of human conduct. The introvert concentrates upon inner experiences and maintains a partial contact with the outside world. The extrovert does just the opposite. He scarcely sees anything but the external world and maintains the least possible inner personality. One almost entirely turns his attention outward, while the other immerses himself in his inner life. Either tendency carried to an extreme represents unwholesome and abnormal behavior and both types of persons excessively developed are to be found among the insane.

The picture the New Testament gives of Mary and Martha brings out vividly what we mean by *introversion* versus *extroversion*. Martha's concern was with the dinner that she was providing her guest, while Mary had lost all thought of her responsibilities as a hostess in her eagerness to converse with Jesus. Social experience frequently illustrates the clashing

that comes between the two types of interpreters of life. Each tends to maintain a different scale of values. For example, recently a prominent American, who was clearly an introvert, stated that the four greatest men of the century were Wilson, Mercier, Lenin, and Gandhi. Immediately another distinguished American came forth with a different list, every one of them distinctly extrovertive—Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Ford, Orville Wright, Thomas A. Edison.

A history of social experiences discloses that the prevailing culture sometimes emphasizes introversion, sometimes extroversion. For example, before the Civil War American leadership was primarily introvertive in literature and politics, and in religion. At the present time the first two, at least are extrovertive, while even religion feels the influence of an extrovertive period. The difference between Nathaniel Hawthorne and Sinclair Lewis, each a leading novelist in his period, reveals the greatness of change that has taken place, at least in the literary field. Evidences abound of extrovertive leadership in present-day modern life. Doubtless applied science has had a part in this transition. It has gone so far that in many social groups, and college may be used as an example, the introvert feels himself out of place and finds his adjustment difficult.

Even those who think that the two tendencies are inborn grant that, under proper training in childhood and youth, the extrovert can be taught to reflect and to build personal resources of judgment and appreciation, while the introvert can be given courage to meet the real world and to deal with problems without recourse to daydreaming.\* Some authorities do not believe that inheritance accounts for the trend toward extroversion or introversion, but that it is always the result of social experiences in early life.

Normally each of us is likely to tend toward the introvertive or the extrovertive way of looking at life, and it becomes a mark of wisdom not only to discover one's characteristic attitude, but also to strengthen habits that build up the opposite type of reaction. The sociologist, as an observer of human behavior, finds it useful in the analysis of human reactions to recognize the introvertive-extrovertive trends.

\* A. G. Tansley, *Psychology and Its Relation to Life*, p. 88.

## AMBIVERSION

Unfortunately for the lover of orderly classificatory arrangements not many persons fall altogether into either the introvertive or extrovertive categories. Most persons are introvertive in some of their fields of activities and extrovertive in others. For instance a man trained as a salesman may have a pronounced extrovertive manner in the store in which he works, but retire to a corner and sit silently at a social function. Generally, persons are expansive in those roles to which they are accustomed and retiring in those which are new to them. Further, there are many persons whose personalities seem to fall so near the border line between extroversion and introversion that the term ambiversion has been coined to describe them. These persons are neither aggressive nor retiring, neither blatant nor bashful. They accept situations as they arise with little comment, adjust themselves to the persons around them so that they fit in without making themselves noticeable either because of self-assertiveness or backwardness. The terms extrovertive and introvertive have been used so often during the past that it seems necessary to point out and designate a third personality group which has tended to be overlooked.

## IDENTIFICATION

In the effort to understand people the principle which the psychiatrists call *identification* proves useful. One of the characteristic human methods of reaction is to consider oneself tied up with someone else or to link some trait which belongs to oneself with a similar abstraction that concerns another. A story is told of Charles Dickens bursting into tears after finishing his description of the tragic end of one of his heroes. A parent petitioned Samuel Richardson not to allow Clarissa Harlowe to die, stating that his daughter had identified herself with the character and the doctor said it would surely kill her to read of Clarissa's death. Savage life gives numberless cases of identification of a person with something that belongs to him. For example, it is frequently thought that if a person comes into possession of an article



belonging to his enemy, he can, by mutilating the article, produce similar mutilation in the body of its owner. The principle of identification appears constantly in concrete character study.

In *The Return of the Native*, published in 1878, Thomas Hardy shows a dweller on the heath following "a practice well known on Egdon at that date, and one that is not quite extinct at the present day," when she makes a small wax doll and dresses it to represent the young woman she believes is a witch, then jabs pins into the image and holds it in the heat of the fire till it melts, as she repeats the Lord's Prayer backwards—"The incantation usual in proceedings for obtaining unhallowed assistance against an enemy." \*

The child at adolescence easily assumes *identification*. This is the true explanation of much of the hero worship of early life. In a small New England village the author once met a young teacher who had made herself ridiculous among her associates by her identification. Her habit had started by the recognition she was given in one of her classes in English in the high school. She attempted to live the life of one author after another and this particular summer identified herself with Emerson. Unfortunately, her associates catered to her behavior, some of them enjoying the joke they saw in it, while a few took the girl seriously. It was rather a painful process to reveal frankly to her the unsubstantial grounds for her identification and the danger she was incurring in attempting such imitation. Once the situation was made plain, although she was terribly hurt she responded sensibly and accepted the advice that she should, as soon as possible, change her place of teaching. Some years later report came from a city school that she was one of the most practical and efficient teachers in the system. Apparently, she had turned heroically from daydreaming to wrestling with the actual circumstances of life.

#### PROJECTION AND INTROJECTION

These two terms denote opposite reactions. In *introjection* part of the environment is dragged into the personality

\* Modern Student's Library Edition, ed. J. W. Cunliffe, pp. 360-362.

in such a way that what is external seems to be part of the make-up of the individual ; while in projection it is just the other way, feelings that belong to the inner life of the person are pushed outside and made to seem external. The chronic grouch who finds fault with everybody but himself is illustrating projection ; and the housewife who is made miserable by finding dust on the back of a picture or signs of wear on the floor has introjected her house into her life to such a degree that she suffers with it.

It is generally recognized that those who have a fault they cannot conquer themselves are extremely intolerant of the same defect in others. In such a case a complex is projected in the other individual. This is something that criminal lawyers consider as they pass upon the selection of a jury. Some years ago the police-judge of a small city was notorious for his severity toward persons brought before his court for drunkenness. His treatment of the offenders was unquestionably explained by the fact that he had never himself been able to conquer his love of intoxicants. Although partially sober always, he was never completely so. That this man, one of the hardest drinkers of his city, should have been permitted year after year to illustrate his projection was socially cruel and without defense. The history of prison literature shows the risk of projection expressing itself in penal discipline. The treatment the prisoner receives from persons who are themselves in conflict is sometimes the real explanation of the hardening we so often find among convicts.

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## CHAPTER XI

### THE SOCIAL EXPRESSIONS OF PERSONALITY

#### SOCIETY AND PERSONALITY

Personality is neither developed nor expressed in a social vacuum. The human equipment requires the presence of persons to develop its resources, and society is itself a product of the social expression of personality. From the point of view of the satisfactions that come from human contact, society represents an extension of personality. The purpose of social culture is to increase men's achievements and to multiply their satisfactions.

The advantage that the human personality has been given through social experience comes out clearly in the case of tools and inventions. The pigeon can outfly man but not when the latter uses an airship. The hawk has better vision but not when man is equipped with a telescope. The most acute of hearing among the animals are insensitive to sounds which man picks up with the radio. Each of these inventions and thousands of others extend the power of man, and what he enjoys as a result of his greater control over environment is made possible by social contact which permits his achievement, once made, to be transmitted from generation to generation.

From this point of view the function of society is to give human nature more adequate means of self-expression. Each individual personality is not confined to the limit of its physical organism but with the use of the social resources developed in the past its power is greatly magnified. More and more each person depends for his satisfactions not upon the resources of the body, but upon those powers that he possesses because of his social situation. Thus it comes about that each person has a double interest in the products of social life. To obtain a large part of his satisfactions the individual seeks human association. In addition to this gregarious pleasure that comes from being with people the

personality has to depend upon culture and social relationships for the possibility of self-expression. Personality finds through its contact with others both the motive and the means of self-expression.

#### THE SOCIALIZATION OF NEEDS

As a physical organism, man's needs are simple. He requires the satisfaction of hunger, shelter, including the protection of clothing, and, for his perpetuation, reproduction. These essential needs have all been socialized to such an extent that no one is content with merely procuring the bare necessities of physical survival. How largely the human need for nourishment has been culturized can be appreciated when one contrasts the diet of the savage with that of modern man or when one notices the behavior of the hungry animal in comparison with that even of men of the lowest scale of living in modern society.

The difference comes from the addition of psychic and social elements which enlarge the meaning of the food processes carried on by man and enrich hunger satisfaction by the addition of aesthetic values and ceremony. This extension of hunger cravings and pleasures opens up new territory for the social expression of personality. The individual who once becomes familiar with this enrichment of hunger satisfaction finds his wants surpassing those which concern only the basic needs of the body and demanding social satisfactions that have come to be for him an indispensable part of food-getting. The moment any individual is pushed back to a more meager form of hunger satisfaction than that to which he has been accustomed, at once his personality has a sense of loss and the feeling that its expression is restricted.

What is true of hunger is likewise true of shelter, clothing, and sex. In normal circumstances the attention of the individual in highly developed society is no longer confined to the physical pleasures that can be obtained from the satisfying of each of these essential needs. By this process of socializing the elemental physical needs, civilization provides opportunity for unlimited luxury. Wealth cannot increase the quantity of food needed for nourishment but it can enor-

mously multiply the kinds of food and make more expensive the conditions under which it is served. Because the essential needs, as physical satisfactions, are inherently limited, the ambitions, human rivalries, and cravings are usually concerned with the by-products of socialization.

In no realm of human activity do we find better illustration of this socialization of primary needs than in the case of sex. As compared with those of the animal the sex interests of man have become a new creation. Erotic satisfactions have been multiplied until for normal men and women the secondary values, the psychic element, condition the primary physical experience and make the latter without the former a disgust rather than a satisfaction. The extent to which human reproduction has been socialized appears when we consider how complicated sex attraction has become. This is seen in an analysis of the motives and forms of passion, or when we try to value the meaning for modern man of the word *love*. Tied up with the expansion of the erotic interests of man are a vast number of social values ranging from literature to domestic felicity.

The observer who attempts to understand human behavior soon realizes that human cravings in great quantity are stimulated, blocked, and expressed in this erotic realm, made possible by the socialization of sex. How profoundly the socialization of this elemental urge of human desire affects conduct is revealed by people from the adolescent period onward, in their interests related to romantic love. This very refinement provides new opportunity for inadequate social adjustment by adding a hazard in matrimony far greater than that possible on the level of mere physical mating and opening up innumerable chances for bitterness and disappointment which arise because of the personality's unsatisfactory self-expression.

#### ADJUSTMENT DIFFICULT AT SOCIAL LEVEL

The importance that social experience has come to have for personality, along with the difficulty man has in controlling himself as compared with his control of environment, has resulted in making the human problem of adjustment

most severe at the social level. As a reacting organism man's first business was to live. His continued presence on the earth demanded adjustment at least adequate to his physical needs for preservation and reproduction.

With reference to these necessities man from the beginning developed thought and technic most successfully. It was in this realm also that science first obtained freedom and made its most notable conquests. Physical science had the first and best opportunity to prosper and win popular approval since the advantage of science in dealing with the world of things became apparent even to those who were fundamentally hostile to the scientist when he attempted to deal with psychic and social experience after the manner of his colleagues in the physical realm.

The scientists who directed their attention to man himself thus incurred more difficulty than those who dealt with the physical realm because to a greater extent their progress encountered fixed beliefs and prejudices. Although these were established before the time when serious effort was made to understand human experience, nevertheless they were tenaciously held. Thus it came about that although willing to make use of science men were — and to a large extent still are — hostile to the idea of applying it to themselves for the purpose of getting knowledge that can make social adjustment both more adequate and easier to accomplish.

Not only has man been reluctant to study himself, but such knowledge as he has gained meets with greater resistance under the test of actual behavior than does information obtained from the field of the material sciences when applied to physical problems. In the sciences that deal directly with man there is a resistance to overcome within the personality itself because the new knowledge frequently challenges motives and desires that have become deeply entrenched within the character, while in the physical sciences outside things are controlled as a means of greater satisfaction for the man who possesses the new knowledge.

Consequently, not only has material progress been more rapid than social progress, considered in its subjective aspects, but man in his attempts to express himself becomes conscious of less success than he now experiences when he deals



with things. This is variously interpreted according to the philosophy of life held by the individual. To some all problems simmer down to exploitation by a few who have unjustly obtained social power from those who are denied their rights; while to others social retardation is merely evidence of unchanging laws in human personality that, from their viewpoint, offer a problem for which there is no solution.

The full significance of our social situation cannot be understood if one thinks abstractly of the present predicament; it is a concrete experience shared to some extent by each individual. Men and women in the present atmosphere of civilization feel constant need of more adequate social expression, and in their contacts with one another are forever conscious of these needs that arise through the interplay of human personalities; and to the degree that they feel themselves hampered, coerced, or crushed in their aspirations, they suffer the discomfort of bad adjustment.

#### THE DOUBLE TASK OF SOCIETY

Society, meaning both the culture that man has achieved and transmits and the life of persons in contact, has in dealing with each individual a double task. First of all, for its security it must act upon the personality in such a way as to attempt to mold the inner behavior to conform to the standard practices of the period. In savage society, as we shall see later, this process of bringing each person into conformity with group behavior was an indispensable function of group life. The same task has to be assumed by modern society, and to a very large extent what is called *education* is essentially this process of bringing the individual into conformity with what is supposed to be the welfare of the group as a whole.

In actual practice this attempt by other people to direct and modify his conduct often appears to the individual as coercion and antagonism. It is, as a matter of fact, an effort to force people to curb certain desires and to develop others. Distasteful as it is to the person who in the process comes to feel that his social expression is being interfered with, it is

inevitable, if social experience is to have any continuity and unifying content, since without such common substance in its behavior the social group cannot exist.

The personality is so largely a product of habits handed on as customs or of social suggestions received through contact that the task which society undertakes of leading the individual, however coercive it seems to the person concerned, is eventually in most cases successful. Each person is too nearly the product of the customs and traditions brought to him through his social contacts to be able to maintain non-conformity; and in the end, save for a very few people particularly gifted in strength of character and equal to superior independent conduct, and others deficient in good will or ability to control behavior, uniformity is in large measure achieved.

Society is more successful in forcing conformity than it is in providing for variation. Social experience, however, does not represent a goal which becomes at any time final, requiring only to be transmitted and perpetuated. Since social conditions are in constant flux, society has other needs than merely to maintain past achievements. Even if there were no deliberate changes produced by human design, accidental occurrences would call for new adaptation along various lines just as, for example, the discovery of the North American continent shattered the prevailing complexion of European civilization.

In modern society change is inevitable, rapid, and constant. If good social adjustment under such conditions is to be made there is need of encouraging individuality of adaptation as well as social conformity. This second task society has always found difficult to carry out. The group as a whole is usually under the dominance of individuals who, because of their age, social prestige, or resources, are more interested in prolonging the security of the social situation to which they have become accustomed than they are in making new and favorable adaptations. Along the lines on which the physical sciences operate new technic is more quickly and readily accepted because the habit of inertia is less strong in dealing with things than with the ways of living that have come to be accustomed expressions of personality. In spite of this,

unfamiliar reactions at times appear and by their innovation finally wreck the old and inaugurate the new. For this reason social change is seldom an orderly procedure. Since society stresses uniformity and hampers originality, the pioneer and the reformer usually meet with passionate hostility and have rough traveling. Thus we have the cultural lag\* which explains to a considerable degree the slow progress of social evolution.

At present there are influences that tend to curb man's natural conservatism with reference to social practices. The greater freedom of contact between various groups of persons as a result of modern communication, rapid travel, and the moving-about of people helps to break down excessive conservatism. Since conservatism in the individual usually increases with growing age, the prevalence of young people in modern undertakings as a result of the intense competition characteristic of modern life, particularly in industry which forces the use of individuals young enough to adapt themselves more easily to changing conditions and better able to maintain the pace, leads also to a decrease of the dominance of convention. The complexity of modern life with its multiplication of interests develops conflicting groups of people who clash against one another and prevents the excessive conservatism characteristic of past periods. It is also true that science, as it enters increasingly into the social realm, popularizes the idea of the danger of society's smothering individual initiative and merely passing on from generation to generation habits lacking adaptability.

It is easy for the student, especially if he be tempered by the attitudes and contacts of youth, to over-emphasize the progress that has been made in reducing cultural lag. Social change is still largely accidental and social leadership still faces backward. Society, as it puts its substance into the growing personality, has not yet learned how to preserve and encourage the tendency to variation and even those who seem most rebellious as they respond to coercive stimulations placed upon them soon settle into the uncritical acceptance of social customs which retard progress and menace social happiness.

\* W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change*, p. 200.

CONFLICTING MOTIVES IN SELF-EXPRESSION

Under the influence of a structural interpretation of human behavior which emphasized definite instincts, the conflict of the personality as it met with social coercion and felt the momentum of its own desires was interpreted as a struggle between opposite instinctive trends. This tended to give a false picture by making the struggle one between social and individual desires. The distinction was fictitious for in both cases the individual responded to social stimulation. It is equally true that the person, whatever his line of action, revealed motives that could be interpreted as expressions of individual desire.

Instead of making an arbitrary division within the personality and holding each behavior tendency as instinctive, we get better insight into the actual situation of the individual seeking to conform or to variate if we concentrate on the social objectives that influence his conduct. He feels impelled to social uniformity by his desire to win social esteem and become acceptable to the persons with whom he associates. His wish to have favorable relationships with those who attempt to influence his conduct is not different in character from his desire to express himself in ways unlike the prevailing conventions, since these efforts at original reactions are based upon impulses that also have been brought forth by social contact.

It is a clash not of instincts but of opposing desires, each of which has been awakened by social contact. The result of such conflict becomes a part of the growing personality until eventually he responds to one of the two types of stimulation ; even when his career develops into strong independent activity it is apt to be true that this is along only one line of his social expression. Outside the realm of a compelling interest, where he has retained his originality, he usually becomes a conformist because elsewhere his social experience has followed conventional lines and nothing peculiar has resulted from the stimulus-response activities of his personality. This explains why individuals, who have been particularly successful in advancing society at some special point in spite of cultural lag, become obstructionists in their attempt to



prevent innovators at other points from pushing forward the skirmish line of social achievement.

## THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF PERSONALITY

### 1. *INDIFFERENCE*

Since the study of personality in its social expressions is of considerable value in understanding and getting on with people, and as fascinating as profitable, it is surprising that education has not made greater use of this interest. For the sociologist, especially, the effort to interpret social behavior as we find it in individuals is essential if the dynamic point of view is to be maintained. Therefore it is surprising that even the social scientists so frequently fail to establish their discussions on the foundation of social expression of personality.

### 2. *THE MEANING OF PERSONALITY*

A cursory examination of psychological literature shows the different uses of the word *personality*. However, as Garrett says, to most psychologists the word probably signifies the individual's characteristic reaction to social situations.\* In this chapter it is used in this sense. Primarily it is habit-life built upon the person's original inheritance and physical organization by the experiences that have come from his social environment. Thus it is essentially what Professor James meant when he said that the *self* was a bundle of habits.

Every personality is unique, but the process of growth is the same in each individual. This environment from which come influences that shape personality must not be interpreted narrowly. It is physical as well as social, so that conditions that affect the physiology of the body also operate on the personality itself. The environmental factors that chiefly concern the sociologist come from the field of human association. For the most part these have the more deter-

\* H. E. Garrett, "Personality and Habit Organization," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. XXI, No. 3, p. 216.

mining power over the making of the person. For convenience we speak of *moral, intellectual, emotional* and other types of character, but all of these are really specific aspects of the individual's social personality. We make the distinction because we need to emphasize for the moment some definite type of social reaction.

In our description of personality we commonly try to convey the impression which the person makes upon us; thus we speak of strong and of weak personalities, of attracting and repelling people. It does not always follow that what we call *strong* means the same thing to others, for our judgment is frequently colored by our own personality habits. Nevertheless, in every community, as well as in past history, there is proof that some individuals dominate and win respect by their personal characteristics while others make no impression at all, or always put themselves in a doubtful or suspicious position. Science has not yet reached the point where it can deal justly with these peculiarities of personal relationship, but in recent years through character analysis we have acquired information of value that partly explains the problem.

### 3. FALSE IDEAS OF PERSONALITY

From the relative neglect of the study of personality, erroneous views have developed and are widely held even among men and women of intelligence. In the United States during the decade 1840-1850 there was an intense interest in the idea of judging character by the shape of the skull. During its vogue itinerant "professors" reaped a fat harvest by going from town to town "reading heads." The belief in this method of character analysis was firmly held by a considerable number, including many notables, in spite of the effort of scientists to show up the falseness of its premises. In the effort to get the facts, as a result of the controversy phrenology provoked, the science of neurology discovered the significance of definite portions of the cortex in relation to certain functions of mind and body. It was found, of course, that no such correspondence of brain and skull existed as the head-readers assumed and that the brain surface revealed not

the characteristic virtues and vices of personality but merely locations where such activities as speech, hearing, memory, and the like received nervous control. Despite *phrenology's* present lack of standing among scientists anywhere, it still lingers as a popular belief and is accepted by some whose educational opportunities might be expected to protect them from such a superstition. Even successful business men have taken seriously the notion that on the basis of general appearance, shape of head, color of eyes and hair, and handwriting the characteristics of a personality could be so well interpreted as to permit an employer to choose from several candidates the one best qualified to do a particular line of work.

Persons of experience and good judgment can, it is true, often detect from the total appearance of an individual considerable information which may, in some cases, prove a good index in judging candidates for definite positions; but mere surface indications of personality are too precarious a basis for judgment to be taken seriously. When we discover a personality in action, however, we begin at once to get insight into the inner life. The moment it begins to reveal itself socially, significant information is given the observer as to education, social background, habits, attitudes, energy, and a host of other characteristics which have real value in deciding the fitness of a person for a special undertaking.

#### 4. *THE INTERPLAY OF PERSONALITIES*

Although we are all constantly making judgments regarding other personalities, there is no place where prejudice is so likely to show itself. Every individual we meet begins at once to stimulate our own personality and to act upon us in such a way as to bring forth both favorable and unfavorable attitudes. Sometimes these responses are so deeply sunk in our personality at its earlier levels that we cannot tell whence our attitudes come. We are sensitive to the reaction, but we do not know its source. This causes us to react to the personality, not according to its actual character, but in accord with the feeling we have connected with the experience it has stimulated into social expression. As a conse-

quence it is easy for us to be drawn toward or away from a stranger because of a reaction which his character may not at all justify.

#### INTEREST IN CHARACTER ANALYSIS

The interest in character analysis has not been confined to the psychologist, the psychiatrist, and the sociologist, for in history, biography, and literary criticisms it is easy to detect the influence of the sciences that deal with personality. The effort to discover the personality and social background of those who have had a dominant place in human affairs is one of the invigorating influences in recent history. Biography has ceased to be a mere eulogy or attack, and attempts more and more to analyze situations and personal traits. The first book to make full use of recent psychiatric material was Professor R. V. Harlow's *Samuel Adams, Promoter of the American Revolution*, a study in psychology and politics. The influence of scientific study of character shows itself constantly in criticisms of literary creations, in novels and plays, and even in poetry there are indications of the interest of authors in the recent work of the scientist in interpreting the social environment which has the larger part in the formation of personality traits.

That this attempt at character analysis begets an objective knowledge of personality is of the greatest importance to the sociologist. The same point of view that the historian and the biographer bring to their task is required by the sociologist when he attempts to investigate modern society. The student will find the following articles interesting illustrations of this recent application of the scientific analysis of personality:

"Some Applications of the Inferiority Complex to Pluralistic Behavior,"

Lorine Pruette, *Psychoanalytic Review*, Vol. IX, No. 1.

"Charles Darwin—The Affective Sources of His Inspiration and Anxiety Neurosis," Edward J. Kempf, *Psychoanalytic Review*, Vol. V, No. 2.

"The Narcissism of Alexander the Great," L. P. Clark, *Psychoanalytic Review*, Vol. X, No. 1.

"A Psychologic Study of Abraham Lincoln," L. P. Clark, *Psychoanalytic Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 1.



- "A Psychological Study of Knut Hamsun's 'Hunger,'" Gregory Stragnell, *Psychoanalytic Review*, Vol. IX, No. 2.
- "Ibsen's 'Peer Gynt' : A Psychoanalytic Study," Harold Jeffreys, *Psychoanalytic Review*, Vol. XI, No. 4.
- "The Psychopathology of Drinking Songs : A Study of the Content of the 'Normal' Unconscious," Weston La Barre, *Psychiatry*, Vol. II, No. 2, May, 1939.
- "Jean Paul Friedrich Richter : A Psychoanalytic Portraiture," Paul C. Squires, *The Psychoanalytic Review*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, April, 1939.

#### PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

A recent concept of value to the student of personality is that of social distance, which is used to signify the degree of contact between individuals, and the social attitudes that result from their association. In social distance the characteristics of individual personality show themselves and reveal some of the life history that has influenced the forming of the character. Childhood happenings and later intense emotional experiences have much to do with the habits of distance expressed by the personality. In social distance the person reacts to others according to his subjective attitudes. These change with new circumstances and perhaps the "distant" or reserved person in a social gathering, once "the ice has been broken," becomes excessively sociable.

The effect of alcohol in breaking down barriers in personal contacts has long been recognized and this accounts in part for its vogue. It has appealed especially to those persons who have felt "shut-in."

Distance measures the influence of persons on each other in their relationships. The customs that originate from the mingling of different classes and races reveal the importance of distance as a method of control of individual conduct, and the ease with which it becomes conventional.

#### SOCIAL DISTANCE AND OCCUPATION

A forceful illustration of conventional attitudes expressed in social distance is found in the individual reaction to vocations. A recent study of the attitude of students at the University of Southern California toward persons in various

occupations brings this out with clearness. The following questions were asked of 861 students :

1. Would you marry a person engaged in one of the following occupations?
2. Would you admit such a person to your club?
3. Would you admit as a class to your street as neighbors?
4. Would you admit as a class to your church or religious belief?
5. Would you admit to voting citizenship in your country?
6. Would you permit as visitors only to your country?
7. Would you exclude from your country?

Thirty different occupations and professions were referred to in the classification. Little distance was shown toward the teacher, the doctor, and the lawyer while in contrast the dope-seller, the bootlegger, the hobo, and the fortune-teller were given great distance. The day laborer, the factory worker, the servant, and the waiter, representing menial service, were classified in the fifth place, thus recognizing the need of their presence and a willingness to permit them to have at least a legal citizenship. The study shows the similarity of feeling with reference to the well-established professions, with the exception of the clergyman, as well as toward antisocial classes such as the dope-seller. Toward the clergyman there was, on the part of the law and the commerce students, a recognition of a changed attitude suggesting that the ministry of late has been losing status. On the other hand, there was evidence of an improved status for the aviator, partly accounted for by the interest in recent ocean flights, especially that of Colonel Lindbergh. The conclusion of this study is that social distance is in proportion to social differences.\*

#### SOCIAL DISTANCE AND BACKGROUND

Another study carried on at the University of Southern California reveals how the social background influences the feeling of difference which makes for social distance. This study was made to discover the contrast in the attitudes of lawyers and social workers. Although these two professional

\* Forrest Wilkinson, "Social Distance Between Occupations," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. 13, No. 3, p. 234.

groups are constantly dealing with the same sort of problems, there is commonly among the individuals of each group a feeling of distance toward the other which even amounts to distrust. The explanation comes from the different training, unlike purposes, dissimilar codes of ethics, and opposite objectives. One has been trained to think in legal terms while the other is sensitive to social situations; one has come to have confidence in the force of law while the other seeks to bring about changes by the re-education of the personality; with the lawyer, obligation ceases with the winning of the case, while, with the social worker, it is concluded only when adjustment has been brought about or every resource has been tried. This study serves as an example of the way in which any special training or life-objective produces attitudes which make some persons near and others far away. The same results come from membership in a party or a church, or even, as our history shows, by being an inhabitant of a certain region. This tendency to construct barriers illustrates the source of the prejudices which arise from personal experiences.

#### INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN REACTION

Within any group the individual members respond differently to the same cultural conditions. These differences in individual reactions are as significant as racial dissimilarity although less noticeable because they are not related to noticeable physical peculiarities, such as mark racial separation. These variations in response to stimulation are expressions of personality and are doubtless partially based on organic characteristics, especially differences in nervous structure.

It is not difficult in dealing with children, especially in school, to detect definite groupings of persons with regard to their reactions, and it behooves parents, teachers, and administrators to recognize these typical variations. Adults can be classified in the same way as children but in normal persons the differences do not have the distinctiveness of reaction that is evident in children. As one would expect, these peculiarities in response to stimulation show themselves in ex-

treme form in the morbid behavior characteristic of well-defined mental diseases.

#### EXCESSIVE RESPONSE

Many persons respond to stimulus excessively. Whatever comes to their personality receives more response than the stimulus deserves. These persons who magnify normal reactions are neurotic, but they are not the only neurotic type. They show in advanced stages the characteristics of the person suffering from *hysteria*. This is a nervous disease in which no physiological involvement is discoverable. In its minor form the patient is highly excitable and nervous. He shows an exaggerated reaction to normal stimuli, and undue susceptibility, lack of control and a tendency to phantasy. There are marked motor and sensory disturbances which, in advanced cases often lead to paralysis of the limbs, muscular spasms, or loss of voice, feeling or sight. All of the symptoms may be explained on the basis of a lack of co-ordination of the mental functions.

The American as a national type has been charged with being chronically over-stimulated. One specialist has recently said that in New York everybody is over-sensitive and lacking in sleep. The two conditions go together. The good sleeper is less likely to react excessively. One of the handicaps of chronic fatigue is explosive expression because the individual controls himself for a time by effort, but the longer he does this the more fatigued he becomes until he can continue no longer and then all the reaction he has been concealing and keeping under restraint pours forth.

Lack of co-ordination is found in the type of person who reacts excessively to stimulation. One stimulus gets twice as much reaction as it should and a subsequent stimulus is robbed of what belongs to it. The individual reveals an incoherent personality. There is also a characteristic lack of judgment because the stimulus that gets too much response occupies an undeserved position in behavior and vitiates the valuation required for good discrimination. One who is always in danger of taking things too seriously necessarily lacks insight.



## DEFICIENT RESPONSE

Persons of this type attract attention at school or at play and in adult life in the ordinary occupations because they seem stubborn and irritating in their slowness in reacting. It takes an exaggerated length of time for a person in this group to get his organism moving. He is dull in apprehension because it takes him so long to see what is happening that he never catches up. By the time he gets one stimulus, several others have occurred that have made no impression. This is a shut-in type, and its extreme form is illustrated by schizophrenia or *dementia praecox* in its later development when even a fleeting attention and feeble response are almost impossible. There appears to be in people deficient in response a lack of vitality suggesting a physical and mental privation. As this form of mental disease progresses, the patient gradually loses ability to respond to external stimuli and lives almost wholly in a world of his own creation. This is the most common form of disease in state institutions for the insane, where persons so afflicted may be seen sitting quietly as if totally unconscious of their surroundings, or moving about muttering to themselves. As contact with other persons ceases, the mental functions seem gradually to cease and the personality deteriorates.

## FLUCTUATING RESPONSE

Some of our most brilliant people belong to this group, which in extreme form becomes *manic-depressive* insanity. The person is sometimes almost deficient in his responses, while at other times he is so excited he cannot be controlled. He fluctuates from too much to too little response. If observed steadily it may be noticed that he has a definite rhythm, perhaps two weeks above the line and then a week below, or a week above the line and a month below, or some other order of fluctuation marking his abnormality. Here is an exaggeration of the natural rhythm characteristic of human behavior. We all tend somewhat toward variation but this group swing up and down excessively and, instead of the natural rhythm of fatigue and vigor, manifest first no response (melancholia) and then excitement (mania).

The fluctuating individual allows an overflow of vitality; he overdraws his capital. Vitality enough to last a week is perhaps used up in the early part of one day and then appears a fatigue that retards reactions and slows down the mind. Frequently good starters, these oscillating persons always fail in execution. They are not good campaigners, but ninety-day men. Because they are up and down they are especially victims of flattery. They know they ought to be at their high level and they immediately respond with great relief to anybody who makes them feel they are at their best.

#### BLOCKING OF STIMULUS

The statement that there are individuals who habitually block stimulus is a relative description. Not all stimuli are blocked but the characteristic of this type is that from time to time some stimulus which should be received is blocked by the personality. *Psychasthenia* represents this type in the extreme. The psychasthenic symptom appears in many different sorts of ailments, but all its various expressions can be put together in one characteristic situation; the person finds life too much for him and tries in some way to protect himself from reality. The blocking has as its motive the guarding of the personality from difficulties by shutting out experience.

We all learn to select stimulation; for example, we turn our attention from a noise we cannot stop, like that of a pneumatic drill, until our consciousness no longer receives it. But the psychasthenic type of person does this constantly, not only when he should do it for protection from dangerous or annoying or unpleasant things, but to shut out stimulations that are unwelcome because of the demands they put upon him. Anything that comes to him is looked upon with suspicion and if it seems likely to jar his comfort, attack his philosophy of life, or upset his behavior, he shuts it out and denies its existence. Underneath this attitude rests an ego that is not only large but comfortably situated for the rest of life; it has taken its seat and intends to hold the throne in peace. If the world seems troublesome and likely to invade this security it is not permitted to enter.

The ordinary methods of blocking stimulation are daydreaming, reforming, and phobias. Daydreaming in the early life of the child is a play experience associated with self-deceiving but becomes to the blocker of stimulation an excessive human craving that saps mental stability so that he lives a large part of his life in fancies, shutting away reality.\*

It would be foolish to suggest that every reformer has neurotic tendencies as the basis of his crusade, but many people who are eager to interfere with others reveal that their crusading is a type of self-defense. By attacking what they would welcome for themselves if they could set free their desires, they have the pleasure of keeping company with cravings they dare not face. Thus their reforming becomes a peculiar kind of daydreaming.

There are individuals who have become so afraid of certain persons, things, or even thoughts that they develop toward them a hostility which protects from possible contact. These persons become very sensitive to suggestions that might lead to the sort of experience of which they are afraid. One of the most troublesome expressions of psychasthenia is the effort occasionally made by its victims to protect themselves by the strategy of taking the offensive against somebody else. They use one of two methods. They may be so exhausting in their demands for sympathy that they reduce all their family and friends to a sentimental slavery, or they may tyrannize by getting power over others through fear.

Some, who have arrived at positions of authority, attack persons who are subordinate to them and by that process take attention from their own troubles. History reveals many rulers of this type who used their opportunities to exercise power and treated their inferiors with extreme cruelty as a means of relieving their own feelings.

#### MISINTERPRETING STIMULUS

This type interferes with stimulus, changes it, and incorrectly interprets it. In extreme form it shows itself in *paranoia*. This is one of the strangest of all insanities and perhaps the least understood. Even though impelled toward

\* See also Green, *Psychoanalysis in the Classroom*, Chap. 1.

murder, he who suffers from this mental disease may appear, outside the one sphere of his unsound thinking, not only normal but extraordinarily keen. The jury in trials where the prisoner is supposed to be a paranoiac cannot understand a man's being so normal and still insane. Ordinary stimulations are felt and correctly recorded but certain ones are misinterpreted. The idea of persecution assumes a prominent place in the individual's reactions.

Fortunately paranoia itself is not very common but the term *paranoid tendency* now is used to describe a personality-trend of a milder sort than that symptomatic of the mental disease. If the patient is analyzed he is found to have some emotional fixation so that he distorts any suggestion which comes to him, by the springing of his complex, just as a deaf person is liable to chronic suspicion.

#### FEELINGS OF INFERIORITY

One of the impulses effective in bringing about this trend is *inferiority feeling*. Each of us is driven by the desire to have his ego expressed as favorably as possible. This is human. One psychiatrist, Adler, builds his whole system on this fact. Inferiority feeling undoubtedly explains a quantity of experience. Since it is normal for us to wish to be as important as possible, if we get the feeling that we have been crushed and cannot maintain ourselves with others, we develop a constant feeling of inferiority.

From such reactions develop those extremely sensitive people who take themselves over-seriously. Lord Byron said he could detect a gentleman because one who was not would glance at his lame foot; this showed how the poet felt about his deformity. Byron wrote poetry, as one would expect, that created a disturbance and got him talked about. In his personal behavior he advertised ostentatiously his vicious conduct, becoming the bad man of Europe. Later he enlisted in the Greek army with an egoistic desire to become a different sort of public character. He had to keep the stage because he wanted to hide that troublesome foot.\* Anyone with a serious deformity, unless he develops a wholesome

\* L. W. Dodd, *The Golden Complex*.



character, is tempted to build up a sensitive, selfish personality.

In the school and home many opportunities arise for the starting of inferiority feeling. Perhaps a childish lisp attracts attention and finally causes a sense of inferiority or the child gets the idea that in certain subjects he must always do badly and therefore is less capable than his mates. Many times he protects himself from his risk by fostering contempt for the whole school situation and putting his vitality into something else. Punishment that brings public disgrace is particularly dangerous since it so easily begins inferiority feelings.

It is important that this trend be detected in children. In any ordinary class there is likely to be a considerable number of pupils who are developing inferiority of one sort or another, who think they are unjustly criticized, disliked, unpopular, have bad reputations, or are so poor that it affects the treatment they receive. The next task for the observer is to determine whether the feeling is at all substantial. Many times it is entirely imaginary. When the difficulty is found to be unreal, the sufferer must be convinced that he is misinterpreting the facts. That undertaking is not easy because he hesitates to face life squarely and test it.\*

Those with inferiority reactions may be surprised to find they have not been unpopular but have acted so that people thought they did not like to be with others. Sometimes, though they exaggerate their affliction in thinking of it, they have some handicap, are disliked, or have a bad family reputation, yet this need not afford a basis for inferiority. Since the crux of their predicament is their reaction to it, not the situation itself, if they have the courage to meet their ordeal it may be an advantage rather than a disadvantage. Adler has recently said that inferiority feeling is often an advantage, leading to aggressiveness of a constructive character. Inferiority feelings are dangerous but not necessarily socially harmful. Frequently college students with marked inferiority feelings face their problem frankly, gain self-control, and from their experience draw power and character, when their reaction is explained and its results made clear.

\* John J. B. Morgan, *The Unadjusted School Child*.

Forms of maladjustment such as those described above represent efforts of the persons concerned to work out some pattern of adjustment in which they may find satisfaction. These symptoms are not diseases in the physiological sense of the word, they are functional disorders, abnormal ways of behavior rather than deterioration of nervous tissues. In some cases this effort to adjust consists of an abnormal reaction to the world. In others the same end is sought through an escape from a world to which adjustment on the normal level is too difficult or painful a task. In both types the motivation is the same. These unfortunates differ from their more normal neighbors only in that the means they utilize in their search for adjustment are abnormal in that they prevent the person from becoming an active and efficiently functioning member of a social group.

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# PART III

## *Social Processes*

### CHAPTER XII

#### CONTACT AND INTERACTION

Sociology as a science is concerned with persons as members of groups. The previous chapters have indicated how the person, to a very large extent, is a product of his relationships with other persons and groups of persons. The facts with which the sociologist deals are these relationships and their products in human and group behavior. Such facts originate in two fundamental and complementary processes, *contact* and *interaction*.

#### SOCIAL CONTACT

Contact as used by the sociologist has much the same meaning as that given the word in ordinary conversation, but with this important difference: whereas in ordinary usage the word emphasizes the physical nearness of the persons in contact, placing a great deal of emphasis on the physical senses of touch, sight, and hearing, the sociologist extends the word to include all forms of communication by which two persons are placed in a position in which one may influence the other. The development of civilization may be told in terms of institutions and techniques by which traditions and conventions are passed on for hundreds of years by means of writing and printing. The facilities of the telephone, telegraph, and radio have expanded both the space and the time over which contacts may be made. Not only are we now influenced by happenings in all portions of the world, but we are also influenced by events which happened far in the past.

The essential point with reference to contact is the meeting of persons in such a way as to permit the building up of new ideas or ways of acting. This is usually attained through a common experience to which all, in reciprocal relationship,

contribute and from which each extracts something of social significance. But, as will be pointed out in more detail later, the influence is sometimes one-sided. Contact, therefore, is the meeting of mind with mind regardless of the means through which they come into relationship. Since it is axiomatic that without such a meeting, there could be no ground for social experience, contact represents the basic process in social life.

#### INTERACTION

As soon as people come into contact with each other something happens, a social experience is born. The process by which social experience comes about we call interaction; this concept refers to what takes place in the social setting supplied by contact, the influence of one personality upon another. It is doubtful if two persons can be brought together without some interaction taking place. The only imaginable instance of such would be one in which the two persons were so entirely indifferent to each other that they failed to recognize the fact that they had been together. In such a case, it might be argued that contact, in the sociological sense, had never been established; in true contact interaction invariably occurs.

#### BODILY EXPRESSIONS OF INTERACTION

If one observes what takes place when two individuals meet, it is possible to detect a definite bodily expression that results from the process of interaction. If the individuals meeting are young and of opposite sexes their desire to make a favorable impression on each other, accompanied by the consciousness of their situation, may produce that reddening of the cheek which we call *blushing*. If either of them is conscious of being observed, this area of red will extend itself and become more vivid, particularly if an effort be made to prevent the reaction. On the other hand, one may detect a milder type of reaction in that expression which we call *the brightening-up of the features*, in which the sparkling eye has a prominent place. If the individuals are un-

friendly and yet feel the force of the convention that forbids a genuine reflection of their true feelings, their countenances are likely to exhibit the conflict between the tendencies toward dislike and the effort to be polite. Despite a forced smile there will be a certain suggestion of strain and glimmer of the eyes which only half conceals their innermost reactions in the presence of each other. Nothing is more difficult to conceal than affection, for love draws forth on the face evidences of the inner feeling which cannot be mistaken. When the two bound together by love come into each other's presence, physical expressions follow that are social in origin, representing elementary forms of the interacting process.

The inexperienced speaker may be so affected by his audience, even though its members are friends and neighbors, that merely rising to speak—the signal for an unusual contact—with its definite reactions, produces such intense body changes that he becomes conscious of his nervousness and may even lose control of his vocal organs. Such an experience brings out vividly the inevitable interaction that accompanies social situations.

#### LAUGHTER

Although laughter expresses various sorts of psychic attitudes, in all of its forms it is an experience born of social situations. Whether the laughter portrays a sudden transition of attitude, whose contrast gives a feeling of the incongruous, or expresses a sense of triumph or, in the manner described by Freud, is the sudden flowing out of repressed impulses from the unconscious, the experience is always related to social stimuli. As Professor Allport states, the amount of stimulus necessary to produce laughter and the openness of the expression of laughter are conditioned by the size and the situation of the group.\*

Nearly every adult has felt the difficulty of control when, for example, a humorous event occurs unexpectedly in a crowded church. The appearance of the incident is in itself incongruous and its attack upon an atmosphere of dignity

\* F. H. Allport, *Social Psychology*, p. 258.

makes the impulse to laugh all the more overwhelming. Perhaps the same event in a church with a very small congregation would seem less laughable and outside the church setting would hardly draw a smile.

#### IMITATION

Imitation is a definite type of reaction which comes through social contact. It has so large a social consequence, particularly in the early life of children, that it has been elevated by some social psychologists until it is defined as a process in itself. In spite of its large place in social behavior, it does not deserve separation from interaction. It is merely one of the responses that naturally come about when people are in association. Animals show a tendency for the flock or herd to follow the example of the leader that has first expressed a reflex or instinctive reaction. The behavior of one incites the others. In children it is easy to discover the natural tendency to imitate. Indeed much of what has been considered the result of hereditary influences upon the conduct of children we now know to be the product of conditioned responses brought about by interaction in the form of imitation.

Imitation is not necessarily unconscious, though adults sometimes have clear proof of the unconscious nature of imitation, as when they find themselves copying an unpleasant mannerism that has several times struck their attention. If it becomes deliberate, however, it is nevertheless a product of interaction. The prestige of the leader incites imitation, which may be either conscious or unconscious. It is not uncommon for the adolescent to choose some character that he especially admires and attempt imitation, until in his play-acting he identifies himself with the person whom he tries to follow.

Group pressure also may produce imitative acts which are either conscious or unconscious. The fad, the fashion, and the current belief which spread far and near are illustrations of the strength of the herd in developing imitative acts.

The impulse to do what others do arises so naturally when



individuals are in contact and interact with one another that it is not strange that imitation has been regarded by some as an instinct. Imitation is merely a common form of interaction, the activity of one individual awakening the impulse of another to attempt the same undertaking. The social significance of the act is not enhanced by charging it to a fictitious instinct. Human beings could hardly interact at all unless their association created the desire for one to do what another has already accomplished.

Imitation acts at times as a sort of social protection. It serves somewhat as does the protective coloring of birds and insects. By imitating the actions of those about him, the person in a strange and possibly hostile environment appears to be one of the group and so escapes unwelcome attention. Astute politicians make use of this device constantly, adopting for the time being the dress, the mannerisms and the vocabulary of the group to whom they are appealing. This explains the popularity of pictures of candidates pitching hay or fishing; by imitating the work and play of large groups in the nation's population they hope to convince potential voters that they are "just common folk." In a more subtle form the same sort of imitation appears in the variations with which a story is told to different sorts of groups. Here the speaker, often unconsciously, is imitating the pattern he thinks will be easily understood by and will appeal to his listeners.

There is another sort of interaction which appears in imitation. This we see most frequently in children. It is a compensatory imitation. Nothing is more natural than for a child to wish to join in the activities of his parents and no desire is more often curbed by adults who, because of hurry or impatience with the child's awkwardness, refuse to allow participation. As a consequence the child, at his first opportunity, attempts as best he can to do what his mother, father, or older brother or sister refused to let him share. The parent who has been painting and forgets to put away his brushes out of the reach of the child may come home to find that the latter has grasped his opportunity for imitation with disastrous results. Compensatory imitation is not confined to children, for it is a motivation easy to discover in many of

the activities of adults. It explains much of the tension of modern life that comes from the ambition to "keep up with the Joneses."

#### SUGGESTION

Suggestion is similar to imitation but emphasizes the feeling attitude just as the other stresses activity. Suggestion is a form of interaction by which the individual either consciously or unconsciously responds to social stimulation so that he accepts without critical understanding or adequate evidence what those about him feel or think. Suggestion shows itself particularly in emotional experience.

Three types have been distinguished. In one, suggestion is the building up of inner disposition by stimulations that appeal to strong impulses in human nature. Another type of suggestion is the releasing of a habit attitude of either feeling or thought already established. This is the most common use of the term *suggestion*. We also use the word *suggestion* to denote the effort made by advertisers to intensify their appeal by connecting it with a deep-seated desire.\*

There are great differences in the suggestibility of individuals. These variations are the product of physical inheritance and early experience, later training and habit. The hysterical type is a spectacular illustration of a personality exceedingly susceptible to suggestion. The individual may be the victim of neurotic trends which have originated from either inheritance or early childhood experience, or both. Ignorance increases the susceptibility to suggestion. Isolation, the lack of familiarity with certain types of persons, also opens the individual of limited experience to suggestions of hostility or class feeling that would be impossible if he had come in contact with those against whom his feelings are being aroused.

The word *suggestion* itself carries a suggestion, and usually an unpleasant one. We not only think of suggestibility as a human weakness, but in common opinion it is regarded as something that leads to socially disapproved activity. This is by no means true. Much of the nobility of human behavior is rooted in suggestion. There is also a disposition so

\* See F. H. Allport, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-247.

to emphasize suggestion that comes from outside as to forget that it may also spring up from within. For this type of suggestion we have the term *auto-suggestion*. Its importance is recognized by all specialists who minister to the needs of the socially maladjusted. Some years ago the therapeutic use of auto-suggestion was popularized throughout the world by Coué, who taught people who were giving themselves suggestions of defeat and illness to change to those of success and health. This formula, which the patient was to repeat constantly, took the form of "Day by day in every way I am getting better and better." In cases in which individuals were suffering from self-suggestion, it worked well, but where it collided with adverse facts, because the sufferer was not getting better but rather worse, its repetition had, of course, no wholesome effect. Indeed, frequently it led to the opposite and became dangerous self-deception. The popularity of Coué's maxims revealed the power of auto-suggestion, the constancy of its effects in the life of both the successful and the habitually unsuccessful.

The influence of Coué himself also showed that auto-suggestion may be started and stimulated by contact with other personalities. The term *foreign suggestion* has been given to the influence that comes chiefly from the outside. American high-pressure salesmanship presents an efficient form of suggestion in the special relationship of buyer and seller. The latter skillfully attempts to carry on three successive processes of interaction. First, he attracts the attention of the potential purchaser if possible in such a way as to win a pleasant response; then he enters upon an explorative consultation for the purpose of discovering the desires and inhibitions of the purchaser's mind. This accomplished, he moves to the crucial test of his salesmanship by endeavoring to explode the wishes in such a way as to force the restraining thoughts into the background until the decision to buy has been made. This salesmanship cannot be stereotyped, for it must be carried on with recognition of the peculiarities of each individual; otherwise, in the interaction, the purchaser would become conscious of what is being attempted and his inhibitions would increase rather than weaken, as he detected the suggestions that were being made.

## THE SUSCEPTIBILITY OF THE CROWD

A crowd is a group of persons who have their attention emotionally fixed so that they have temporarily laid aside their inhibitions or sense of responsibility and allowed themselves to become the victims of mass feeling. The individual members are in interaction, each stimulating the feelings of the others until an exaggerated emotional attitude results that is unnatural in both intensity and uniformity. Individuality is temporarily wiped away and in its place is a mass frenzy of which each partakes.

Naturally in such circumstances there is little deliberation and no tolerance. The group for the time refuses to listen to opposition, even bursts into hostility at the slightest attempt to lessen or control the outburst of feeling. Anything can happen in the crowd if one only leads the way. Leadership does not depend upon a forcible personality, insight, or strength of character. The least fit, by being the most reckless, may come to have, temporarily, the position of authority, and persons with superior equipment for life will blindly follow into excesses of activity that in calmer moments would be for them impossible.

In the crowd it would seem as if each individual was reduced to primitive impulses and emotions. While it is true that the crowd is capable of courageous as well as brutal acts, crowd expression, whatever its quality, from the point of view of moral action is dangerous and irresponsible. It represents an orgy of stimulation in which each person empties himself of the inhibitions, defenses, and processes of control which he has by hard labor acquired, and becomes for the time a mere reacting mechanism on the feeling level. Thus the crowd as a mass reaction is as pathological as hypnosis is in the case of the individual. The likenesses between the two abnormal states of interaction are many. In each state the point of contact is concentrated and fixed so that counter-acting influences do not enter consciousness. Because of this concentration multiple interaction becomes impossible as the social experience pushes forward, deepening the channel of emotion it develops.

Interaction, however, must not be thought of as occurring



only in contacts which involve physical nearness. Interaction can, and does, take place between persons separated by thousands of miles or by centuries of time. When one receives a letter from a friend in Europe, or reads the poems of Homer he is in contact with those persons and is interacting with them. The records of past experiences handed down from one generation to the next, become a causal influence on the behavior of recipients who may be totally unaware of the extent of the dominance of his ancestors who have retained contact with the living through the transmission of culture. The ancestral worship of the Chinese family illustrates this to a remarkable degree.

Contact and the resulting interaction are affected by any factor which aids or hinders mind from meeting mind. Thus geographic conditions, occupation, type of personality, age, sex, race, culture level, are all important conditioning factors in determining the sort of contact which will be made and the sort of interaction which will take place when and if contact is made.

#### EFFECTS OF PHYSICAL BARRIERS

In the cultural history of the past, it is clear that physical barriers such as mountains, swamps and deserts have had a large influence upon social contact and interaction. Such geographic factors have aided in dividing the world into distinctive regions. In some such cases the resulting isolation has aided in the growth of a higher and more complicated culture through protection from invasion by simpler and more war-like tribes, as in Peru, Egypt and portions of Mexico. But in other cases the reverse seems to have been true, as in Tibet, where an almost total isolation has been a powerful factor in the backwardness of the society. The most favorable location is one which gives enough isolation to prevent the destruction of the social organization by invaders with their strange ways and at the same time permits sufficient interaction with the outside world to provide healthy stimulation. Ancient Greece and England of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are examples of such situations. But isolation varies in degree with the efficiency of the means of

communication ; the narrow English Channel was sufficient to provide almost total isolation until techniques of sailing were commonly used.

#### CONTACT IN PRIMARY GROUPS

Assuming that contact takes place between persons and areas, as it must if there is to be social interaction, it may vary widely as to intensity and character. Although contact can be established over great distances, face-to-face association in which the interacting persons are physically near each other is richest in content and in effect upon the developing personality. The family, the play-group of children, the small "set" of elders who visit with each other often and casually, supply such informal, relatively intimate and permanent contact in almost all phases of behavior. For this reason they are known as *primary groups*. Such groups are primary in a number of ways ; it is into such a group that the child is born and from which he takes much of his human nature. For some years these small groups make up the entire social world of the child ; later his horizon widens, but primary groups continue to exert powerful influences over him.

The primary contact permits the intimate response which Professor Thomas has distinguished as one of the profound desires of human nature. Only a fine quality of imagination, which by training has been made creative, can at times build up a relationship which, in spite of the absence of sense contact, may have a wealth of its own so that it can successfully rival a primary contact relationship based on propinquity. One of the most remarkably strong and influential attachments which was essentially non-primary is represented by the reaction of Dante to Beatrice. It was indeed all the stronger because of the remoteness of the subject.

Nowhere can one more clearly see interaction in progress than in the home where there are young children. Children and parents act as both stimulus and response to each other. The interaction of children with parents may lead to three different results. In one we have the withdrawal of the

child from the parent because of increasing hostility, often due to the excessive dominance of the parent. We also have the opposite reaction when the child fixes himself parasitically upon the parent and anchors its emotional life upon father or mother. The third reaction is that of fellowship in which there is *give-and-take* on the part of both parent and child, the parent being guide and interpreter as well as friend but not using his adult superiority to suppress the child. Children also react to one another, and here likewise we have three distinctly different responses resulting from the association. Some children develop excessive self-assertion, while others grow more and more suppressed. Good adjustment forbids either of these two extremes and in their place occurs cooperation, sometimes providing for self-expression and at other times requiring of the child a willingness to limit self-assertion. In these relationships there is no set pattern but a changing situation in which the age of the child, his order of birth, the parental attitude, misfortunes such as illness or defects, and especially temperamental differences color the interactions that become characteristic of the individual family group.

The home is not a place of isolation in which parents and children are uninfluenced by outside life, merely reacting upon one another, for in the degree that either has outside contact their interests are modified by what happens outside the home. As the children develop, the family situation constantly changes and this perhaps more than anything else tests the skill of the parents. It is their part to maintain a family life constructive and wholesome as an arena of social interaction. Interactions of children are usually more frankly expressed and their reactions more quickly registered than is commonly true of adults. It is this which makes the home at present most important in conditioning the life of children.

#### SECONDARY CONTACTS

Only those living in small groups have many opportunities for primary contacts. Village life provides the best setting for a large number of these experiences. The city, because of its size, mobility, and diversity of interests, re-

duces to a minimum the possibility of primary contacts. The student living in a city apartment does not even greet the people who live on the floor below; indeed, the country relative coming to visit the student is surprised, when he questions an occupant of the building whom he happens to meet in the entrance hall, at the man's ignorance even of the floor on which the student has his rooms. On his way to class the student rides on a car or a bus with people he has never seen before and perhaps will never see again, or if he goes at the same time every day he may see a few persons who are also fairly regular passengers, yet even these he probably does not see elsewhere, nor does he ever speak to them or of them to learn their names or anything about them besides what he sees in the circumscribed area of the trolley car. Leaving the university when his work is done, he may dine in a cafeteria or a restaurant where he seldom notices twice the same fellow-patron. If he goes alone to the movies or the theater it is rare for him to see anyone he knows. When he shops, the clerks know and care nothing about him save that he be a ready buyer. All this insistence on the transient and limited contacts, coupled with the great numbers of people seen doing the same thing as himself and the fact that, as long as he is not far different from the rest in dress and manner, he can do very much as he likes without exciting comment, stimulates the individual to heightened activity and a readiness for new ideas with a corresponding lessening of the habit of weighing his actions with a view to estimating "what people will think."

For this reason the city has attained freedom, stimulation, and irresponsibility as well as its limitations and restlessness. City-dwellers frequently come in contact and have a casual knowledge of many individuals but they lack the intimacy of continuous relationship, even in most of their associations with friends. The difference between the two environments is vividly felt by the adult who moves from the rural or village situation to the large city or goes from a congested center to the country. Even in the city home primary contacts decrease because the inmates are away from home more than is normal in the country or village. Also the members of a city family do not have the country family's common



interests, for their attention is scattered and only in a limited degree can one person know what the other does in the activities of the passing days.

The distinctions between rural and city culture are to a large extent products of the difference in their proportion of primary and secondary contacts. Here is rooted the cosmopolitan character of the city as compared with the provincialism of the country. At this point also is the basic cause of the conservatism, especially in regard to ethics, of the country as compared with the city.\* Modern communication not only stimulates the coming together of large groups, encouraging city growth, but it also makes possible the extending of urban culture so that city standards encroach upon the domain, even in rural and village territory, of attitudes built upon predominance of primary contacts. As a result, American life, without reference to geographical situation, discloses increasingly the influence of a culture which issues from associations that are for the most part secondary in contrast with primary contacts.

#### TERTIARY CONTACT

Modern invention is making possible a relationship which needs to be recognized in social contact and which deserves the term *tertiary contact*. This is the transmission of personality influence without personal contact; such a relationship is not reciprocal. In both the radio and the movies we find this tertiary contact. Something like it appeared formerly in the relationship of professional telegraphers who not only carried on conversation with each other without ever having met face to face, but also came to know each other's mannerisms in the use of their instruments. With the appearance of the phonograph, warning was given of this new relationship which has now come to have such social importance. The oration, the sermon, or the music, vocal or instrumental, once recorded, could be heard over and over by those who had access to the necessary record. The impressions made by those earlier inventions were faint as compared with the radio and the movies at the present time.

\* See E. R. Groves, *Social Problems and Education*, pp. 339, 342.

That the radio carries a greater sense of contact is proved by the large "fan mail" which testifies to the effectiveness of programs.

Radio is now estimated to reach about three-fourths of the homes of this country. However, there are important variations in the percentage of homes in different regions of the nation which possess receiving sets. In the northeastern portion of the country, approximately 60 per cent of the nation's population own about 75 per cent of the total number of radios. In the rural areas of the South only about five percent of the homes are so equipped. City dwellers and those with high incomes also own more instruments, proportionally, than do farmers and those whose incomes are low. But in spite of such variations, it is evident that the entire nation, directly or indirectly, receives important stimulation through this device.

In spite of the relatively few radio receivers in the rural areas, the effects upon those who do listen is probably more intense than upon the city dwellers. Dr. Lee M. Brooks, in a study of the isolated family, found that in lighthouses and other inaccessible homes the radio gave a sense of contact with the outside world which prevented the isolation that once was unavoidable. Besides the economic importance of the radio for the farmer in business, the invention is giving rural people, through tertiary contact, something like the experience that comes to the city dweller from his secondary contacts.

The influence of the movies is similar to that of the radio. They do not induce so strong a sense of personal relationship, but they give the audience an imaginative basis for feeling that it has been in contact with experiences that in real life would be distant from most of the spectators, ranging from those of the college campus, the night club, the prison, the modern battlefield, even to life at the North and South Poles. It is doubtful whether society even yet appreciates the by-products of this mode of entertainment. It takes people out of their classes, acquainting them with standards about which under ordinary conditions they personally would have known nothing. It removes from them the limitations of geographical sections. Indeed, it brings

people of different nations into a close although impersonal relationship. At the present time the most vivid idea of the United States among the common people of other nations has resulted from the use that is being made of American films throughout the world. In a remote tribe of the South Sea, the anthropologist finds natives following with intense interest filmed romances and melodramas that are assumed to picture American life. Thus a peculiar sort of contact, once impossible, is becoming conventional, bringing with it social consequences of importance and tending on the whole to knit together all peoples in at least a common recreation.

Though less vivid, the contact established by the reader with the author of a book or magazine, is of the same character as that of the movie-goer. Here, again, the reader is given an opportunity to learn of places and persons with whom he would never come into direct contact; from them he acquires new ideas and behavior patterns which find their way into his life organization and affect his associates. It is such change which makes all forms of interaction important.

#### CONTACT AND SOLIDARITY

The normal consequence of intimate contact is the construction of a feeling of common interest and likeness. The meaning of this appears when we observe the entrance of a stranger into a small community well knit together by intimate experiences of primary contact. There is a sense of suspicion, even of hostility, in the reception a stranger gets, which discloses the working of that *consciousness of kind* which Professor Giddings has made so interpretative of human reactions.

If the stranger appears different in dress, has contrary standards, or is very dissimilar in conduct, even though the unusual behavior be essentially trivial, the aloofness of the natives becomes the more pronounced.

Greater familiarity may gradually break down the sense of difference until the stranger, in spite of his variations, becomes incorporated in his new community. Rural communities that depend upon tourists or summer visitors for economic advantage dissolve their clannishness until the feel-

ing of difference, although not entirely removed, no longer induces a sense of hostility.

However, if there are fundamental differences in culture which are not easily changed, or if minor differences have become intensified through emotional appeal, closeness of contact may lead to conflict rather than to common interest and cooperative action. In such cases the differences rather than the likenesses are emphasized, often by those who desire to promote conflict.

The clash of one social group with another naturally leads to a deepening of the sense of solidarity within each group. This explains many historic illustrations of unpopular governments or administrators purposely bringing about antagonism or war between the group they represent and some other group to strengthen their position with their subjects. Nothing so easily covers up deficient administration and turns the attention from domestic problems as does the starting of a foreign war, and history is replete with illustrations of this trick by which rulers or party leaders find anchorage for their power in a tightening-up of the feeling of group solidarity.

#### RACE CONTACT

Nothing more forcefully expresses what we find when races come in close contact than Giddings's term, *consciousness of kind*. The sense of oneness of each group is magnified by contact, and there is always risk that each racial group will react antagonistically to any other. Unfortunately, contact is not always a matter of choice but is sometimes forced upon two races by circumstances. This happened when the settlement of the colonists and their expansion led invariably to contact with the American Indians and in time to collision between the two races. There was no compromise so long as the two occupied the same territory because each needed to make different use of the land, and what led to the prosperity of one race was detrimental to the other. In such a contact the relationship is not one of equal social reaction, but the people on the lower plane of development are affected more by the contact than



are those superior in achievement. Thus, contact forces on the more primitive changes of habit and various adjustments that might not be chosen if there were any way of escape. As the *mores* change, the selection which leads to the survival of some and the passing of others is determined more by the attitude of the superior race than by the desires of the other. Sometimes races protect themselves, in spite of proximity, to such an extent that they maintain their habits. Usually this leads to their extinction. To survive, they must adjust themselves to the social circumstances, which are largely dominated by a higher race. If, in the cultural transition that follows race contact, there is decided difference between the scales of achievement of the two races, demoralization is almost sure to follow.

At present it is impossible to protect any race from contact with European civilization, but it ought to be recognized by all who guide such contact—government officials, missionaries, and army officers—that the risk of rapid transition is so great that successful contact requires patient and gradual change from the old to the new culture, and that however high the motives, anyone who forces complete readjustment of life on primitive people is making race contact a deadly experience for the weaker people. The very fact that the white visitors have been indifferent to the customs and to the incantations of the medicine men and to all the other regulating features of the savage existence has had upon the natives a profound and demoralizing influence. They have been forced to see that the *mores* and taboos that they have respected and the powers they have feared can be violated without risk by these strange visitors from faraway lands. The effect of this upon the young in decreasing their respect for the elders, for tribal customs, and for witchcraft has been immediate and far-reaching.

In so far as the young people have been enticed by Europeans to leave their localities for various forms of profitable employment at a distance, another adverse influence has struck against the tribal customs; the youths have returned too sophisticated to follow the traditions of their parents and grandparents. This appears even in missionary enterprises, for naturally a religious leader who has brought Christianity

to the native finds that he can get more response from the young than from those older and more set in their ways. As a consequence, he concentrates on the young people, and by bringing them in contact with an alien civilization he destroys their reverence for the old without always winning genuine adherence to the new.

The missionary is by impulse indifferent to tribal customs that are contrary to civilized practices, and also frequently misinterprets the value of regulations that have been made for the stability of the tribes. For example, a missionary may find witchcraft a stumbling-block for his converts and in his aggressive warfare upon it may undermine tribal authority. These interactions of peoples on two different planes of social experience bring risk of tribal anarchy but there is no way in which native people can be fully protected from such contact in a world where communication has become easy. Adjustment must be made, if possible. Failure to adjust is likely to mean extinction. This fact must be recognized and the impatience rather than the motives of the missionaries criticized. The immediate effect of missionary enterprise does not provide a just judgment of their effort to introduce simpler peoples to the higher standards of modern civilization. It is interesting to remember that Darwin, who was at first convinced that missionary efforts to elevate the Fuegians were both futile and unfortunate, later in his life, in spite of an increase of religious skepticism, reversed his judgment and sent his yearly check to support the missions to which earlier he had been so much opposed. He came to see that the final results were socially advantageous to the native people.

#### IMMIGRATION AND CULTURAL INTERACTION

Although it is debatable whether or not immigrants to America leave a civilization inferior to that which they find in the new country, it is beyond dispute that, because of differences of cultural experiences, foreigners often are affected in their social adjustment very much as are the people who exchange a simpler culture for one more complex. A recent study of the effect of this transition from one culture

to another, as it appears in the second generation of Orientals, reveals the effect of the new type of interacting experiences in the Hawaiian Islands, one of the best places that could be chosen to illustrate the social results of such a transition.\*

The distance between Oriental and Occidental social experiences is so great that we should expect greater social maladjustment in the Japanese and Chinese than in ordinary immigrants. This is true even in the Hawaiian Islands where this transference of culture goes on with less difficulty than would be true in continental America. In the home life especially do we see the effects of the new interaction. Division quickly comes between the parents and their children. This is all the more true of those who have left their parents in the old country and who have come during youth to Hawaii. In almost every respect they find the American family life different. They would not break away from their own practices so completely, however, were it not that all their social experiences are out of accord with the parent-child relationships as they are maintained in Japan and in China. In industry, law, education, and even in religion they are forced to react to situations unlike those they have previously experienced in conventional Oriental family life. In courtship, Dr. Smith finds the Oriental of the second generation broken away from the practices of his parents but not well established in American customs. Out of the reactions three distinct groups develop: one is composed of the young people who do their best to maintain the kind of life their parents expect of them; the second is made up of those who are rebellious, who repudiate the old but who do not necessarily achieve successful adjustment to the new; while the third group become philosophic and attempt to compromise the clashing cultures in their interactions and to recognize the values of the old as well as the new. Thus they act as mediators between the contrasting social experiences and with considerable success.

\* W. P. Smith, "Changing Personality Traits of Second Generation Orientals in America," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 6.

## MARGINAL MEN

Such persons are often referred to as *marginal men*, "on the margin of two cultures and two societies" but not wholly a part of either. Such a person has dropped many of the more distinctive customs of his older group in his effort to escape being identified with it. He has taken over the more obvious traits of the group to which he hopes to belong. But he retains many of the deeper convictions and basic attitudes of his older group in spite of himself. The result is that he does not fit well with either group.

The same thing happens with groups of persons who have come into contact with a new culture, especially when they have immigrated into a new land. For sentimental reasons the group may retain its peculiar forms of religious worship, of political organization in the informal sense, its own family customs, etc. But contact and interaction with the native group in the new land works slow and almost imperceptible changes in all such groups, so that after a few decades they seem to be foreigners to both their old homeland and to the people of their new nation. Normally, this is a part of the transition from one culture to another, but if physical characteristics make it easy to identify members of such groups, the transition process may be so long drawn out that it appears that the group has attained a permanent marginal position.

## VOCATIONAL CONTACT

Within a culture vocation acts as a point of contact. Those who earn their living in the same business, trade, profession, or unskilled labor draw from their experiences a common understanding and vocational sympathy and a desire to organize themselves for economic protection. Their contact is not merely because of their like interests, but in part it results from the influence of the activities characteristic of each vocation. These peculiarities are not only strong and persistent, many of them are also unrecognized by the individual, so thoroughly are they built into his habit life. Ordinary conversation generally reveals, at least among professional men or women, the results of occupation. The



teacher, contrary to common thought, is no more marked in this respect than is the doctor, the lawyer, or the minister. With the increase of specialization there is a sharpening of the differences of professional and vocational outlook and a strengthening of the desire of the members of the group to stand together.

The farmer perhaps best exemplifies the effects of vocation, because of the size of the agricultural group and because of the fact that farmers usually live in the same territory and therefore have close vocational and spatial contact. There is no evidence that the characteristics of farmers come from any biological difference between them and other men. They are products of environment, especially of vocational experience. The rural attitude is so definite and so frequently expressed in political action that it influences the policies of party and government everywhere except in the municipalities themselves. Students of rural sociology in this country have attempted to analyze the attitudes of rural people. Always there is need of emphasizing the conditions under which the farmer works and the peculiarities of his vocation. The extreme degree to which this vocational contact can go appears in the peasants of Europe. Segregation of interest and attitude has created in them literal isolation from other groups. The distinctive set of attitudes acquired by workers in any vocation is known as an *occupational complex*.

#### MOBILITY AND SOCIAL CONTACT

As persons move about, change jobs, go from one town to another, they come into contact and interact with new persons, ideas, and material objects. They also carry with them the ideas and some of the objects they have acquired during their lifetime. The net result is an opportunity for the traveller and for those he visits to make changes in their cultural equipment. Tales of travellers have much of their appeal through giving us insights into the habits and ways of living of strange persons and groups. Such persons have always been important means of introducing new elements into our social life.

In frontier days the peddler served a very useful function as he moved about the country, often with a pack on his back. Not only did he bring articles which could not be procured in the neighborhoods he visited, but he brought news and opinions from the outside world of the large cities. He established contact between two communities when almost no other way existed in which such contact could be made. The evangelist filled much the same function. This "religious bird of passage" went from town to town bringing together great groups of people and stimulating them to a feeling of fellowship with other believers throughout the territory he covered. The Methodist congregation of New Hampshire became linked with those of its own faith in Georgia; and the evil feeling of sectionalism was considerably lessened as a result.

In our time tourists and auto-migrants bring much the same sort of contact between distant regions. The tourist is accepted as a true representative of his nation, or region, by those who have not travelled or read widely. Unfortunately the portrayal by such representatives is not always what others of his homeland could hope. American tourists in Europe, for example, often create prejudices and establish misconceptions because of a rigidity of habit which leads them to scorn foods, customs and ideas with which they are not familiar. If Europeans are less guilty of such conduct it is because they have grown up in a major region where national differences thrust themselves into attention because of the smallness of the national states.

In the United States the automobile has permitted a new sort of touring. Some of those who take to the open road are merely spending their vacations in a pleasant and profitable way, but to others automobiles make possible a semi-gypsy type of existence which their wanderlust makes them crave. The auto-migrant contributes something to the breaking-down of sectionalism. In so great a territory it is most important that the population continue fluid, using every resource of communication and travel. The migratory automobilists make their contribution to the interchange of thought and feeling as people of various states come in contact. The tramp also would contribute were it

not that his moving about is socially insignificant, because he keeps so closely to his own kind.

Mobility in the geographic or ecological sense thus becomes social mobility. As persons move about the map they come into contact with new ways of life and carry with them ideas and habits which seem strange to the persons with whom they come into contact. This sort of movement has been called *horizontal mobility*. Much the same effect is gained by what is known as *vertical mobility*; that is, movement from one social class into another, whether accompanied by movement in the physical sense or not. Such vertical mobility may be either up or down the social scale, or may be between groups at approximately the same social level. In any case contacts are facilitated and interaction takes place which tends to change the mobile person and also those with whom he comes into contact. The democratic ideal on which this country was founded demands that such vertical movement remain comparatively free no less than that persons be allowed to move as they will from one state or region into another. To the degree that interclass movement is restricted by any force whatsoever, a society tends toward a caste system.

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## CHAPTER XIII

### COMMUNICATION: MEANS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION

Formation of social groups, or even temporary interaction between two persons, depends not only upon establishing contact but even to a greater extent on the ability of persons in contact to understand each other. The transfer of emotion, of feeling tone, of concrete factual information is social interaction. This transference is what is meant by communication. Communication permits social expression and in so doing provides the necessary means of establishing and maintaining relationships.

So fundamental to social organization is communication that John Dewey has declared:

Society not only continues to exist by transmission, by communication, but it may fairly be said to exist in transmission, in communication. . . Men live in a community in virtue of the things which they have in common. What they must have in common in order to form a community or society are aims, beliefs, aspirations, knowledge—a common understanding—like-mindedness as the sociologists say.\*

The limits of a society may be marked at the point beyond which persons find their customary means of communication no longer meet their needs. Conversely, the study of a system of communication, as a language, gives a very good clue to the extent and nature of a social group, whether that group be a gang of youths or a national state.

#### COMMUNICATION AND PERSONALITY

Every normal person is in almost constant communication with other persons; it is thus that he acquires a personality which enables him to become a member of a group, to fit into society. Intermittently, concentration upon a task may become so intense that the person acts the part of one who

\* *Democracy and Education*, p. 5. Quoted by permission of The Macmillan Company.

is entirely self-contained. However, unless the work under way is wholly creative and original, such a person is more likely to be in imaginative communication with others through memory of their words or deeds, bespeaking their aid in the solution of his problem. But such escapes from the immediate world are not frequent for most persons; interruptions occur, attention is relaxed, and if the interruption is made by a person, contact is established and communication follows, even if only by a frown or a smile or a glance.

One of the most frequent forms of insanity is the construction of a false world into which the afflicted person retreats to escape the pain of communication with those about him, a world in which he becomes oblivious to his fellows and breaks the normal ties of communication. Even here the patient may react to the presence of others, but does not do so on a social level, since he is unaware of the origin of the stimuli which motivate him. Such persons have attained a high degree of psychic isolation with effects quite similar to those of persons physically isolated.

Persistent absence of desire to communicate, when opportunity is present, is commonly considered an evidence of mental and emotional instability. However, it must be noted also, that personality disorganization often results from excessive communication over wide areas and with greatly diverse groups. In such a situation the person is subjected to such a wide variety of stimulation that he finds it impossible to fit his ideas and emotions into a consistent, integrated pattern; he loses his sense of values so that he no longer has a guiding principle by which to regulate his behavior. His conduct from the point of view of the primary groups to which he belongs becomes erratic and he is no longer acceptable.

#### COMMUNICATION BY ANIMALS

Ability to perceive and to interpret perception in terms of experience is the basis of all communication. Fundamentally the communication process consists of an act which is perceived by another person who then reacts in a manner conditioned by his past experiences and the action portrayed.

The action perceived may be a movement of a portion of the body, a cry expressive of an emotional state, or a series of words expressing the most abstruse idea. Thus communication may take place on either of three levels, the sensory, the emotional, or the intellectual. Since animals share with man the ability to perceive and to express emotional feelings, they may also communicate on these levels. But only man has the great medium of communication, language, a series of arbitrary symbols whose meanings are fixed by group consensus.

That animals in packs and flocks respond to danger signals expressed in definite sounds or bodily movements is a matter of common knowledge. This is notably true of animals that are richly endowed in social impulses. Insects, such as ants and bees communicate with each other upon meeting, probably by the use of their antennae. Odors also enable these and other animals to distinguish danger. Ants soaked in the body-juices of members of a colony were accepted without question, where without such treatment they were immediately attacked, according to the report of one experiment. This would indicate that the recognition of nest-members is largely a matter of odor or chemical stimulus.\*

Amongst the higher animals it is easy to observe activity which is undoubtedly designed to transmit emotion; the mating cry, the cry of distress, of warning, of anger, of hunger and others are recognizable by persons who have worked with barnyard animals.

Hunters keep fairly well posted on the progress of a chase by listening to the cries of the dogs, although it is not argued that the dogs change their cries for this purpose. However, it is to be observed that dogs utter cries which have a great deal of meaning to their companions. For instance a family known by one of the writers keeps two dogs, one always in a kennel and the other usually inside the house. Both dogs developed a great animosity to a third dog in the neighborhood. When this enemy appeared the kennel-dog would bark, the dog in the house would become very excited, barking and making efforts to get at his enemy; whereas the

\* Cf. Robert E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *An Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, 1924 edition, p. 83.



kennel-dog could bark at other passing dogs without his companion in the house becoming the least bit concerned. There must have been some quality in the dog's bark on such occasions which was not present at other times, perhaps a quality of anger reserved for enemies in general and which would have been brought forth by the appearance of any other dog with which a feud was in progress.

Herd animals often feed quietly while one of their number keeps an alert watch and warns of the approach of danger by a cry or movement. The antelope of the western plains, when frightened, raise and lower their tails displaying a patch of white hair on their rump which is easily seen by other members of the herd. Ranchmen in Texas assert it is impossible to approach the burrows of prairie dogs without one of the small rodents perched atop the mound of earth at one of the entrances giving a warning cry which sends all members of the "town" below ground instantaneously. But, as in the case of the dogs, all such warnings may be explained on the basis of emotional instinctive behavior on the part of the sentinel, rather than as a prearranged signal.

#### LANGUAGE REQUIRES THOUGHT

In any case, it is safe to say that no animal other than man possesses a language. The sounds they make may reflect quite accurately their emotional state and thereby convey valuable information to other animals of their own and other species. In this sense they undoubtedly communicate with each other. But all such communication is concerned with the immediate present. No dog can bark so as to convey to his companion the information that yesterday he chased a cat up a tree, or that porcupines are dangerous animals to charge. Dogs and other animals learn of such dangers only by experience or observation. In the latter case, it is more likely the emotional upset occasioned by the cries of anguish uttered by the dog who has charged the porcupine than reflection that what such a spiney animal does to one dog he will do to another which prevents the observer from trying the experience for himself.

So far as is now known, man is the only animal with the

ability to abstract experiences and think of them rationally. He is the only animal who can make his own feelings and thought the object of his contemplation. Man thinks, or is capable of thought, while other animals feel only. Further, it is doubtful whether any other animal has the physical structure necessary for the variety of sounds required by language.

#### SOCIAL ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE

The essentially social nature of language is revealed by the slowness by which infants acquire it. The child is born with the organs which he will later use for speech, and for other functions as well. There are no organs of speech, strictly speaking. Even the vocal chords, which come nearest being speech organs are such only in the sense that they enable the speaker to make a noise. The lungs, the nose, the tongue, the teeth, all of which perform essential functions in speaking, have other and more primary uses. They are speech organs only in that they are subject to voluntary control and can be used by man for more than one purpose. As Sapir says, physiologically, speech is a group of overlaid functions.\* It is the plasticity of the human nervous system that makes possible such multiple uses of organs and this only under the influence of social conditioning.

Speech will illustrate the inextricable union of the animal and the social heritages. It springs in part from the native structure of the vocal organs and from the hereditary impulse to use them which we see in the chattering of idiots and of the deaf and dumb. A natural sensibility to other persons and the need to communicate also enter into it. But all articulate utterances come by communication; it is learned from others, varies with the environment and has its source in tradition. Speech then is a sociologic function.†

The child is born with the physical equipment necessary to speech and is able to use it for sound production from birth onward. In a sense, his birth-cry represents the beginning of his speech development, or at least his efforts to com-

\* Edward Sapir, *Language*, pp. 7-9.

† Charles Horton Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, p. 16. Quoted by permission of Charles Scribner's Sons.

municate, since it is a product of the inborn equipment which later he will use for speech. The child also has an impulse to use his vocal equipment, just as he has an impulse to move his arms and legs; and in the same random manner. These sounds, almost wholly meaningless at first, come in time to have meaning for the mother or other person closely associated with the infant. By the time he is three or four months of age, his voice has taken on tones which indicate emotional states as pain, hunger, fatigue, anger, fear and pleasure.

It is interesting to find that on this elementary speech level children of all nationalities seem to be alike in the character of their impulsive utterances. Although to the observer the child's progress in speech attainment appears slow, from the point of view of social significance it is marvelously rapid. At first comes the reflex cry which springs from the child's impulse and has no particular meaning. As soon as he becomes conscious of his environment and able to respond to its stimulation the simple reflex sounds take on greater significance. Now we are not dealing with something purely reflex, but with utterances that show the effort to respond to things outside himself. Here is evidence of the awakening of social consciousness even though it be of the most elementary form.

A little later the child discovers that making sounds can furnish him pleasure and he repeats over and over again the cooing and babbling which satisfy his impulse and give him practice while developing the muscles, the nerves, and the cells which must be brought into co-ordination in order to make adult speech possible. Much of his sound-making is essentially play in spirit and yet these pleasure-giving activities are also practice that strengthens and brings to finer co-ordination the vocalizing apparatus upon which the child depends for his power of speech. It is easy to distinguish between cries for attention which reveal strong feeling attitudes and these playful utterances which show a sense of comfort and well-being. By six months the child has acquired a wealth of vocalization astonishing in comparison with the simple sounds of his first few days. From now on, his attainment of a means of communication is rapid, and by

two years the size of his vocabulary measures his social development and to a considerable extent discloses his degree of intelligence.

During this period of speech beginnings, the influence of the parent is of the largest significance in a child's progress. At no time throughout his career does he show more clearly the conditioning process and the influences of adult stimulation. Speech correction, especially that of pronunciation, is notoriously difficult to effect after maturity and it is no uncommon experience for an adult, who has by persistent effort removed from his speech faults acquired in childhood, to fall back to his earlier speech habits when excited or extremely tired. Not only must the child pick up his words from the language he hears spoken about him, but also the amount of effort he puts forth in the acquiring of his new tools depends largely upon the interest parents take in his progress and the guidance they give him. Children have been known to make no effort to talk or increase their speech because the parents have permitted them to obtain their desires by the use of gestures and a few simple words or sounds. One child is reported not to have attempted to learn to speak since an older sister had done the necessary talking for her.

The child that is taught "baby-talk" is especially handicapped from the start in speech development, since he later finds that he must discard the language that he first learned, and this discovery is frequently attended by the knowledge that he has become an object of ridicule because of the infantile character of his language.

We have every reason to suppose that the language history of the growing child plays a most significant part in the later characteristics of his personality. Without question the child introduced early to a wealth of language experience, taught to discriminate between the meanings of similar words and led to appreciate the beauty of speech expression, has a decided advantage in the use of his inherited intelligence over the child of meager and careless speech experience.\* Mental testing, since it is so largely based upon the use of language, reveals the significance of this social difference.

\* See E. M. Hinck, *Disability in Reading and Its Relation to Personality*.



The parent may make use of the child's love of playing with words to help him master his vocabulary. Margaret Mead tells us how the children of New Guinea love to repeat over and over with adults words that the former have recently acquired. Neither becomes bored even if the word or phrase is repeated as many as sixty times. This play of adult and child is by no means found only among the simpler people. Observation of the word-habits of any three-year-old proves that there is little difference between the child born in modern society and the more primitive type that Dr. Mead discusses.\* The child's love of repeating sounds is recognized by those who write textbooks for the elementary grades as well as by the story-tellers who know best how to hold the attention of the small child.

#### GESTURE AND TONE

Along with this acquisition of language, the growing child also learns the use of gestures which add emphasis and concreteness to what he has to say, and which may serve to supplement the spoken word. Tone and posture are often more indicative of true meaning than the words used, especially when the vocabulary is limited as it is with children. Movements of the hands and facial muscles also add much to the clearness of the message the speaker, child or adult, wishes to convey. A gesture, or even the tone of voice in which a statement is made may totally negate the meaning of the words being used so that although one thing is said, it is clearly understood by both the speaker and the hearers that another is meant. Caesar's funeral oration as delivered by Antony in Shakespeare's play is an excellent example of such skillful use of language. The flick of an eyelid, the movement of an eye, or a hand may change the meaning of words uttered; or such means may convey a message as accurately as could the most careful choice of words.

Such gestures, like words, may be conventional symbols, depending for their meaning on the consensus of the group in which they are used, more than upon any inherent quality of the movement itself. However, most gestures seem

\* M. Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea*, p. 36.

to arise as expressions of emotion rather than of abstract thinking and often retain some of this emotional quality. Yet such gestures as those used by automobile drivers to communicate their intentions, are largely arbitrary.

Among savages gesture language has striking social importance. Without the ability to write, even when by means of a messenger stick, pictographs, and other symbols they were able to communicate, they had need also of a sign language. The North American Indians, particularly those of the plains area, possessed an extensive system of gestures of great value in communicating from a distance and to strangers. The native Australians also have a gesture language which is widely used. A territory that provides extensive open spaces so that one can be seen from afar is especially favorable to the development of the gesture method of communication. Signaling by means of smoke—a method found among the North American Indians—must have originated in a plains region. In Africa especially, and also in North America, the drum became an effective means of communicating from great distances. African travellers tell us that even when they passed rapidly through native territory by means of a fast moving steamer, the drum signals along the river bank announced their coming and their character and purpose, many miles in advance and far back into the country.

Criminals are said to have remarkable systems of communication by signs even when in solitary confinement. Kropotkin tells in his memoirs of the tapping carried on by the political prisoners in St. Petersburg in 1874, so many knocks with the foot on the floor or wall for each letter, and a simple code which divided the alphabet into five rows so that each letter was numbered according to its row and its place in the row; the tapping went on all day, carrying messages between a prisoner and his next-door neighbors as well as those above and below him, and through these immediate neighbors to men in all parts of the building. Kropotkin in this way told another prisoner the whole history of the Paris Commune though it took an entire week. When later he was imprisoned in France in 1883 another attempt was made to enforce absolute silence, but by whis-

pers, low voices, a word or two at a time, and bits of notes, anything happening within the prison, whether among the prisoners or administration, was at once known to all, and even the occurrences in the village outside the prison walls and in politics in Paris were quickly made known.\*

Among the lower grades of feeble-minded persons there is considerable use of sign language which permits the individual to announce his wants, for example, by pointing to various parts of his body. Indeed, in times of illness, and when in a foreign country, modern man frequently falls back upon a spontaneous sort of sign language. A victim of laryngitis who has been obliged to refrain from speech will bear testimony that an effective method of making wants known through sign language can be quickly discovered. Although one must be careful not to discount the value of sign language in primitive society, it is evident that communication of this sort is not only more laborious than speech, since it requires fixed attention and specific movements, but also that it is, because of its inherent limitations, an inadequate vehicle for the transmission of thought.

Language was, very likely, the first cultural form developed by mankind and has made possible the preservation and acquisition of other forms of culture. Most cultural objects, artifacts in the terminology of the anthropologist, are meaningless until their function has been explained; and language is essential to such explanation. To us, acquiring the meaning with the object, many of the objects we possess have obvious uses; but to persons unacquainted with their functions, many such things would be utterly meaningless. A fork from our table might suggest a weapon to a savage, but it is highly unlikely that he would conclude from viewing it that it was used to convey food to the mouth. Further, in different societies the same objects fulfill different functions. For instance, hoes such as we use to cultivate crops are used as money among certain African peoples. Hence the transfer of an object from one culture to another and its use in the new culture as in the old is unlikely without the aid of language or other forms of com-

\* P. Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, pp. 347, 365.

munication which convey the meaning of the physical object. It is in this way as well as in the transference of ideas that language serves as a vehicle for the diffusion of culture.

#### WRITING

Much of this transfer of ideas between cultures, as between persons within a single cultural group, is accomplished through the use of written rather than spoken language. Writing has two great advantages over speaking as a means of spreading and preserving culture. It can be used over wide areas fairly effectively and much more cheaply than the extension of speaking by radio; and it can carry messages through great periods of time without dependence upon memory. A system of written language is one of the earmarks of civilization.

Essentially, writing consists of a series of symbols the meanings of which are agreed upon by members using them and which may be portrayed on a material substance which serves as an intermediary between persons using this form of communication. The difference between spoken and written language, then, is the use of the intermediary substance and the nature of the symbols used. Otherwise the two processes are quite similar. The symbols used in writing, as well as the materials on which they are portrayed may vary greatly; from the realistic pictures painted on the wall of a cave to highly abstract mathematical symbols printed on paper. Closely allied to writing are the devices to aid memory used by Indians and other savages, such as cutting notches into sticks, tying knots in a piece of fibre, and the like. These seem to serve the same purpose as the knot tied in the corner of a child's handkerchief to remind him to do a particular thing. The value lies in the association of the idea it is wished to communicate with the symbol which recalls it to memory.

#### NATURAL HISTORY OF WRITING

Writing seems to have a natural history which is fairly well established. In its earliest form, it seems to consist of



realistic pictures representing actual objects and events. Such pictures seem to be more in the nature of monuments to occasions than written messages, although they convey the history of the event to which they refer. A fight of Indians with soldiers in the American Southwest was portrayed by painting on the wall of a cave a scene depicting the soldiers attacking an Indian village. Such a picture not only would refer to the actual attack, but might also convey the idea that soldiers were in the neighborhood and would attack.

As pictures came to be used more to convey messages, they became conventionalized so that they often were not recognizable to persons not initiated into the particular system of symbols used. Thus a dog might be represented by a slightly curved line representing the body and tail. From this would depend two short straight lines to represent the legs and at the upper end of the body-tail line would be a shorter stroke at right angles to represent the head and erect ears. The sun was often represented by a disk, and since the sun appeared each day, a period of time might be portrayed by a series of sun symbols.

From the use of highly conventionalized symbols the next step toward writing as we know it is to the use of the rebus; in which a picture represents not only the object portrayed, but any other object bearing the same or a very similar name. This writing system is often used in puzzles for children in our culture. A tin can, for example, may be used for the verb "can," or a picture of a human eye for the first person singular pronoun. The bottom of a foot might represent the word "sole" in the sense of "only," or "soul," as well as part of the foot. The importance of such a step is very great, since it changes entirely the basis on which the writing is done from one of portraiture to that of phonetics. In rebus writing it is the sound of the name of the object which is important and which is used, not the object itself. Thus, the symbols become phonetic.

This system of writing was used by the Aztecs in Mexico, by the Egyptians and Babylonians, and by the Chinese, and these languages supply the ancestral forms for all known systems of writing, according to Lowie. The Egyptians,

the Babylonians and the Aztecs conventionalized their pictures and then broke their language into syllables, each of which could be represented by a symbol so that any combination of syllables could be represented by the appropriate combination of symbols. This gave them a simplified means of representing words. In the case of the Babylonians the symbols became so extremely conventionalized that the connection with the objects pictured was entirely lost. In the other cases some resemblance was maintained.

#### THE ALPHABET

The Egyptians took another step in the direction of modern writing by analyzing their language and assigning a symbol to each of the consonant sounds. The vowel sounds were not represented but were supplied by the reader, as was the case with Arabic and Hebrew in more recent times. Later, when the Greeks took over the Egyptian symbols for consonants as modified by the Phoenicians, they found they had more symbols than sounds, and used the extra ones for vowels. Thus we came into possession of the first complete alphabet. The Chinese never went so far in the substitution of phonetics for pictures, and so never developed an alphabet. From one point of view this has been fortunate. Language sounds change over long periods of time, but the symbols such as are used by the Chinese are relatively permanent. Thus, while spoken Chinese has split into many dialects which are not understandable by persons from other portions of China, all Chinese use the same symbols for writing and so can communicate through this form.

The tremendous advantage of an alphabetized language lies in the small number of symbols which must be learned. Once mastered these symbols may be combined in countless variety and any possible sound in the language may be reproduced with a fair degree of accuracy. Writing becomes the possession of most of the people in a culture instead of the exclusive possession of a small body of scholars who require long periods of training.

With the advent of an alphabet social culture takes on new aspects. Trade is no longer restricted to personal bar-

ter and business can be carried on between places widely separated. Since law can be written and codified, the political state increases to a magnitude impossible when tribes are restricted to picture writing and sign language in their communications. Soon, through the facility for conveying thought which the alphabet permits, comes the preservation and elaboration of human experience along ethical, industrial, and finally philosophic lines. By relieving human memory from the necessity of carrying over long periods of time complicated details held in thought by great effort, and by allowing the spoken word to become a permanent record, enormous stimulus is injected into the advancement of human culture.

#### PRINTING

All of these effects are greatly multiplied by the use of printing, which makes it much easier and much cheaper to communicate with masses of persons than is possible by means of hand-written documents. Printing immensely increased the area over which such communication could be carried on; and this effect was further enhanced by improvements in the field of transportation, such as the railway, steamship, and motor car by which printed material could be distributed cheaply and effectively. Too, the ease with which printed material is preserved has made it possible for a much greater portion of the total culture of one generation to be passed on to the next than was possible through any other means of communication. It is this quality of printing that has earned it the title of "The Art Preservative."

Printing offers an excellent illustration of the way in which cultural interaction between different sorts of societies takes place. Invented in China, it was used there for centuries before it came to Europe. But the Chinese use of printing was severely limited by the nature of the process. The characters to be used on a page of a book were carved by hand on a piece of wood, which was then inked and a sheet printed. This was done because of the nature of Chinese writing, in which a distinct character was used for each word, it will be remembered. With such a great

variety of characters, no advantage would be gained in carving the symbols on separate bits of wood or metal since the storage bins required for them would be so great in number as to make it impractical for a person to walk from one to another in search of the particular character needed. As a matter of fact, the Chinese did use such characters, but only to correct mistakes in the carving of the page-form. This was done by chiselling out the incorrect character and inserting the correct one. But when the technique of printing was brought to a culture in which the alphabet was in use, the number of required characters was so small that a man could stand or sit in front of a series of bins containing them all; and printing from such movable type was almost immediately taken up. Printing became much cheaper and readers appeared in all social classes.

#### SOCIAL EFFECTS OF PRINTING

Thus printing destroyed much of the magical aura surrounding the scholar and made education of the masses possible. It brought students from all portions of the world into contact with each other and through the resulting awareness of what had been accomplished, tremendously stimulated both the dissemination of existing knowledge and the acquisition of new truths. At the same time, the enormous number of dialects were reduced to national languages, so that the area over which persons could communicate with each other effectively was widened. Through the speed with which printed materials could be transported, even without railways, important issues became matters of nation-wide discussion and a truly democratic government became possible over wide territories for the first time in history. In the field of economic life, paper money began to replace and to supplement coin, and the credit structure which is one of the features of modern capitalism became possible.

Religious reformers such as Calvin and Luther were quick to seize upon printing as a means of carrying on their efforts and the support they won from a public informed through pamphlets, many of which were carried by house-to-house peddlers, enabled them to succeed where their fore-



runners had failed. It is not too much to say that the introduction of printing remade Western culture; and indirectly, that of the entire world. Supplemented by telegraph, telephone, radio and motion pictures, printing has made of the earth a figurative whispering gallery; has brought us into contact with distant peoples and distant places and has changed our lives whether we wished it or not.

#### LANGUAGE AND MAGIC

The magic power of words suggested by the fancies of children appears in maturity in the ideas of savages. There are unlucky, dangerous words, unlawful to utter because of their ominous power. Names of the dead, of demons, and at times of gods, are words that must not be spoken lest the beings referred to appear and bring harm. Frazer has collected examples of this belief of savages that certain words are perilous to speak because of their magical potency.\*

Names are a part of the person. Sometimes the savage hides his name lest someone knowing it obtain power over him; at other times he fears to use a name because it will put him under the spell of something or somebody that is thought of as dangerous. The Australian often keeps from general knowledge his personal name for fear that an enemy may do harm to him by using it. A Brahman child receives two names, one for common use and the other only for such ceremonies as marriage. In this way the child is protected from the risk of magic. Names of the dead, of kings and sacred persons are often taboo. A different kind of testimony to the power of words appears when the aged Eskimos take new names with the expectation of getting in this way a new lease of life. One of the strongest taboos of language is that of the Hebrew word for Jehovah, *Jhvh*, for which, in the reading, *Adonai* or Lord was substituted. It is suggested that the desire to prevent the use of the name in magic explains its being prohibited except to the authorized priest. "If anyone I do not say should blaspheme against the Lord of men and gods but should even dare to utter his name unseasonably, let him expect the

\* J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Chap. 22.

penalty of death" expresses this firmly established prohibition.\*

The savage often fails to distinguish between the picture of a person and the person himself. He assumes also that magic is somehow involved in picture-making and especially in written language. Names written on bark or on the skin of animals are supposed to give the possessor power over those whose names are inscribed. Written language was early used as magical formulae in witchcraft. The magical character of writing explains the fact that the first scribes were sorcerers. The reaction of savages to books is also based upon their idea of magic. They regard books as instruments of divination. The missionary is asked to discover from his books an event of the future. ". . . asked me one day whether Mr. Price had started on his return journey to the Mission. I told him I did not know. 'Well then,' he said, 'ask your books, they will tell you.'" When a native was told that the square objects on the table were books he put his ear on one and, hearing nothing, said, "This book tells me nothing." After shaking it he tried again and then said, "Perhaps it is asleep!" Upon finding that a letter he had brought conveyed a message, another native refused to take back an answer, saying that he was afraid of its speaking on his return journey. Another messenger stuck a spear through a letter that he was carrying to prevent its speaking. The savage associates the idea of magic with the missionary's books so much that he frequently regards the effort of an individual to learn to read as equivalent to a public confession of a change in religion.†

The witchery of words and their power to influence social behavior appear in our time in catchwords and slogans.‡ The phrase and caption with their suggestions appealing to prejudice or desire are devices for the control of practice or thought, in high favor among the agitators, the politicians, and all others who endeavor to catch the public.

Differences in language separate also by the inherent limitation of translation. Thought expressed in one language

\* Philo, *Vita Mosis*, III, 11.

† L. Lévy Bruhl, *Primitive Mentality*, pp. 368-375.

‡ The student should read F. E. Lumley, *Slogans as a Means of Social Control*, Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. 16.

is molded by the structure of the language in which it appears and loss follows the effort to transfer it to some other language. It is easy to misinterpret what appears in a foreign tongue so as to bring about confusion or even hostility. The story of the Tower of Babel stresses the confusion and division that result from differences of speech. In military alliances the difficulty of intercommunication and the irritation resulting from the inability of fellow-soldiers of unlike speech to converse become a substantial cause of lack of sympathy and unity.

In the United States the chief contribution of the public schools to national welfare has been the establishment of a common language among children of various races and nationalities. The traveller in a foreign land has a vivid appreciation of the separation he feels from not speaking the language of the country in which he happens to be; he warms when he hears his native tongue spoken by a compatriot, and a fellowship starts although he and the stranger may have so few mutual interests that in their homeland they would not even maintain an acquaintance.

#### THE PROGRESS OF LANGUAGE

The test of a language is its adaptation to the needs of the people using it. This is the answer to the question whether languages progress toward a goal, an ideal form. Nothing stands out more clearly in history than the changing, often rapid, that languages in the past have undergone. This fluctuation of language has been especially noticeable in recent years, making a large part of the words most commonly used as slang in our free conversation quite unintelligible in a decade.

There is no iron-clad order that language must follow in its development, as was once thought by students of the evolution of language. Social experience molds spoken and written language and their changes are brought about by the need of adaptation to prevailing conditions. Isolation tends to preserve the forms of language. The language that travels from its place of origin is more open to variation in its new habitat. Rural peoples show conservatism in their

language as in their other experiences. The city, on the other hand, tends to speed up linguistic changes.

Science, by its influence upon the ways of living, indirectly influences language. Science also adds new words from the necessity of our having a vocabulary that permits us to write and speak about new inventions and discoveries.

Language tends, as civilization moves on, to become less mystical and less concrete. The increased use of abstract terms is a product of our manner of living and thinking. With experience flowing so rapidly and becoming so loaded with the complexities of present-day civilization, a corresponding loss of attention to detail is required, and the situation is reflected in both spoken and written language. Language is a means of social contact, and it changes as the people who use it change. Its development is directed not by linguistic laws, but by social forces.

#### INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

The modern facility of communication and transportation and the intimacies of nations increase the need of an international language. It is true that French and English are widely spoken and understood throughout the world and also that Latin serves somewhat as an international language for scientists. There is a growing necessity, however, for a living language, free from any national association, which can be easily acquired and understood by all civilized people. Now that the telephone and the radio carry the spoken word across mountain ranges and oceans and the talking movie has become an international recreation the need of some common medium of speech grows clearer. Diplomacy, business, and the international congresses of scientists interested in every field of human investigation enforce even more the importance of developing some kind of international language.

Experiments already made, leading to the development of Volapuk, Esperanto, Ido, and other language schemes, show that an international speech is not beyond the possibilities of science. There can be little doubt that such a form of communication would in a multitude of ways de-



crease national friction that encourages a militaristic spirit and makes war. Progress already made with Esperanto and Ido shows that such languages could be taught in the schools of all nations and the time now expended in the more or less fruitless efforts to teach a foreign modern language could be dispensed with. In this country the amount of time spent on French and German in our high schools and colleges is enormous when taken in the aggregate and for the most part of little value. Few Americans learn to speak any tongue other than their own or pursue after graduation the foreign literature on which they have spent effort and time. This would not be true of an international language because once it comes it will be constantly used in the public press, in magazines, correspondence, and in all sorts of activities resulting from the travel and national contacts that have become characteristic of modern civilization.

Nationalism and chauvinism, constantly increasing since the World War, have bitterly opposed the rise of any international language. It has been believed, and correctly, that the use of such a language would do much to break down the antagonisms between nations on which the rabid sort of nationalism feeds. An international language would make for an international-minded world public; and that is a consummation devoutly to be fought against according to the philosophies of most of the leading nations of the world today. However, it must be pointed out that ease of international communication does not always make for peace and good will. The army propagandist in time of war has as his task the spreading of much information as well as a great deal of misinformation about other countries in hopes that the differences in culture which he reveals will increase rather than diminish conflict. And it is easy to pick up rumors of conditions which would serve this purpose admirably.

Although no language ever fully meets the needs of some of the more abstruse members of a group it is also true that there are no groups which cannot express all of the common elements of its life through its language. Whenever a felt need arises for a new word, someone fills the need by invention. It is only ideas, habits or material objects

which have meaning for one, or a very few persons, which are not easily expressed by some recognized concept.

#### ABSTRACT NATURE OF LANGUAGE

Language is a product of the group which uses it, as a whole and as a collection of individual words. Any given word in a language represents a group agreement, is an abstraction of elements of experience common within the group. This is illustrated by the way in which a child comes to possess accurate definitions of words. A child, for example, may be given a puppy before he knows the meaning of the name for the animal. At first the word "puppy" is used by the child to refer exclusively to his pet. Later he learns that there are other puppies and he enlarges the meaning of the word to include them, but he is quite likely to refuse to apply his word to some unusual specimen of dog, such as a great Dane, a poodle whose coat has been trimmed, or a hyena. As his experiences broaden, his definition of "puppy" or "dog" is widened until it no longer refers to any particular animal, but to a class or species of animals. He has then acquired an abstract concept. As a concept the word "puppy" reflects a segment of experience from the lives of most of us and so has a meaning which is common to most of us and which changes relatively little from one person to another. As such it is a *collective representation*, a work of the community as a whole, bearing the mark of no one person, but reflecting the agreement of the entire social group and representing a type of object, animal, idea or what not.

Such collective representations, or concepts, are taken over from the group by the person and enable him to discuss intelligently objects he has never experienced, but about which he may have vast funds of accurate knowledge. Indeed, this process of conceptualization is essential. Each word one uses in conversation is a concept, the meaning of which is a matter of group consensus.

It is absolutely impossible for one person to transfer to another a perception; what he sees when he looks out of a window, for example. The best he can do is to use abstract

concepts which will arouse in the mind of his hearer much the same images he derived from his view. If the system of concepts we call language were perfectly objective and utterly devoid of the personal element, such communication would be perfect. But this is an impossible goal. The image of the puppy he owned in babyhood remains, to a greater or lesser extent, in the mind of the adult and colors his thinking about dogs in the abstract. Thus it is that no two persons ever fully and completely understand each other. The speaker uses concepts colored by his past experiences; the listener further colors them by his past experiences. But in many fields we approach this entire objectivity very closely; indeed any experience in relating an occurrence to another person forces the speaker to objectify, to seek concepts with approximately the same meaning to both persons involved.

#### UNIVERSE OF DISCOURSE

A set of such concepts commonly used by a group is known as a *universe of discourse*. Such sets of concepts may vary widely as to size and nature. In a broad sense, any language constitutes a universe of discourse, since the persons employing that language are presumed to be able to understand each other with a fair degree of accuracy. But within such broad limits other and smaller universes of discourse arise. The various regions of the United States have dialects which differ more or less from the standard pronunciation. Each social group has some concepts which it uses in a manner different from the larger public, if indeed the terms are used by the larger public at all. Academic disciplines are notorious for such universes of discourse, composed of the technical terms used by the teachers and students of the particular subject. The student entering one of the natural sciences is often confused and bewildered by the number of terms he must learn. Sociologists and other social scientists have built up their own universes of discourse and in so doing have used large numbers of concepts in use in the larger society, much to the bewilderment of students who find such terms given new and specific meanings. Families

commonly have a small set of such terms referring to past experiences which are known only to their intimates and which are sometimes used to refer to events which are not discussed with outsiders. The young men and women who dispense soda water and ice-cream have built up such a universe of discourse which is almost totally unintelligible to those not initiated. The same is true of the denizens of the underworld.

#### SOCIALIZING EFFECT OF COMMUNICATION

Such universes of discourse greatly intensify the feeling of belonging to a group. In fact, one of the primary functions of communication in any form is the group unity and cooperation which results. Those who speak our language are "our kind of people"; those who do not are "foreigners" or outsiders. Not only does this apply to the basic language, but also to the dialect, or even to the peculiar twist given the meaning of a word or phrase. The young person moving into a new community, or spending a vacation away from home is often accepted or rejected according to whether or not he has ready on his tongue the current cliches and slang phrases. Communication thus promotes social solidarity within the group and reinforces the attitudes of distrust which so often are associated with contact with other groups.

On a more primitive level the intensely stimulating effect of savage work-songs or sailor chanties are illustrations of the value of language as a means of bringing unison and stirring the energies of persons. The group songs of savage drama, like those of modern organized groups, make for emotional solidarity and evoke the social satisfaction which comes from the feeling of close contact. Thus language not only becomes a stimulus to social undertakings and a source of pleasure in social contact but a profound means of influencing the actions and thoughts of persons; i. e., of social control. In this sense language is not only a means of communication, but a powerful factor in socialization.

But perhaps of even greater utility is the function of lan-



guage, especially written or printed language, in passing culture from one generation to another. The history of civilization may be written in terms of the effectiveness of communication; and if we are wiser than our forefathers it is only, or mostly, because we have the advantage of what they knew plus what we have learned for ourselves. Culture is an accumulation of human experience; but if there is no adequate means for preserving and transmitting the achievements of one generation to the next much of the possible accumulation is lost. Where such communication between generations is efficient, each stands on the shoulders of the one preceding it, and so rises to a greater height.

Much of this advantage lies in the possibility of using language as a form of vicarious experience which permits us to discover the effects of certain actions without actually performing the deed. Experience may be the best teacher, as the old proverb asserts, but she is most extravagant of effort and often quite painful in comparison with teaching through language. We can learn from the actions of others we have never seen and so, in large measure, escape the losses of a trial-and-error method. Words of counsel will not prevent mistakes nor remove awkwardness, but a clear explanation of a form of behavior new to the actor will prevent many blunders and shorten the time required to become skillful through giving the learner an idea of what to expect and how to proceed. Some of the skill of the expert may be put into language and passed on to the pupil. So, language has come to have the first place in the educational processes, formal and informal.

#### COMMUNICATION AND PERSONALITY

It may seem from what has been said that the net effect of language, and of communication in general, is to deny individuality to the person, to make him solely a product of the group. Within broad limits this is, of course, true, since any form of interaction tends to make possible the elimination of differences. In the case of language the person is required to use the same symbols in the same meaning as do other members of the language group. But these limits

are so broad that the person still has ample opportunity to develop individual variations by which to express his own individuality. To begin with there is such a vast number of words in any language that the person has a wide range of choice for his own use. The vocabulary used by the person is one of the distinctive traits of his individuality. But when it is remembered that he can also vary his sentence structure, the speed with which he articulates, the quality of tones used in speech, it must become apparent that here the person has a tool exceptionally rich in potentialities for expression of individuality.

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## CHAPTER XIV

### COOPERATION

Activity in conjunction with other persons is the basis of all social action. Such interaction may take either of two basic forms, conflict or cooperation; or may be pitched on levels growing out of these two fundamental forms, as accommodation or assimilation. These four are the major processes of social interaction.

Cooperation is not so spectacular as the more dramatic forms of conflict and so has not received the attention from sociologists that the latter has. But it is probably more important in its effects on social organization. The mere fact that it represents the more normal and expected experience has probably had something to do with its relative neglect. The abnormal always attracts attention in greater degree than does the normal. But the expectation that persons and groups will cooperate when they come into contact with each other makes this process of greater value in understanding how society operates. Socialization, or the fitting of the individual for life in groups, is largely a matter of training in cooperation, or the working with others in the direction of the attainment of ends which seem desirable. But cooperation is not wholly imposed upon the person by society. Children cooperate as naturally and as frequently as they contend with each other. Indeed, in normal circumstances the predominance of their play-activities reveal cooperation rather than conflict. As they grow older the proportion of cooperation is expected to rise. If it does not the child is said to be maladjusted.

Participation in the activities of a group has been named as one of the fundamental drives possessed by the person. Usually, though not always, this participation takes the form of cooperation. In their strivings to gain recognition and response persons also generally find that cooperation provides the easiest route to success. And because these wishes are deep-seated in human nature and motivate much of our activity, cooperation is a primary and strong social bond.



Giddings has pointed out that any animals so constructed biologically that they respond in a like manner to like stimuli and who are aware of their likenesses will naturally cooperate.\* The factor of like response to similar stimuli may promote an unconscious cooperation, as when two beasts of prey are chasing an animal, which, in its efforts to escape one falls a prey to the other. Or, a group of people may join a chase of a purse snatcher on a street and succeed in catching him because their great number makes it impossible for him to dodge successfully. In this latter case we have a situation which may easily develop into conscious cooperation if one person so sets his course as to cover a line of flight not protected by anyone else. Just where such cooperation becomes conscious it is impossible to state with precision.

#### THE BIOLOGICAL BASIS OF COOPERATION

The spectacular character of struggle for survival on the biological level has led to an exaggeration of the importance of conflict and the forgetting of the greater significance of cooperation. This appears when we consider the nature of the organism. The organism is more than a mere mass of protoplasm or a collection of cells. Protoplasm as a substance is found only as organisms, or parts of organisms. The organism exists through a functional relationship of its various parts or cells, which is highly cooperative. This protoplasmic organization is made possible by its constituent parts assuming different but correlated activities. The organism as a system of cellular activities illustrates, on the basic biological level, the working together of individual parts, which, when it appears in the social behavior of persons, we designate cooperation. Every living thing is dependent for its maintenance of physical integrity, and for survival, upon the mutually beneficial activities of its protoplasmic organization.

Cooperation within the organism is an essential condition of biological life; the evolutionary process itself, which superficially appears motivated merely by the struggle for self-preservation, is best interpreted as a moving toward more

\* *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, pp. 352-353.

complex and conscious cooperation. Attention may be so fixed on the tactics of the process that its strategy is overlooked. Evolution, as it shows itself on the higher level, that is, in the activities of the more complex organisms, uncovers more clearly the significance of cooperative behavior. Personality is itself an illustration of this. The term that best describes the fundamental soundness of the individual personality is *integration*. It signifies that the various desires and activities of the person have come under the dominance of some principle of control to which the individual is committed. Instead of a frequent upheaval of antagonistic cravings and in place of the clashing of inconsistent activities we have a unity of the self made possible by a commanding motive in life strong enough to bring desires and activities in harmony. Thus, personality represents on the social level of experience something like the organism itself. Indeed, some would prefer to enlarge the meaning of organism and consider personality a social label for the behavior of an extremely complex protoplasmic unity. Integration, although it signifies the wholeness of the individual, ranges over different levels which, when interpreted with reference to their social values, are regarded as higher or lower. The process advances beyond that of instinct and in the human being we have social integration, which is fundamentally psychic. On the level of human behavior it is not only conscious and intelligent, but even self-conscious. Here emerges the opportunity for the conscious striving for social values to which Lester Ward, in his epochal attack on the *laissez-faire* doctrine, gave the term *telesis*.<sup>\*</sup> Social integration requires more than that the individual bring harmony to his desires and thinking by a compelling idea. This dominant principle must be also in accord with the integration of the group life itself. Integration is achieved through social cooperation.

#### COOPERATION AMONG ANIMALS

The spectacular position of struggle and conflict in the animal world easily hides the presence among the lower

<sup>\*</sup> Lester F. Ward, "Mind as a Social Factor," *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, Vol. 3, pp. 361-377.

animals of a degree of cooperation. This fact was neglected by those who were dominated in their interpretation of nature by the exaggeration of conflict which proceeded from the work of Darwin and Huxley. In the more balanced thinking of our time even the zoologists have come to recognize the biological significance of cooperation. An illustration of this is the following statement of one of our foremost authorities in the science of zoology :

We have seen that cooperative action is a universal attribute of nature, rhythmic in the wave-like rise and fall of its constructive impulses ; and cumulative in the tidal rise of world organization its petty gains engender. It is the mainspring to the growth and being of every individual thing, the compelling creative power which everywhere underlies the phenomena of evolution and progress.\*

Even during the vogue of social Darwinism, Peter Kropotkin, who had a first-hand knowledge of the behavior of animals in their wild state, protested against the exaggeration of conflict in the prevailing interpretation of the evolutionary process, by calling attention to the large place of mutual aid in the evolution of animals. Animals, of course, differ widely in their capacity to cooperate, but, as Kropotkin states, the more socialized animals such as the bee and the ant have, in their struggle for survival, a special advantage over animals of predatory and individualistic habits.

Gregariousness among animals is regarded by some psychologists as the expression of a true instinct. Whether an instinctive or acquired response, it is the expression of cooperation in an elementary form, since the herd and the flock could not exist if the individuals when together did not tend to act in concert. When the herd establishes sentinels as, for example, did the wild buffalo, cooperation of a meager sort becomes a means of group safety. Among the lower animals cooperation expresses itself both in protective and aggressive conduct although it reaches its highest form in defensive reaction.

Paradoxically it was from a discussion of the Darwinian

\* W. Patten, *The Grand Strategy of Evolution*, p. 391. Quoted by permission of Bruce Humphries, Inc.

theory which is usually thought of as proof that struggle and conflict are the means by which society changes, that the importance of cooperation was brought to the attention of social scientists in a most striking manner. Within ten years of the publication of Darwin's epoch-making volume, *The Origin of Species*, a young London journalist and economist published a series of articles in which he attempted to apply the ideas of the new biology to social structure. The conclusion reached was that it is not struggle of the individual which makes human progress, or even survival, possible. This function is performed by cooperation :

The progress of man requires the cooperation of men for its development. . . The rudest sort of cooperative society, the lowest tribe and the feeblest government, is so much stronger than isolated man, that isolated man, if he ever existed in any shape which could be called man, might very easily have ceased to exist. The first principle of the subject is that man can only make progress in "co-operative groups." \*

There seems to be a satisfaction derived by the human animal from the mere presence of others, so that much simple cooperation is undertaken not with any distant advantage in view, but for the mere pleasure of participating in activities with others. Such behavior is easily observable in recreational activities, which are without distant aims. Nothing hurts a young child so much as to be forced to not take part in some common undertaking of his group of playmates. But beyond this immediate motivation, cooperation is furthered by consideration of remote utilities.† A stream is dammed so that the people of the neighborhood may have a convenient place in which to fish, for example. Or the voters of a municipality vote a bond issue with which to build an electric power plant in hopes of reducing this utility bill. Cooperation, conscious or unconscious, willing or unwilling, is an essential characteristic of the indirect, roundabout mode of production in capitalism.

As Ross has pointed out, the oldest and most frequent motive to large-scale cooperation has been in war, particu-

\* Walter Bagehot, *Physics and Politics*, pp. 212-213. Quoted by permission of D. Appleton-Century Company.

† *Ibid.*



larly in defense, since this is a continuing necessity while attack is optional and temporary. It is quite likely that this is the basic factor in the formation of the governmental institution. Other basic forms of social institutions formed on the basis of cooperation are judicial tribunals, construction of public works, control of streams, worship, and economic activity, according to this authority.\* That is, Ross conceives cooperation to be both voluntary and compulsive and to include most social activities. The one thing necessary to cooperation is a goal toward which the concurrent activities of several persons or groups tend.

The minute division of labor characteristic of our modern culture makes cooperation absolutely essential. When a man spends his time doing one small task over and over, other persons must produce the other things he requires and supply them to him. Thus the doctor produces nothing which he can use directly to keep himself alive. Neither does the school teacher, the lawyer or the preacher. But each presumably renders services to the community which are worth the fee or wage he receives and which he then uses to procure his subsistence. It is true that the partners to this complicated arrangement may often feel antagonism to each other, but in spite of that they cooperate in the sense that they work toward a goal which is thought to be of value to the whole group.

As a matter of fact, the difference between cooperation and conflict is often dim and vague. Conflict between groups promotes close cooperation within the group, as was apparent in this country during the World War. Further, conflict often results in the elimination of differences with the result that cooperation, voluntary or forced, is the result.

#### COOPERATION AMONG SAVAGES

Much of the social life of savages is cooperative. This appears in their food-getting. Hunting parties work together with precision, most of the young men of a village joining in a hunt in which each has his definite assignment as the group beats the bush in a wide ring and gradually closes in on the

\* *Principles of Sociology*, pp. 345-348.

animals, until they are forced into the traps already prepared; and frequently the game, when captured, becomes a collective possession which is distributed, not according to what the individual has procured, but according to a social program which emphasizes the cooperative character of the undertaking.

The clearing of lands and the carrying on of such agriculture as savage people maintain afford numerous illustrations of the principle of cooperation. Again, in the building of canoes and huts, in the dance and the religious ceremony, and in the tribal initiation, cooperation has a foremost place. Indeed it would be difficult for these peoples, placed in hard environments and possessing little in the way of tools and other mechanical resources, to support themselves if they did not learn to work together. Sometimes primitive cooperation is a product of personal choice, as when an American Indian brave invited such of his associates as were willing to embark upon a war party. In other cases cooperation is essentially the product of group pressure exerted through tradition or religion or the secret society. Sometimes cooperation approaches a contract agreement for mutual services. Cooperation is also evoked by the authority of the leader or the priest.

#### COOPERATION AMONG CHILDREN

The development in the play life of children is interesting because of the light it throws upon the growth of cooperation. In nursery play we find the child acting as an individual and, at least at first, giving little attention to his playmates. If he pays heed at all to those about him, he is likely to snatch a toy from the hand of his nearest associate or to demand his chance to do what he sees another child performing. In other words, the play of the young child is self-centered. At three or four we discover a change, as gradually association in play comes about. Although conscious of others, the child is primarily individualistic in attitude, but some interest is shown in playing with others. Soon come group games, emphasizing at first a contest between one member and the rest. Hide-and-seek is a good illustration

of this sort of game. About this time there normally appears eagerness to join with others in carrying out some common enterprise. When their interest is aroused in making something, children of this age will work together like beavers and cooperate to a remarkable degree. Their play also begins to have an element of team spirit and group organization. Later comes the gang for boys and the clique for girls, adding to cooperation within the groups the discipline of public opinion and loyalty. During adolescence this cooperation becomes conscious and highly organized, appearing chiefly in the rivalry of sports.

Throughout this development the parent and the teacher who seek the maturity of the child are constantly attempting to stimulate cooperation and to build up effective social attitudes. We see the parent demanding of the child that he share his toys, and sometimes making the mistake of asking more social regard than is to be expected of so young a child. Then comes the insistence of the adult upon fairness, and many a parent is over-troubled by failure to recognize that the sense of justice in social play is a matter of experience and growth. Finally, from many quarters influences appear that tend to strengthen conscious cooperation in the play and sports of the adolescent.

#### COOPERATION IN THE FAMILY

Successful family life requires cooperation. The family whose members do not work together becomes a mere legal institution without the essential qualities which we associate with the normal home. In industry it is the business of the manager to coordinate the activities of individual workers. The persons themselves may be out of accord with one another or even maintain an impersonal relationship. So long as their individual undertakings are made to fit together by the directing management, there need not be a cooperative spirit, although this, when present, adds to efficiency. The family, unlike the factory or the store, has no routine that takes the place of personal reaction. If the members of the family fail to work together, not only are the satisfactions of the home destroyed, its very existence is threatened.

In simple society we see illustrations that enforce the importance of cooperation in giving the family security. For example, Malinowski tells us that in the Trobriand Islands, even though there is no knowledge of physical fatherhood, social fatherhood is thought indispensable.\* This means, as the author states, that the woman cannot have her motherhood approved socially unless she has a man to protect her and give her economic security. In part her natural brother serves her but in addition there is need for someone who will have responsibility for her sex life and for the nurture and training of her child. This relationship is more than a mere division of labor carried on in the spirit of industrial partners; it is a personal association and contains from the beginning the germs of the affection which has now come to have the chief place in the modern home. Of course, family cooperation is unlike that which we find in the highly organized but instinctive society of ants and bees. In any association on the personality level there is bound to be clashing of individuals and this is as true in families as elsewhere. However, this conflict of individual expression must remain a minor characteristic or the unity of the home is broken and its survival imperiled.

The social worker becomes conscious through experience of the large place cooperation must have whenever anyone attempts to rebuild the old family life. It is only under adverse conditions, or when catastrophe comes upon the family, that we see in full force the strength of this cooperative spirit. No one who has dealt with individual families battling with poverty, sickness, or disgrace has failed to discover the remarkable resources of sympathy and cooperation found within the average family. Indeed, the success of the social worker in rehabilitation of family life depends primarily upon the ability to find these resources of potential cooperation and the skill to bring them to practical expression.

#### INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION

In no field of man's activities do we find cooperation of greater significance than in that of the intellect. The state-

\* B. Malinowski, *The Father in Primitive Psychology*, p. 82.



ment that there is nothing new under the sun needs, in justice to fact, the slight modification that there is nothing entirely new under the sun because what seems an original contribution has a social background. Man's advance in the arts and in science, both pure and applied, grows much as do the coral islands. Upon what has preceded, the author, the artist, and the scientist add their contributions. Sometimes the stimulus is that of individual upon individual, but more often it is a social situation that brings forth a new discovery, or the original theory of some unprecedented practice. Thus we see the influence of Fielding upon Thackeray, Smollett upon Dickens, Carlyle upon Emerson, and of the scientific movement associated with evolution on the poetry of Tennyson.

This cross-breeding of ideas, as Haines ingeniously calls it, which acts as a factor in invention, is a form of intellectual cooperation.\* Without question, no scientists in the modern world are to be credited with greater originality or more social significance than Pasteur and Darwin. In both of them we see indebtedness to preceding workers. Neither of them could have brought forth his epoch-making discoveries without the assistance of his predecessors as a foundation upon which to build. For example, in the case of Darwin it is now possible to trace with clearness and some detail the various influences that flowed into his thinking and built up the theory of evolution. Lyell contributed by his *Principles of Geology*, Gilbert White, although this seems to have been unconscious on Darwin's part, by his *Natural History of Selborne*, while, according to Darwin's testimony, it was Malthus's *Essay on Population* that crystallized the nebulous ideas that had been flooding his mind.

Perhaps there could be no better illustration of the way in which applied science organizes itself, so that contributions from many persons and different fields are made coordinative, than the famous medical clinic of the late Mayo brothers at Rochester, Minnesota. This organization has attracted the attention of the world because so systematized are the various specialties of medicine and surgery that every

\* T. A. Haines, "Cross-Breeding of Ideas as a Factor in Invention," *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. VI, No. 1.

patient receives the advantages of an immediate and effective service from every department that can contribute to his welfare.

So long as scientific interest was disorganized and disconnected, little progress resulted. In the modern world science removes the barriers of different specialties and languages, making possible cooperation between scientists in the same field of investigation everywhere in the world and at the same time providing contact between these specialists and those at work in other allied lines of research.

#### COOPERATION IN INDUSTRY

One of the marked changes in social thinking during the last decade has been an increasing recognition of the need of cooperation between the various groups that make modern industry possible. The legitimate and necessary part played by capital as well as labor is more widely realized by both workers and employers. Neither factor can exist in industry without the presence of the other. Antagonism, resulting in strikes, has proved so costly to both parties that there is less and less willingness to allow conflict to break out, and the general public grows more and more intolerant of strikes, lock-outs, and other forms of industrial warfare.

During the past few years the federal government has made a concerted and prolonged effort to bring cooperation into this field; or at least to substitute mediation and compromise for the open conflict which has flared so frequently in the past decades. The National Labor Relations Board has been established as a public agency to aid in the elimination of differences between workers and employers. However, the factional fight within the ranks of labor, between those supporting the old craft unions and those demanding that labor be organized by industries, has created a situation which seems likely to promote rather than lessen conflict.

A most interesting illustration of the possibilities of cooperation between labor unions and industrialists is furnished by the Amalgamated Garment Workers Union, one of the more "revolutionary" labor organizations. This union has gathered information which gives it a keen insight

into the general conditions of the industry of which it is a part. On the basis of such information, the union was in a position to advise as to reorganization when a large tailoring plant was facing bankruptcy, and to loan the manufacturer the money with which to carry out the proposed reorganization. Numerous other similar instances have grown out of the depression beginning in 1929 but there seems to be ample opportunity for further spread of such tactics.

During the last twenty-five years there has been a remarkable increase of associational activities through membership in all sorts of industrial, professional, fraternal, and community organizations. Very few are left outside, while the common experience is for the individual to be a member of from six to a dozen different kinds of organizations, established to maintain some kind of cooperative undertaking. Even the tramps have their organization, and recently their protest against an unnecessary police regulation in one of our large cities was reported by the press to have received consideration. Though there be a clash between the various group organizations, their general influence is cooperative, bringing the individual in contact and in sympathy with the others of his particular group. The individual is made aware of the fact that his labor, business, or profession has social significance far beyond his own personal experience and he learns that by working together with others who have the same problems, he is more fortunate than if he keeps by himself.

Even industries cooperate and by standardizing their products save an enormous economic loss and add measurably to the efficiency of present-day production. Standards advocated by organizations tend to be more socially cooperative than usually would be true of individual standards. Even though practices sometimes fall below professional or business ethics, the existence of the code tends unmistakably to emphasize the public good. Even business competition is curbed by definite ideas of what is legitimate between rival firms. Cut-throat practices are less and less to be found. This trend in industry is essentially cooperative, but it is not always interpreted as such, since that term is reserved for a very definite movement in the world of business. The fact

that we have cooperating organizations, even though their sphere of responsibility is limited, makes possible, in case of need, an alliance of various organizations for cooperation on a larger scale. For example, the unemployment situation of 1930-1932 brought together in the effort to reduce suffering and to increase business leaders of trade, business, professions, and politics as co-workers in a common cause.

Out of industrial experience is coming clearer recognition that conflict between groups brings hazard to both parties and that cooperation and stability are required for the prosperity of each. An illustration of this is the concerted effort made by authors, publishers, and magazine proprietors to develop a modern copyright act. Once it would have been thought an advantage to the publisher of books to be free to pirate the writing of authors but experience has shown that unless the rights of each are recognized neither author nor publisher has favorable conditions for the writing of manuscripts and the publishing of books.

#### THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The rise of cooperative industrial and commercial ventures designed to return profits to their users rather than to their owners has been one of the most interesting economic developments of the last century. It originated, as one would expect, in England, where industry was more advanced than anywhere else in the world. We find, as early as 1821, The Co-operative and Economical Society coming into existence in London. Robert Owen, a successful cotton manufacturer of Lanark, Scotland, who had become an enthusiastic social reformer, had great influence in popularizing the idea of cooperation, and became president of the First Co-operative Congress. Various organizations sprang into being. Many, on account of poor management and faulty business policy, soon came to an end. The leadership of Owen became a burden as well as a stimulus because of the opposition he received from the Church on account of his peculiar and radical views. Cooperation, also, like all other reform movements, enlisted the interest of enthusiastic but imprac-



tical persons, and this for a time became a source of weakness. Owen's idea of a self-supporting home colony of mutual interest led to the establishment of several cooperative colonies, the most conspicuous of which was the settlement at New Harmony, Indiana, which came under his leadership in 1824. This eventually failed, stripping the founder of his entire capital at the time. In 1827 the Brighton Cooperative Society was founded as an attempt to establish a cooperative community, with provisions for the education of children and adults as well as the maintenance of common trading interests. By 1830 there were two or three hundred cooperative societies of various forms, but the movement did not obtain economic security until the Rochdale Pioneers in 1844 brought forth a new program which was destined to revolutionize the idea of cooperation and, by proving its success, to make it a world-wide form of economic organization. This new departure was the selling of the goods of the cooperative store at the accustomed market price and the crediting of each member of the organization with his share of the profits in proportion to his purchases.

The Christian Socialists, as they were called, under the leadership of Frederick Maurice, famous English theologian, also experimented with cooperation, and although their business ventures were not commercially successful, they gave impetus to the cooperative movement and strengthened its position as a scheme for social betterment. The Christian Socialists especially proved helpful by their support of new parliamentary legislation which became necessary as cooperation was extended. Some of the earlier failures, indeed, were in part the result of the legal handicap placed upon any scheme of cooperation by the existing laws. Interest in cooperation developed to such an extent that it became necessary to bring into an alliance, for legal protection and mutual helpfulness, the various cooperative organizations, and this was accomplished by the establishment of the Cooperative Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

In Great Britain and Ireland about ten per cent of the population now belongs to one or more of the cooperatives. These organizations manufacture flour, textiles and clothing, operate a wheat farm in Canada, a coal mine and fruit

and dairy farms in England and employ about 250,000 persons.

Cooperation spread into Europe and eventually into Asia, the United States, and the English Dominions. Nowhere has cooperation brought about greater social changes than in Denmark. The history of the remarkable growth in prosperity of Danish agriculture is chiefly the record of the benefits of the most thoroughgoing scheme of cooperation to be found anywhere at present. Danish farmers, by developing their cooperative enterprises, since 1850 have become the most prosperous agricultural people in the world. Industry is firmly established on a cooperative basis, including cooperative marketing, credit, and education. Cooperative societies have been formed to carry on activities outside the field of agriculture, such as cooperation for life, health, accident, wind, livestock, and field-crop insurance. Cooperative organizations also furnish public utilities such as electricity and water, and community cultural enterprises including schools, libraries, musical organizations, and farm lecture courses. The movement has re-created Denmark and given the world a demonstration of the economic and social advantages of sound and well-directed cooperation.

Cooperation in the United States has not prospered as in Europe. Its development has been most widespread in the Middle West. Throughout the United States, however, cooperative agricultural societies have proved their worth, even though they have been limited in their scope of cooperation. The citrus-growers of California, and to a lesser extent the apple-growers of the Northern Pacific states, have carried cooperation in the production and marketing of their fruits to a greater success than has attended any other American form of cooperation. Fruit-growers of California have been favored in their cooperative enterprise by the limited territory given over to the growing of their product and by the high level of education to be found in their membership. They have had the background to make their cooperation effective and in comparison with the cotton-growers, for example, have the advantage of an industry concentrated in a relatively small territory. Within the past few years the cooperative movement in the United States has invaded new

fields. The movement to form cooperatives for the provision of hospital care for the members has met with great success. A similar scheme to provide medical care has been met with strenuous opposition by the American Medical Association and at this time, 1939, a recent court ruling indicates that this association has the right to prevent its members from cooperating with a doctor who serves such a cooperative group. Transmission of electrical energy to farm homes has also been furthered by cooperative groups, aided by the government.

So far, it would appear that the cooperative movement is more or less dependent upon support of some other movement. Although there are exceptions, the aid of the labor unions in Great Britain, of the folk movement in Scandinavia, of communism in Russia, and of the government in this country seems to have been the decisive factor in the success of this movement.

#### SOCIAL EFFECTIVENESS OF COOPERATION

In simple society it is easy to see the helplessness of the individual who is excluded from tribal cooperation. The moment he is made an outlaw, his death warrant is issued. In modern society the helplessness of the individual takes a different form, but it is still true that security and opportunity are made possible by the existence of a society which comes into being as a means of cooperative relationship and activity. As Lester Ward stated years ago in the development of his doctrine of *telesis*, the freedom of the individual is maintained by social organization. Government is an example of such a human invention, attempting to furnish the conditions for social security and individual development, and at present our most important political questions have to do with the means of giving protection to the group without at the same time infringing upon the individual sense of initiative and responsibility.

As social experience becomes more complicated, it grows more apparent that the individual for his safety and happiness must look to public cooperation. An illustration of this is the problem of modern health. We are making great

strides in the conquest of disease and the maintenance of conditions favorable to physical health. This progress is possible merely because society can organize its resources and give the individual the benefit of its modern program. Part of our sanitation and protection of health comes from legal enactment and the work of administrators who have authority to carry out the necessary regulations. In part, our better health is coming from a public opinion which not only enforces the law but even goes beyond enactment in impressing upon the indifferent and the unintelligent the practices that conserve body life. In part, our advance results from the cooperative efforts of doctors who voluntarily give to the public the benefit of their knowledge and experience. Finally, in no small degree, we owe to the cooperative educational enterprises of various sorts of social agencies and institutions the encouraging progress that the modern man is making in ways of health. If society did not put to use the increasing information gathered by medical science, epidemics would still have their disastrous power over man. Better health comes from effective cooperation, which is in part voluntary and in part enforced by public statutes.

Another illustration of the effectiveness of cooperation is the social worker's attack upon some concrete social problem. The delinquent child is a good example. In the effort to understand the difficulty of the individual and to help him re-establish himself socially, the social worker enlists the court, the psychiatrist, the psychologist, the physician, the educator, and, if possible, the parent. The case is studied from every angle and insight is drawn from several scientists, various social organizations and administrators. This procedure may be found at work in any child guidance clinic in this country. Indeed, most of the enrichment characteristic of modern life is made possible by activities that are essentially cooperative, although often so automatic and routine that their social meaning is not recognized. Nothing is more true of present society than that "no member of it liveth unto himself." Usually only when cooperation is pushed into new experiences are we conscious of our mutual dependence one upon another.



## MORALITY AS SOCIAL COOPERATION

Morality has grown out of human experience as a means of defining cooperation of the finer sort. Ethics enforces social values and furnishes the individual with standards that help him meet his responsibilities to others. It curbs dangerous individualism and with advancing knowledge constantly moves forward to higher levels. Unethical conduct is exploitation, the result of taking personality values from others for personal satisfaction. He who exploits holds an attitude which, were it universal, would bring all to social disaster. The ethical citizen, on the other hand, cooperates with others and has regard for their rights and possibilities. Nothing expresses this so well as the *Golden Rule*.

The cooperative character of morality appears also when we consider the meaning of one of the strongest ethical terms, *loyalty*, which represents the feeling of commitment, the willingness to cooperate with persons, as in the family; with the group, as in patriotism; or with standards, as in the idea of justice. Loyalty is tested by the individual's readiness to do his part in any common undertaking. Loyalty signifies the spirit of team play.

Ethics is not, of course, in a changing civilization a static set of rules, so we have that clash of loyalties by which the individual and society itself are carried in their understanding of cooperation to higher and higher ideals. Differences between individuals in their ethical attainment must not conceal the fact that morality, on whatever plane it appears, is recognition of relationship and obligation. However limited or feeble its expression, it embodies cooperation.

## EDUCATION AND COOPERATION

Society has to look to education for the building up of the spirit of cooperation. Social clashing is guaranteed by the egoistic motives common to mankind. As man advances, combative impulses need to be lessened rather than increased. It is otherwise with cooperation. If men are to be equal to the testing of a progressive social experience, the cooperative tendencies need to be strengthened and the ability to work

together made more effective. The spirit of cooperation cannot with much success cause an addition to personality after the formative years have been passed. Not to special courses in civics nor to preachments for adults, but to the early training of the growing child do we turn if we are to encourage the cooperative trend. This habit cannot be built up by teaching alone, but practice also must be stressed, in the home, the school, and the church. Cooperation as a social habit needs to be emphasized that the child may have an opportunity to learn the advantages of working with others. Appeal should not be made, as it often has been in the past, to the competitive motives that so easily pervert childish ambitions, thus bringing about a personality that enjoys conflict and fails to appreciate the value of cooperation. Instead of praising the child who gets the highest mark, we are now encouraging such developments as the socialized recitation and project work, in which a group of pupils work together for a definite end.

The child should, without antipathy, become familiar with the differences between persons, for where intolerance exists cooperation becomes impossible. Education contributes less than it ought to the growth of the cooperative spirit because its policy reflects the social thinking of the present, which magnifies competition and still undervalues training for cooperation. Even in athletics, where we pride ourselves on stressing cooperation, this is markedly for the sake of success in competition with rival teams.

However slowly cooperation results from educational processes it can come in no other way. Attempts to compel it by political pressure are doomed to failure; efforts to hasten cooperation by force of any sort lead sooner or later to reaction. It cannot be achieved by the drafting of visionary programs; it must come from cultural experience and cannot go beyond the cooperative attainment of individuals.

#### WORLD COOPERATION

The risk of modern warfare produces among thinking people a desire for a greater degree of world cooperation. Improvement of communication and transportation is bring-

ing the peoples of the earth closer together and making possible an exchange of ideas and material goods, especially in the field of commerce, which is in itself a form of world-wide cooperation. At the same time this multiplicity of contact offers more opportunity for the clashing of interests and the appeal to force. Although national isolation is impossible for any people to maintain, national groups are not prepared for any great measure of cooperative enterprises. Here, as within the group itself, any new departure cannot safely go far beyond the habits or desires of the individuals concerned. The necessity is so great for more effective means of meeting the world-wide need of adjustment, that various schemes are suggested and different kinds of efforts made to increase international cooperation. Most important of these is the League of Nations, which, aside from its distinctive political achievement, has made substantial contribution in dealing with social problems that concern all nations. For instance, its thoroughgoing report on international traffic in women is bound to have considerable influence in stiffening the moral protest against the shipping of women from one country to another where they may more easily be exploited in prostitution.

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## CHAPTER XV

### CONFLICT

Social groups are formed about interests or values which are of enough importance that a number of persons will engage in activity designed to satisfy, maintain or promote them. Such activity within the group leads to cooperation and organization. But society contains a number of mutually exclusive values and interests so that groups, and persons who have taken over these values from groups, often come into conflict in such activity. Hence, conflict is one of the fundamental forms of social interaction.

Conflict has been defined as the pursuit by persons or groups of mutually exclusive values\* with consequent antagonistic behavior. Such activity may take the form of defense, of taking something which another possesses, or of appropriation of something another is seeking. In any case the two parties to the conflict are seeking to control the process of interaction so that the result will be favorable from their point of view; so that the value in terms of which they are motivated will be triumphant. Thus conflict is always action against someone or something; there is always struggle of some degree of intensity, although the opponent may not be recognized specifically. Further, if the opponent is recognized, it is entirely possible that the conflict is not accompanied by ill-feeling; much of our conflict behavior is entered because of the pleasure derived from it, as in games which pit two sides against each other.

Conflict in which the opponent is not recognized is sometimes distinguished from conflict, proper, and given the name of competition. This is the third type of conflict indicated above, the effort to appropriate something desired by someone else. Here the effort is not to overcome an opponent, but to acquire satisfactions which he wishes and which he cannot gain if they are attained by another. That is, the success of one of the competitors necessarily means lack of success

\* Harold D. Lasswell, article on "Conflict" in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. IV, p. 194.

on the part of others. The distinction is that in this sort of behavior the activity is not directed against the other competitors but toward the value for which all are working. The failure of others is not planned, but is only incidental.\* Conflict proper, on the other hand is designed to eliminate the competitor, either by destruction or by forcing him to leave the field of action. This means that in open conflict the contestants must recognize each other, whereas in the competitive type they may be unaware of the other's existence. The one is conscious, the other may remain unconscious. This is not quite the same thing as saying that open conflict is personal while competitive conflict is impersonal. Political parties, religious sects, national states may wage the most severe conflicts without the participants having any personal feeling of antagonism against their combatants. One of the great problems of army commanders has always been to prevent fraternizing of their troops with the enemy. During the Civil War in this country a considerable trade grew up between soldiers of the opposing armies where they were stationed in close proximity for great lengths of time. The same thing was observed during the World War in spite of the handicaps of language difficulties and of a vastly superior propaganda organization which directed its efforts toward building up attitudes of hostility against the enemy. But in such cases, it will be noticed, there is consciousness of the opponent. The opposed groups, as groups, are seeking the elimination of each other. The conflict is essentially between organizations and the persons representing the organizations may not have taken over the group attitudes sufficiently to make the struggle a matter of personal import. But in either case the essential characteristic of this general form of activity is that of struggle, of opposition, whether the opponent be recognized specifically, or referred to merely as "circumstances," "forces of nature," or the vague "other fellow."

The phenomenon of conflict has been observed by social commentators always, but during the last century when Europe was engaged in gaining dominance over the rest of

\* E. C. Hayes, "Some Social Relations Re-Stated," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXI, p. 337.

the world, the notion that it is through struggle that social organization is brought about gained a greater emphasis than ever before. This trend of thought was given impetus by Malthus with his idea that a population reproducing without restraint would inevitably outrun the available food supply. That is, man struggles incessantly for subsistence. But it was Darwin with his application of the Malthusian idea to the existence of lower animals and plants who stated the theory so that it became dominant in the thinking of the western world. A school of thought now known as "Social Darwinism" soon arose to expound the idea that struggle is basic in social relationships and is the key which will unlock the doors to all sociological knowledge. Like other popular notions, that of conflict was overworked and applied with doubtful validity to a great variety of situations with the result that it has been partially discredited. However, it is undeniable that much of social interaction does take the form of opposition and that the idea of conflict is a valuable tool in the study of social relationships.

Forms of conflict vary widely in accordance with the values and interests involved and the existing relationships between the persons or groups entering this new relationship. Physical force as in fighting or war may be used where great social distance prevails or where the antagonism is especially bitter. The opponents may stop short of the use of physical force but resort to manipulation of the circumstances in which the enemy is placed with the purpose of making him so uncomfortable that he will succumb. Between nations embargoes, blockades, and various forms of diplomatic pressure are used. Between persons ostracism of some degree of severity is a favorite method of carrying on such conflict.

Ridicule is a very effective weapon in conflict in that it makes its victim appear as unfitted for acceptance in the group. Litigation is conflict conducted under recognized and formulated rules with a representative of the public acting as referee to see that such rules are obeyed. An election is a conflict situation in which it has been agreed beforehand that the issue will be resolved by a show of strength through the number of ballots each opposing group is able to secure. On a less formalized level warnings may be sufficient to stop

actions which have led, or are likely to lead to open hostilities. On an intellectual plane, argument is resorted to as a means of settling disputes through marshalling logic and the thoughts of persons recognized as authorities. All of these forms of conflict are a part of our culture, and the particular form used in any given circumstance will depend upon the situation. Through tacit agreement we have decided that certain forms of conflict shall be carried on in certain ways, and the person who refuses to abide by these rules is subjected to all the penalties provided for other violations of the folkways and *mores*.

Biologically, the human being, like the animal and the plant, continues life by a process of struggle which perhaps is best described by the word *conflict*. The personality as a psychic experience also in a more conscious way finds conflict necessary to establish its integrity and to accomplish its purposes. Struggle is not merely inevitable and desirable, but in its milder form, particularly when it meets with success, pleasurable. It is true that our scientific culture tends to decrease the intensity and the constancy of struggle for physical existence since an easier manner of life prevails, but with this change man turns to the milder types of conflict, such as social rivalry and political or commercial competition. Competition, therefore, in various degrees of strength, constitutes one of the fundamental forms of human interaction.

#### CONFLICT AND THE CHILD

In the growth of the child as his personality forms, the principle of conflict steadily shows itself. When he advances toward independence and comes to have wider contact with the things and people that surround his life, his difficulty in doing as he pleases makes him more and more conscious of obstructions that thwart his desires. He is forced to struggle to win his way and this effort profoundly influences the substance of his mental and social development. Thinking itself becomes a means of procuring a more advantageous adjustment between inner desire and the outward circumstances that the child finds in opposition to his wishes.

With maturity he establishes different attitudes toward opposition that comes from people and that which originates



from the physical environment. Believing, as he does, that people have hostile motives for the most part when they block his satisfactions, and convinced also that a mere change of disposition on their part can remove the barriers in the way of his happiness, he develops anger and an intense self-consciousness as a result of his social struggle.

This reaction to the conflict situation shows clearly in family life, for frequently between the normal child and his parents occur dramatic expressions of the child's protest against coercion. The character and the frequency of these episodes often have a determining influence upon the growing personality, of the greatest significance in determining the adult's social conduct. Two extreme tendencies are common: one in which the child does not develop his incipient independence, so thoroughly crushed is he by adult authority or smothered by the appeal his parents make to his affections; the other in which the child becomes so concentrated in himself as willfully to separate from associations that block his desires. If no other opportunity is presented he can at least take refuge in daydreaming and, by the magic of fancy, decrease to a minimum those contacts with reality which he finds so troublesome.

The average child escapes either extreme, but not without passing through experiences that produce visible friction between him and his elders. The conflict of the child is, of course, not confined to the family. In his contact with playmates in the larger group of children of which he becomes a member, at school and elsewhere, various forms of struggle occur. Such experiences have so much to do with the maturing of the individual socially that spectators seldom dare to interfere even though they recognize the unnecessary tension the young child suffers when his comrades purposely attempt to hector him. These early struggles play such an important part in the development of the person that it seems a wiser policy to keep hands off lest interference weaken the child's much needed self-discipline and confidence.

#### CONFLICTS IN THE MODERN FAMILY

Our present-day American marriage and family situation has increased the opportunity for emotional and social con-

flict. In marriage, as we approach an equality relationship of the man and woman, the likelihood of difficulty between them is necessarily increased. In the past the *mores*, by the giving of authority to the male as head of the house, have done much to remove antagonism and friction; and as long as her status was firmly fixed, the woman ordinarily accepted her role without protest. The greater education of the modern woman, her economic independence, and her craving for self-expression, often intensified by a keen sense of male competition, have tended to decrease her tolerance of unsatisfactory circumstances, imagined or real, in her marriage relationship. In each marriage the adjustment of the two persons does not fall automatically into a general pattern, but has to reach a unique settlement if a working in harmony is to be achieved. Conflict in greater or less degree, especially in the early days of marriage, so often results as to make it seem characteristic. It is important to recognize that this is not a peculiarity of American culture but comes everywhere in the proportion that woman attains economic independence and social freedom, and therefore is appearing more and more in other cultures as the subordination of woman breaks down.

If we distinguish the family from marriage we find social conditions in America bringing about tensions between parents and children similar to those of the husband and wife. In the successful home these differences between the older and younger members demand and obtain compromises and readjustments of relationship as the children advance in years. When this is not true there is always the risk that intense conflict may appear from the unsatisfactory parent-child relationship. In spite of the increasing freedom and independence of the child, the parent has a large measure of control because of the former's economic and legal dependence. Of course, it is sometimes possible for the parent to ensure prolonged authority by building in the child the habit of unquestioning obedience, but in most cases the attempt to do this itself brings friction because it is contrary to American custom and only the docile child accepts such a program without protest. Contact with other children makes the dominated child conscious of the difference in his

parents' treatment of him from that accorded his associates by their parents, leading him secretly or openly to struggle for the independence most children enjoy. In the immigrant group this conflict is most intense and most common. However, if the child of a native family enters upon an experience which stimulates desire for a freer status in his relation with his parents, the same conflict arises. The parent holding to a very dogmatic and restricted religious program, or providing for his child an education greatly superior to his own, may create a situation which leads to the same tension that results when the immigrant clings to the culture of the old country while his child struggles to be American. The American novel is constantly using this theme of parent-child conflict, but perhaps no author has so vividly presented it as Samuel Butler in his *Way of All Flesh*. Another forceful portrayal is James Lane Allen's *Reign of Law*.

Rapid changes in American life have resulted in a cultural lag which is easily seen in the field of family relationships. The economic and political freedom accorded women, the changing morality, leisure accompanying the decrease in number of children and development of mechanical devices which have greatly reduced the tasks of the housewife, the decline in the effectiveness of the religious sanctions regarding marriage and family relationships, and the materialistic, individualistic philosophy characteristic of our culture have all made for conflict within the family through weakening the traditional ideas and ideals which functioned for its protection.\* This is not to condemn the changes which have taken place; it is merely to call attention to what has happened. It is entirely possible that other values have been gained by these changes which far outweigh the increase of family conflict.

An important, though indirect, source of conflict in marriage is what has been called the "Romantic Fallacy"; the idea prevalent in America that marriage is a matter of rapturous intimacy between two young persons and the insistence that courtship and marriage be conducted on an emotional level entirely above the highest reaches of most

\* Cf. Mabel A. Elliott and Francis E. Merrill, *Social Disorganization* for a standard discussion of factors in family conflict.



persons. This is a concomitant of the freedom of American life in which the young are left almost entirely to their own devices in seeking and accepting a mate and are given patterns of behavior to be used in their quest by over-sentimental and unrealistic stories in magazines and movie theaters. The result is that ideals are built up which are certain to be frustrated in actual experience, a bitterness results from feelings of failure, and conflict ensues.\*

No social conflicts so easily become emotional ones as those that come out of family situations. The affection that normally develops between parent and child makes any disturbance of relationship one of intense feeling. The extent to which this may go and the length of time it may continue was illustrated by Morton Prince's case of the young woman who suffered hysterical attacks whenever she heard church bells ring, because the sound was associated with an act of disobedience at the time of her mother's death in her childhood, even though the episode had been driven out of her conscious memory.†

#### THE FIGHTING IMPULSE

Combativeness is a form of personal behavior so common that it has been included in most lists of instincts. Among the lower animals and young children anger and fighting motions are easily observed. Thwarting the baby only a few days old brings anger-responses. Holding his head so that he cannot move it from side to side causes him to exhibit the marks of anger, a flush of blood to the face, the tightening of muscles and the screwing up of the features, accompanied by lusty wailing. Parents, in directing the socializing process as the child's personality develops, attack this instinctive exhibition and spend much effort in trying to teach the child self-control, so that he may not be at the mercy of his emotions, or they make wiser attempts to protect him from responding to stimulations that lead him into anger. Under influences that start early and work steadily the personality expresses less and less the behavior which flows out upon the level of an instinct-emotion reaction.

\* *Ibid.*

† Morton Prince, *The Unconscious*, pp. 389-402.



Since society for its own well-being endeavors through home, school, and church to keep the anger reaction out of the conflict experiences of life, it is hardly safe to dogmatize with respect to the differences between men and women in their pugnacious qualities. It is easy to demonstrate that men fight oftener than women in the cruder forms of conflict but this fact does not give a safe basis for generalization regarding the comparative strength of their pugnacious impulses. It is certainly not true that the social forces that curb expressions of anger have been applied equally to men and women. Woman's special responsibilities in reproduction and the nurture of the child have made it seem necessary to give her lesser opportunities for the fighting forms of conflict than in the past have been taken by men. Women's love of joining vicariously in all forms of conflict and her willingness to idealize war and other types of struggle at least make it difficult to estimate her actual status with reference to pugnacity as compared with man.

For the security and the happiness of the group society has been forced to suppress pugnacious struggle in one relationship after another. No longer does custom permit the use of the duel as an acceptable way of settling grievances. This suppression has finally withdrawn all forms of combat except that of war, as contrary to the security of the state. The sphere to which woman has been assigned through the division of labor has felt this restriction caused by the pressure of social prudence more than has that of man. This, in itself, is enough to account for such differences as we find, which are actually much less than they generally seem since convention tends to exaggerate man's fighting disposition and to minimize woman's.

#### NATURAL HISTORY OF CONFLICT

Conflict is quite likely to arise in any situation in which a person or group develops feelings of inferiority, or is suppressed, or is stigmatized as being guilty of infractions of codes of behavior, or is forced to enter into intense competition. It is obvious that such interaction may be found in almost any social situation. Indeed, a catalog of the fields in which conflict may be observed would read like a listing

of the forms of social relationships. In all such fields, however, the conflict takes on definite patterns and goes through what might be described as a natural history. That is, there are certain stages in the development of a specific conflict which are recognizable, just as there are such stages in the growth of an insect.

Conflict grows out of tensions, a feeling of being thwarted or denied satisfactions which are desired. In the initial stage this tension may be vague and somewhat inchoate and the satisfactions desired may not have been defined specifically. Into such a situation is injected some inciting stimulus. The basis of the tension is recognized, the desires more definitely defined or some occurrence points to a possible means of gaining satisfactions. Perhaps the antagonism latent in such a situation is focussed on some other person or group. This identification of the opponent is essential to the process. Without it there is nothing to attack and those under tension continue seeking objects against which to vent their spleen until the resentment is dissipated. With the identification of the object of attack comes the realization of the pursuit of mutually exclusive goals. The wishes of the group cannot be fulfilled because of the interference of some other group which has taken prior possession or seems about to succeed in doing so.

Identification of the opponent and the realization that his elimination from the contest is essential to success is usually followed by an immediate impulse toward combat. However, this spontaneous impulse is usually checked before combat is actually begun and an effort is made to justify participation in the conflict; that is, the aims of the attackers are rationalized and made to appear logical. It is argued that attack is necessary for defense, or for continued existence, or for any other value held high by the particular society. A philosophy which will justify the action contemplated is formulated as a means of reinforcing the morale of the conflict group and of gaining possible adherents from the spectators. If this is not possible, the effort is made to secure material and moral support from those not taking part directly in the conflict. Persons and groups alike require some basis on which they can plead for a favorable public

judgment of their acts before they are willing to precipitate a conflict. The person under intense emotional stress must of course be excepted. Such a person acts and then marshals his appeals for justification afterwards.

Preparations made, the actual conflict begins, and continues until one or the other of the contestants pleads for peace and offers concessions meeting the demands of the victor; or until both contestants realize that continuance of the struggle is futile and hostilities cease while the terms on which they will be abandoned entirely are discussed.

#### PREJUDICE AND CONFLICT

Much social conflict has a fictitious basis originating from human prejudice. Although such conflict starts from mistaken notions and false feelings it is not, because of its fictitious character, socially less significant. In human conduct prejudices always have to be taken into account and regarded seriously. Prejudice arises in social contacts with reference to the unfamiliar, the different, and especially that which is feared. Much of this reaction is grounded in childhood experiences, and lack of contact with differing types of persons during the early period gives favorable opportunity for prejudices to form.

The cosmopolitan and secular trends of modern life tend to lessen the significance of prejudice as a cause of conflict. With the growing recognition of alternative means of doing things and with the resulting comparative point of view tolerance for other peoples and their "queer" customs is encouraged. On the other hand the multiplicity of interests found in such a society tends to stimulate the growth of groups and classes which differ so widely that mutual understanding is difficult if not impossible. In such a society class prejudices tend to increase.

#### RACE CONFLICT

Prejudice is one of the strongest factors in promoting conflict between racial groups. Even when it is not deliberately inculcated, prejudice in this field is easy to absorb from observing the differential treatment almost universally accorded one of the racial groups by the other. Such conflicts are

much more cultural than racial in final analysis, but the physical characteristics of race form an ineradicable badge which makes it easy to assign a person to such a racial group.

The record of human experience is a long account of the clash of different races. In the past the characteristic reaction of races in contact has been that of conflict. In the previous history of groups, cultural and religious differences and economic competition have contributed to the hostilities that have been charged to race. It has been customary for those who have enjoyed superior social conditions to rationalize their motives in these conflicts. The opinion so frequently expressed by the American colonists, that the only good Indian was a dead Indian, is an illustration of the effort to justify a cruel or exploiting policy. Whenever racial differences emphasize the consciousness of kind and provide a clear line of demarcation between the two peoples, friction is intensified. In the race problems of the Negro and the white, conflict has largely centered about the white man's insistence that there should be no infringement of his dominance, while the Japanese problem on the Pacific Coast has resulted from the insistence of the Americans that Oriental culture and standards should not invade California and come in conflict with those characteristic of Occidental life. The sharpest conflict between racial groups is likely to be found between the socially inferior group and that part of the other group living on a low economic level. This comes chiefly from the economic competition between the representatives of the different races. In all racial conflict friction is intensified by the difference in the reaction of each group to the *in* and the *out* mores. For example, among the Southern Negroes there is apt to be decided difference between their sincerity toward one another in contrast with their deception of whites. This is dramatically expressed in Dubose Heyward's *Porgy*, a realistic play interpreting Negro life in Charleston, South Carolina. It is because the Northerner who migrates to the South does not at first understand this, and, discovering it, is irritated by it that he so often becomes less tolerant in his race relations than the Southern whites who have been accustomed to it from childhood. Among the whites also are those who define justice differently in their



dealings with members of the white in-group and the colored out-group.

#### CONFLICT DUE TO CHANGING STATUS

It is important to notice that when two easily distinguished races live beside each other in the same territory the possibility of friction between them increases, the less static the position of the socially or economically inferior. This explains why there was so little friction between blacks and whites in the South before the Civil War and so much immediately after. The advancement of the American Negro in economic conditions and his greater assimilation of American culture produce problems that call for new adjustments. These meet with resistance on the part of dominant whites who refuse to change former practices, while adaptation to the new circumstances is impatiently and emotionally insisted upon by the rebellious blacks. The clash is not between all whites who feel and think alike and all blacks who make the same demands and have the same reactions. The collision is between certain individuals and special groups of both races, and ranges over the entire field of contact between the two.

The occasions for the appearance of friction are predominantly economic. The outbreak which ended in a race riot in East St. Louis, for example, was chiefly due to the hostility of a group of unskilled white laborers who believed that their jobs had been taken away from them by the Negroes. Race prejudice is more apt to show itself between a poor white who is making no economic advancement and a prosperous Negro whose success is out of the ordinary than between average Negroes and whites. The feeling of one makes him ready to take part in anything that will put Negroes "back where they belong," while the other is more apt to resent treatment which signifies the social inequality of Negroes as a race.

#### REACTION OF CHILDREN TO RACE DIFFERENCES

It is interesting to consider the problem of race friction from the point of view of the white and the colored child.

So far as the children of the two races are concerned in the rural South before and since the Civil War, there appears little evidence of a spontaneous prejudice even when differences of status are generally recognized. As the young of the two races grow in years, two opposite social influences begin to operate, making possible friction between them. On the part of the whites a sense of dominance develops, which in time is thoroughly built into the habit pattern of the individual. On the other hand, social conditioning characteristically produces the exactly opposite reaction in the colored child. If, however, these social influences that play upon him fail to make him willing to accept the social dominance of the white, the possibility of friction between the two is provided. The amount of this conditioning and its success is constantly changing, so that at any time a domineering white may demand more than the individual Negro will be willing to grant, or the ambitious Negro, because he has escaped the usual conditioning of his race, may be irritated by customs that to his white neighbor seem conventional and necessary.

One of the most fertile causes of "racial" conflict has been the attempt to identify race with nationalism. As a matter of fact there is very little correspondence found by anthropologists between races and the citizenship of large nations. But for the purposes of nationalism such ideas have been deliberately fostered with the result that we have the spectacle of persecution of some groups on the rationalization that they are of a different race, and one which cannot imbibe the "superior" culture. Even if the first assumption were correct, the second would not follow. But so long as such notions are a part of the culture of such national groups and are kept alive through propaganda in newspapers, speeches by national leaders, motion pictures, and the speculations of some misguided scholars, the masses will act as if both assumptions were sound. From the point of view of their effect on behavior, they might as well be true.

#### CLASS CONFLICT

Divisions of society into distinctive classes has been apparent throughout the ages. Such division seems to spring from

two roots: the fundamental distinctions between the in-group and the out-group which operates whenever persons from two or more cultures come into contact, and the differences in point of view which arise from different occupations, which is apparent in homogeneous societies.

But such differences need not lead to conflict. Indeed, in stable societies there are the greatest differences between classes without any hostility making itself manifest. In a caste system, for example, such distinctions may be maintained rigidly with the consent, or even the approval, of those who, from our point of view are the victims.

Class conflict, then, would seem to be one of the prices we pay for democracy with its philosophy of the essential equality of all men. It is the divergence between the professed theory and the actual practice which leads those of the "lower" or underprivileged classes to enter conflict, to assert and attempt to establish their theoretical rights. At the same time democratic societies lessen the explosive character of such emotional protests by offering a degree of opportunity by which the underprivileged may move from one class to another. It is the consciousness of belonging to a class which is rated as "lower" which is so very galling in a democracy. This, plus the very obvious differences in wealth and social position which all are free to observe and to comment upon, creates a situation in which conflict is incessant in dynamic or potential form. This conflict makes its most dramatic appearance in industrial strife between employer and employee, and will be discussed more in detail in a later chapter.

#### CONFLICT BETWEEN THE LEARNED AND THE IGNORANT

Wherever prejudice exists between individuals or groups, conditions result that encourage social conflict. In the contact of the learned and the ignorant we have an illustration of this. Suspicion and hostility may appear in either group but show themselves more commonly and more strongly in the attitudes of those who have not had the advantages of education. The root of the difficulty appears to be a double one. In part it is the failure to understand the meaning of education because of antagonism that comes from inferiority feeling. In part it is jealousy. Education necessarily carries

with it social advantages which are both misinterpreted and resented by the untrained. The greater leisure and the better economic status commonly enjoyed by the learned are looked upon as exploitation by those who are socially hampered by insufficient training for life. This jealousy is easily made use of by the politician. The tenacity of this prejudice is illustrated by the handicap that Woodrow Wilson had in his political career because he had been a college professor and president. The clash between the learned and the ignorant appears, in our society, more often in the sphere of politics than in any other, with the possible exception of religion, due perhaps to the fact that it is skillfully stimulated by demagogues who use it to obtain office.

It was probably this unspoken but deep-seated distrust on the part of the masses of the learned man which accounts for the ridicule heaped upon the "Brain-Trust" of the Roosevelt administration in the early 1930's, just as it is the same emotional feeling which makes the college professor such an excellent butt for jokes and cartoons in popular literature.

In a democracy no greater danger exists than this potential antagonism between the trained and the untrained. The length to which it may go is shown by laws in several of our states, designed to prohibit the teaching of evolution in the state-supported schools. In this instance we have an attempt to settle a scientific problem by an appeal to the ballot box. Since the question of man's origin must be decided, if at all, by facts, any attempt to determine opinion by legislation has the same significance that laws defining the planetary system or regulating the activities of bacteria would have. It merely provides an issue upon which the learned and the ignorant may come into conflict.

#### WAR

Armed conflict between national states is one of the most fundamental elements in culture. It is also perhaps the most highly organized and consistently glorified function of government. Indeed, it has been argued that war-making is the one essential power of the state, that any other function performed by government might be taken over by other institutions without great loss to society. Whether this be



true or not, war is so deeply rooted in our culture that it is highly debatable whether or not it can be eliminated by any rational appeals. Here again the basal clash between culture groups finds an outlet. The in-group feeling of innate superiority is fed upon patriotism and chauvinism until no infringement of rights, fancied or real, can be tolerated. Or the nationality group comes to be so sure of the superiority of its culture that it feels a call from Heaven to give other groups the advantages they enjoy. The fact that in such spread of culture by force the conquering nation wins various other valuable rights and privileges is more or less incidental in such a philosophy.

So integral a part of our culture is war that we have what may be described as a war cult, an organization of sentiments and attitudes which makes the precipitation of war a fairly easy matter. Such a cult revolves about nationalism and imperialism, notions of the inviolable honor of the state and of its sacred duty to "aid backward peoples" by bringing them under "protection," or into the state's "sphere of influence" if they are capable of putting up a strong resistance. Such a cult is exemplified in the professional patriotism of the military class with its ritualistic observance of forms and ceremonies designed to impress the observer with the necessity and glory of war. Parades with bands blaring, banners flying, with men and instruments scrupulously neat and resplendently polished, the ceremonial nature of contact between members of the class and the remainder of the public, all tend to throw a halo about the military forces, to set them apart and to consecrate them for special services designed to protect one of our dearest values.

This war cult also finds support through glorification of war by literature which exploits the dramatic situations found so easily in warfare, through paintings and sculpture used to adorn our public buildings and representing the heroic deeds of soldiers, through the activities of organizations of veterans seeking to perpetuate some of the acclaim they received during the period of crisis, through national holidays commemorating military victories, and through the traditional treatment of history as a series of exciting wars interspersed with periods of dull peace when nothing of great

importance took place. Myths, legends, and nationalistic propaganda serve to keep alive and extend the war cult. The net effect is that most nations are constantly prepared, psychologically, for international combat.

In addition to nationalism and chauvinism, economic competition and population pressure are often supplementary forces making for war. The nations of Europe have expanded beyond the point at which they are able to support themselves on their customary standards of living from their home territories. This means that they must find other nations or nationalities to exploit or reduce their standards. But with the growth of new nations demanding a share in the exploited regions competition became keen indeed and now furnishes a constant threat of open warfare. The seizure of Ethiopia, the last remaining independent nation in Africa, upset the European equilibrium and came very nearly starting another war on the scale of that of 1914-1918. The taking over of Austria and of Czechoslovakia by Germany in reaching out for more "living room" furnished a similar crisis. It is too early to discover the true nature of the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939, but it is suspected that the Italians and Germans hoped, at least, to induce that nation to share the fate of the others just mentioned.

Population pressure is more often a rationalization than a true reason for the seizure of new lands. The militarists argue that a high birth rate must be maintained so that the army will have ample recruits; and that new lands must be exploited so that the increased population can be fed. Both arguments seem to be thinly disguised pleas for imperialism.

Faith in ideas also seems capable of producing war. The French under Napoleon seem to have been motivated by a sincere desire to spread the doctrine of democracy over all of Europe. Many American soldiers in the World War were motivated by the same feeling. Today democracy is on the defensive before the onslaughts of two opposed but somewhat similar ideologies, communism and fascism. Regardless of the merits or demerits of these philosophies, the fact of social importance is that nations have made them into something closely resembling religions and the people of these nations are willing to engage in warfare to spread their doctrines.

Although we are still too close in time to focus accurately the picture of recent events in Europe, it appears certain that all of the factors outlined above were operative in precipitating the war which began in the fall of 1939. After trying conciliation, without success, England and France became alarmed at the prospect of German hegemony and the likelihood of the consequent spread of totalitarian philosophy. The outbreak of hostilities in Poland offered an excellent opportunity for an appeal to democratic sentiments traditionally valued by Englishmen and forming the cornerstone of the French ideology of government. It was also evident that the inclusion of the Danube basin in the German "lebensraum," room for living, would upset the commercial relationships of Europe no less than the political balance. Hence war was declared and the hopes of a lasting peace which had been fostered during the years since 1918 were finally discovered to have been without substantial foundation. The Russian nation, faced with the opportunity to add territories of economic and military value apparently without serious opposition, forgot its well-established policy of denouncing imperialism and began a drive against its smaller and weaker neighbors to the west. Thus the Occidental world found itself once again in a major conflict between nations.

Whatever one's attitude toward modern warfare, there can be no gainsaying the past importance of warfare in the development of human society and, from the evolutionary point of view, even its necessity. Man's social history demonstrates two opposite tendencies. One leads him toward the forming of a peaceful group-life beginning with the family as a social unit and gradually increasing in size. Within these groups, through discipline and loyalty, peace is maintained between the members, for the security of the group would be destroyed by internal conflict so serious as to lead to bloodshed. As the groups become increasingly large, and family, clan, tribe, and nation come into being, the existence of each antagonizes similar groups so that the opposite tendency of serious conflict between competing interests originates. This description must not lead one to think the movement an orderly, logical, consistent development either in the size



of the groups or in their internal peacefulness. Only over long stretches of time does the general trend implied in such a statement become an accurate portrayal of actual social experience.

The causes of conflict between groups, whether they be tribes or nations, are not dissimilar to the motives that lead to milder conflict between individuals. The desire for plunder, frequently including among savages the stealing of wives from other groups; the need of land, and increasingly in modern experience a desire for prestige and the maintenance of self-respect are common causes of war. It is easy to exaggerate the importance of warfare among primitive people and, as Tozzer suggests, altogether too much attention has been paid to war as the habitual occupation of primitive people.\*

With the increase in size of the groups that carry on warfare the consequences of such struggle become correspondingly greater. Since the time of the invention of gunpowder, the mechanical ingenuity of man has notably added to the serious effects of warfare, until in our time the full harvest in social results of such an ordeal as the World War is beyond the imagination of any individual. There is also a corresponding loss in the value of warfare as a test of biological strength or social superiority, since modern warfare is becoming more and more a struggle in which individual valor counts little as compared with the overwhelming importance of industrial or inventive advantage. The cost of modern war has become so great that to win popular approval all such conflicts have to be interpreted to the groups fighting, not as plundering attacks like those that delighted the American Indian, but as efforts in self-defense or at least as a necessity for the maintenance of national self-respect.

It must not be forgotten that to the individual war offers a special form of social experience and here is rooted much of its appeal. The individual's motive may not be conscious. Since war leads to the killing of other human beings, an act that is contrary to the ethical code previously taught in the period of peace, it forces a rationalization of motives on the part of the person who has always observed and approved

\* A. M. Tozzer, *Social Origins and Social Continuities*, p. 88.



the group rules against murder, but who nevertheless either wishes to fight or finds himself under the obligation of taking part in warfare. The reaction of such an individual may be catalogued as springing from a sense of duty or from pleasure. This thinking of war as a picnic sort of enterprise by no means characterizes the individual as especially cruel or blood-thirsty, a victim of excessive fighting instinct.

Although no other social experience is parallel to that of war, the crowd also removes inhibitions and encourages rationalizing. Crowd psychology illuminates the experience of the individual who is attracted by the opportunity of warfare, but war is not satisfactorily explained by the interpretation that considers its vogue due to the opportunity it provides for man's withdrawing to his earlier and more primitive experiences.

The motives that perpetuate the desire for fighting are mixed and to a large extent unconscious. The tameness of modern life and for many the hopelessness of distinction or marked success give warfare the significance of a new and different sort of contest from that represented by the conventional monotonous doings of everyday life. It also offers a testing of courage. It is no accident that individuals who distrust themselves are frequently the most eager to enlist at the breaking out of a war. They gain a deep-seated relief by rushing into a situation which may afford opportunity to prove themselves.

War also generally starts with glamour and offers anticipations that stir up the imagination. The reaction on the occasion of the breaking out of a war when the troops leave for the front, singing, joking, and full of spirit, is most certainly not an eagerness to kill, but rather a sense of relief from ordinary occupation and a looking forward to an experience which is so pictured as to seem inviting. As the contest continues and its gruesome effects begin to appear, war becomes for many a stern necessity rather than an excursion from the routine and responsibilities of ordinary life.

It is also important to remember that some individuals, if they were given their free choice, would prefer to be rid of personal responsibility in its various forms in family life and industry and be directed by superior command. The

periodic craze for war, which in these days is a product of subtle suggestion in which newspapers, magazines, radio, and other media of mass appeal occupy the central role, is less an outburst of primitive love of combat than a return to the conditions of childhood conduct. Thus for many war represents a way of escape from the conventions and responsibilities that good society demands of the mature.

#### WAR AND DIFFUSION OF CULTURE

However violent in form, war is a type of interaction, and not only has culture been injected into the life of a people as a consequence of hostile clashings, but the effort to introduce culture has often caused war. The crusader and the missionary in their deliberate effort to introduce new culture in alien groups have at times become the occasion of military struggle even when they desired not to have recourse to force. The development of strong military systems leads naturally to an overconfidence in social superiority and willingness to take advantage of the slightest opportunity to impose the culture of the dominant nation upon weaker people. Roman history is replete with illustrations of this attitude resulting from confidence in militaristic efficiency. On the other hand, as the later history of Rome demonstrates, the culture of the conquered may be slowly brought into the life of those who on the basis of military strength are accounted victors. Whichever form the interaction takes, the social value of war as a means of diffusion of culture, especially in the primitive stages of social development, has to be recognized.

#### CONQUEST

The ending of war with the conquest of one people by another, particularly in simple society, has generally led to a new consolidation and a larger grouping of the people. This has so often been true in the past that war has been interpreted by some as an indispensable method of forcing a new grouping, but it has to be observed that in many of these unions there comes to be no substantial unity so that the groups under the slightest pressure break apart even

when the two peoples continue to form the same tribal or national organization. Lack of sympathy may prevent consolidation. In such circumstances, even from a militaristic viewpoint, the subjected people are a risk to the safety of the larger group rather than an advantage. As social security becomes more subtle and complex, with the persistent advancement of culture, conquest becomes correspondingly difficult. This lessens the economic appeal of war and renders modern conquest, even from the financial point of view, a costly experiment and a doubtful speculation. Individuals may gain by the war, but not the nation itself.

#### EFFECTS OF CONFLICT

As one of the basic patterns of interaction, conflict has certain important functions in society. Perhaps they should be pointed out specifically as a conclusion to this discussion.

When groups come into conflict with each other one of the immediate effects is to strengthen greatly the bonds which hold the group together. This has been so apparent that statesmen have often advised a foreign war as a means of solving an internal conflict. Group consciousness is greatly intensified by external conflict and an intense solidarity results. Factional differences are forgotten or at least laid aside for the time being. This group consciousness is furthered by the awareness of differences in the cultures of the groups engaged in conflict which is one of the results of the close contact in such interaction. Under the emotional excitement any such differences are asserted to be evidences of inferiority.

In spite of this, group conflict is also an important means of diffusion of culture traits. The returning soldier brings with him many of the artifacts and some of the ideas of his late enemies and these are made a part of the culture of his group.

Conflict is a means by which groups and persons establish their status, or social position. The victor enhances his position; materially through booty, and psychically through the feeling of dominance. Other persons or groups warned by the display of prowess award the victor a recognition

which is very pleasurable and look down upon or pity the loser ; in either case assign him an inferior status.

Partly through the diffusion of culture and partly through forcible substitution of customs, conflict is an important means of bringing about social change. The new ideas and objects brought home by the soldier effect changes in the culture in which he lives. In the case of internal conflict, the object of the struggle is often the adoption of new manners and customs and ideologies. These the winner imposes on the vanquished.

Finally, conflict leads to cooperation in the form of accommodation or assimilation. Through his dominant position the victor dictates the activities of the conquered, with the result that both work together for common goals. These goals, to be sure, are of the choice of the conqueror, but they are the ends toward which common effort is expended nevertheless.

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## CHAPTER XVI

### ACCOMMODATION

Not all social interaction can be described accurately under the headings of cooperation or conflict. Much of social experience does not display the agreement which is characteristic of cooperation, but also avoids the opposition which is the hallmark of conflict. Two such processes of interaction have been distinguished and described by sociologists: accommodation, which is associated with conflict; and assimilation, which is more closely allied with cooperation.

Accommodation is the process by which social elements actually or potentially antagonistic to each other are organized so that open conflict is avoided although the attitudes and sentiments which form the basis of hostility may remain. This arrangement may be only temporary, or it may be so fixed in the culture of the group as to be relatively permanent. The armistice agreed upon between warring nations while peace terms are being discussed would represent the first condition, while the caste system in which no one expects any change ever to take place would be an extreme illustration of the second type. Thus accommodation is a process by which persons or groups make adjustments to the social milieu in which they find themselves, a process that makes for orderly interaction but does not extend to the point where differences disappear and the interacting units are absorbed.

Accommodation on the social level is analogous to adaptation on the biological level in that both represent adjustments to the environment which make for greater satisfaction in living. Both arise from variation that makes some sort of change necessary or desirable. In adaptation the changes are made in the biological organism and may be transmitted through the germ plasm. This is the principle used by Darwin to explain the origin of species by natural selection. Those organisms which changed so that they met the demands of the environment more efficiently had greater chances of survival. And if the change was of the sort which is inheritable, this advantage was passed on to their descendants,

who gradually came to displace the less fortunate members of the species.

Man, as well as other animals, takes part in this process of adaptation. Changes in the physical structure of a person resulting from his particular occupation represent a form of adaptation. There seem to be, however, some such changes which are carried by the genes from parent to offspring and so perpetuate the adaptation. The dark skin of peoples living in regions of intense sunlight represents adaptation in one of two ways. Either biological changes took place in inhabitants of such areas and were inherited by their offspring, or those persons with light pigmentation of the skin sought habitats where there was less sunlight, leaving their darker brothers. Probably both processes were at work at the same time.

Accommodation, as distinguished from adaptation, refers to changes in behavior patterns which enable the person to live more efficiently. No direct change in the organism is involved and the transmission of these new ways of acting is through communication. They form part of the cultural heritage. Thus folkways, mores, conventions, institutions are all results of accommodations worked out by our ancestors. Further, physical changes represented by adaptation operate very slowly. It is extremely difficult to find examples of changes in the biology of man which have occurred certainly within the historical period. Accommodation, in contrast, may operate very swiftly. As soon as it becomes apparent that the customary modes of behavior are inefficient, or as soon as tensions have flared into conflict, the persons involved may consider their differences, work out a solution and put it into effect. Personal accommodations of a minor sort are made almost daily, especially during youth. Again, adaptation is an unconscious process in which the person or animal is largely passive. Something happens to him. Accommodation may be unconscious in the sense that the person accommodating does not sit down and plan a reorganization of his behavior but is guided by expediency. However, quite frequently, accommodation is the product of thought and foresight. A person may realize that his adjustment to the social milieu in which he finds himself is un-

satisfactory, may consciously analyze his habits, and, on the basis of his conclusions, adopt changes.

Among humans there is a field of conduct which seems to overlap the fields of adaptation and accommodation. A youth may desire the prestige which comes from the wearing of a varsity football sweater. Accordingly he changes his habits of living to include those things he thinks will aid him in building up the physique required to play football well. The physical changes are more or less incidental to the prestige gained through them. The motivation is social and conscious and the end sought is also social. But a physical adaptation is used as a means to this social end. Further, it is conceivable that accommodation may lead to biological adaptation. The plight of the black Negro women in being refused as mates by Negro men who are in a position to "marry light" has been mentioned in the discussion of race. In this case the social environment selects a physical type and an unconscious adaptation on the biological level is made in response. Similarly the eugenics program, if it ever becomes successful, would represent a change in the biological make-up of the group dictated by social ideals.

The plasticity and educability of the human makes possible the substitution of accommodation for adaptation. Among the lower animals the means of meeting the demands of the environment are embedded in the physical nature of the organism and make themselves manifest as instinctive behavior. Such an adaptation is excellent in a stable or slowly changing environment, where the processes of natural selection may operate as swiftly as environmental changes occur. But humans, through their immensely greater mobility, and their penchant for interfering with the processes of nature, change their environment very rapidly. Within a month a man may change his habitat from the Occident to the Orient or from Alaska to Puerto Rico. Such changes are possible only in an organism which finds it possible to adjust quickly and efficiently; and this possibility of rapid readjustment is met by man's ability to change his behavior patterns enough to survive, at least, within a very short time through the use of the appropriate cultural elements in any society in which he may find himself. The old proverb,



"When in Rome, do as the Romans do," recognizes and advises such accommodation.

Thus far, accommodation has been discussed mainly from the point of view of the person. However, groups and their institutions are engaged in the same process. When groups meet through their delegated representatives to discuss common problems or differences, the process of accommodation is in progress. The committee appointed by the church to confer with leaders of the Boy Scout movement with a view to organizing a scout troop among the boys attending the Sunday school may not realize it, but they are seeking to accommodate the traditional role of the church and the demands of modern youth. The committee from the striking workmen of a factory and the representatives of the management are engaged in accommodative behavior when they meet at the arbitration table to reconcile their divergent demands.

But not all group accommodation is so conscious. Often a group casts about tentatively for some means of working out a function in a community. The leaders ask for suggestions from the membership, or for criticism of past policies in hopes of finding some means whereby the organization may function more effectively. Or, perhaps, the *modus vivendi* is hit upon accidentally. A line of action is begun which brings satisfaction to the members and status to the group and is continued without any conscious planning whatever.

All societies are composed of groups all of which consciously or unconsciously are seeking adjustment to each other and to the general pattern they all form. Accommodation is the process through which a mutually satisfactory coordination of their efforts are worked out and through which they are assigned their particular positions and roles within the inclusive culture pattern. Such adjustment may follow conflict, or it may be accomplished without any conscious identifications of opponents and feelings of hostility.

Groups and institutions may be formed which perform functions formerly not recognized as valuable or they may meet newly arisen needs and be welcomed by other groups and institutions in closely allied fields without any conflict. A new factory may be welcomed by the entire population of

a small city or the existing churches may aid in the organization of a new congregation. Nevertheless such new institutions will necessitate a reorganization of the institutional life of the community. In another sphere of activity, differences of opinion may be resolved to the mutual satisfaction of all concerned without anything more closely approaching conflict than an amicable discussion. However, conflict is an important factor in creating social situations in which the accommodation process is called forth. Indeed, accommodation is the customary aftermath of conflict.

Perhaps the nature of accommodation can be expressed best by calling attention to its function in producing an equilibrium among more or less divergent elements. The process always involves a readjustment of some sort which brings the persons and groups into a new set of relationships and coordinations. When these relationships are mutually tolerable, they are called an accommodation. "As a process, accommodation is the sequence of steps by which persons are reconciled to changed conditions of life through the formation of habits and attitudes made necessary by the changed conditions themselves." \* A new status is attained through accommodation.

Although accommodation normally follows conflict and the two are closely related in this sense, it is also true that accommodation is a movement away from conflict. Conflict seeks to destroy the existing set of relationships; accommodation seeks to establish new relationships. One is a process of disintegration while the other is a process of integration. "Where *opposition* exists each actor is seeking to compel the others to conform to himself; where *accommodation* exists each actor is endeavoring to conform himself to the others. *Opposition* strives to make one's opponents do the adjusting; *accommodation* is characterized by the adjustment of oneself to his associates." † It is true that accommodative behavior may be dictated by the dominant group, but until such imposed patterns of behavior have been accepted by the subordinates, the process is not complete.

\* E. B. Rueter and C. W. Hart, *Introduction to Sociology*, p. 322. Quoted by permission of McGraw-Hill Book Company.

† E. E. Eubanks, *Concepts of Sociology*, pp. 293-294. Quoted by permission of D. C. Heath and Co.

However, the acceptance of accommodation may be only temporary. The conquered may be only biding their time for an opportunity to strike back and to achieve a position they believe to be better. The sentiments, attitudes and tensions which lead to conflict are not always liquidated in accommodation. But, and this is the point of importance, these sentiments and attitudes are held in abeyance. The *status quo* is accepted at least for the time being. In such a situation conflict may be potential, but it is not dynamically present. A social unity is attained in spite of the diverse, or even opposed, elements present. Charles Horton Cooley has expressed this idea in his often quoted sentence: "The unity of the social mind consists not in agreement but in organization."\* Thus accommodation may be described as a consensus reached through any of various forms of mediatory interaction. This consensus provides a working agreement which is tolerated for a shorter or longer period of time by these parties and through which their efforts are brought into harmony.

#### FORMS OF ACCOMMODATION

The particular form of accommodation reached will be determined by the nature of the situation out of which it grows and the prevailing attitudes and customs in the groups concerned. As in conflict, each society has ideas of the proper working arrangements which should be set up and maintained and these patterns are taken over and used by the groups in their efforts to accommodate to each other. The relative strength of the parties seeking accommodation and their traditional status will also affect the means used in reaching a tolerable adjustment.

#### FORCED ACCOMMODATION

If there is wide social distance between the groups or persons concerned, or if one has the protection of a high traditional status while the other has been assigned a low

\* *Social Organization*, p. 4. Quoted by permission of Charles Scribner's Sons.

position in the social scale, or if one is weak while the other is strong, the resulting accommodation is likely to be attained through domination or coercion. In such a relationship the element in the superior position enforces obedience to its desires through the threat or the use of force. The weaker party has little or no voice in the arrangement, and its interests may or may not be taken into consideration. More often than not, however, the dominating party does make some effort to provide for the desires or necessities of the dominated. No despot has ever been able to rule without taking into consideration the effects of his decrees on those to whom they are issued. Further, such action is dictated by selfish motives. Domination is a form of exploitation in which the dominated provide certain values desired by the dominating. Obviously, if the dominated are treated with no consideration whatever, they may be physically eliminated or so weakened that the exploitation is far below maximum efficiency.

#### COERCION

Slavery is an example of accommodation through coercion. The body of the slave is held to be the property of the master, who has the right to punish or even to kill for infraction of orders. Proceeds of work done by the slave go to the master. Participation in the culture of the group is at the will of the master, or the master class. Slaves may belong to such religious organizations as are sanctioned and to no others. Political rights are usually forfeited, as is the protection of the courts in most cases. However, it should be noted that the institution of slavery varies widely in the severity of the regulations under which the slave must live. In the slaveholding states of this country before the Civil War a considerable body of legislation designed to protect the slave from abuse by his master was in force. The essential characteristic of the system is that one man holds a right to dictate the actions of another who must on pain of physical penalties accept such domination. The right of choice is denied him and opportunity to change his status rests wholly with his master.

Acceptance of such a slave status seems almost unbelievable to persons who have grown up in a democratic society, but



has been and is quite frequent in slave-holding societies. The general refusal of Negro slaves to join the armies fighting for their freedom indicates that many of them were well pleased with their status. Many stories have been told of the loyal service rendered absent masters during the Civil War. Nor was this condition peculiar to America. Sumner cites numerous such cases. As he observes, ". . . a humanitarian doctrine which orders that a slave be turned out of doors, in spite of his own wish, is certainly absurd." The vital consideration is not entirely the fate of the slave, it is partly ". . . that no one has ever been found great or good enough to be a slave owner."\* However, in a society in which slavery exists there are many who fancy themselves so equipped; and others who are perfectly content to retain their slave status. One grows fond even of chains if he wears them long enough.

#### DOMINATION

Political dictatorship is an illustration of accommodation by domination. Here one man, with his advisors, gives orders which the citizenry is forced to carry out under pain of loss of liberty, or of physical violence. The ruled have no right to express any opposed views they may hold and a careful check through secret agents is made frequently to see that no opposed action is undertaken or planned. One political party is given control of the government, and membership in any other party is forbidden under heavy penalties. The other social institutions are required to change their activities so that they support the dictatorship.

Attempts, more or less successful, are made to control the thinking processes of the citizenry in a dictatorship through control of the channels of communication. The newspapers are told what to print and what not to print. The radio is used to convey the ideas of the dominant party only, and persons throughout the country are required to listen to such broadcasts. The motion pictures, the theater, the arts, and the schools are organized so that the impressions they make

\* *Folkways*. Quoted by permission of Ginn and Company.

are favorable to the dictator. By such means it is hoped that the citizenry will not only be forced to acquiesce in the policies of the dictator, but that it may be brought to endorse them and the rule may be sanctioned by popular approval. However, acquiescence is all that is required for the accommodation to have been made. Perhaps no dictatorship ever succeeds in stamping out all opposition, but certainly there are at least two such governments in Europe today which have come near enough such a goal to have had no serious outbreak of opposition for approximately two decades. Such a record would argue that conflict has practically disappeared and that accommodation has replaced it in these countries.

It is probably true that in these dictatorships we have nothing more than a forced acceptance of the dictated behavior patterns, that if the people dared they would rebel immediately. But it is entirely possible that the control has been accepted by the citizenry so that a free expression would support the dictator. In either case, however, we have a new organization of the state and the other institutions in terms of the wishes of the state which affords an example of accommodation.

#### CRISES AND DOMINATION

Domination is a form of accommodation which is likely to result from a crisis. Slavery is commonly thought to have grown out of warfare, as a humanitarian method of preventing slaughter of the conquered. Political dictatorships arise in times when the traditional political forms have broken down and chaos is present or threatening. All nations give to their rulers extraordinary powers in such times, and, of course, run the risk of the refusal of the rulers to return such grants to the people when the crisis has passed. Indeed, it may be that the appearance of a crisis is prolonged so that there will be less demand for the abdication of extraordinary power. An enemy, real or imagined, may be discovered so that it may be argued that another crisis is impending and it would, therefore, be extremely dangerous to change the form of government. Or an internal scapegoat in the form of a

class or racial group may be pictured as threatening the welfare of the group unless the dictator is given the power to deal with the situation in a summary manner.

#### SUPERORDINATION-SUBORDINATION

So long as the customary and traditional patterns of behavior are tolerable they are likely to remain unchanged. But when there arises a conviction that they no longer function satisfactorily, a change is almost sure to occur. Submission to domination is one of the forms such a change may take. Of less severity, but of the same general nature is the relationship of superordination and subordination as a means of accommodation. Domination and coercion often are softened to this form with the passage of time and the gradual recognition of rights of the subordinate group.

The dominant group often opens the way for such a modification of status by attempting to rationalize its position. In so doing the rights of the group to its status are recited. But the statement of a right of one party to a relationship necessarily states the right of the other party also. If one asserts that he has a right to half the highway, he is at the same time admitting that the other fellow also has a right to half the highway. So that a rationalization of the situation is dangerous for the dominant group.

#### SANCTIONS FOR DOMINANCE

Once well established and rationalized the dominance of one group over another enters the mores and often is reinforced by religious sanctions. Myths appear to "explain" the superior nature of one group and the inferior capacity of the other. Even well-trained scientists are sometimes so unconsciously influenced by the social attitudes which have grown up in such a situation that they "discover proof" of the popular notion. For a long time it was considered established on the basis of measurement that the Negro brain was different in shape and structure from that of the Caucasian. But when the brains on which this conclusion had been reached were measured without their racial labels, the differ-

ences disappeared.\* But even if such differences were found to exist, the problem would still remain of showing their effects upon mental activities. Such findings as those discussed by Mall are excellent examples of the way in which rationalizations may find their way into scientific literature.

Gradually there grows up on both sides an acceptance of the roles of the two groups by both and this acceptance is an important factor in conditioning the behavior of each toward the other. Under such conditioning the participation of each group is limited and conditioned by group membership. Attitudes of conformity are built up; members of both groups come to feel at ease in the relationship to which they are conditioned and suffer uneasiness when a member of either group steps out of his assigned role. When this happens the two groups are well accommodated and the existing set of relationships may continue indefinitely; or until some new crisis precipitates a rearrangement. When slavery has reached the stage in which the slave has acquired such rights as that of purchasing freedom, of marrying into the free class, or appealing to the courts for protection from his master, the level of adjustment may be said to have risen the short step from coercion to superordination-subordination. The slave has been given a definite status.

#### CASTE

Caste is perhaps the best illustration of accommodation on the superordinate-subordinate level. A caste is a group whose interaction with the remainder of the population is limited by definite regulations recognized and adhered to by all groups concerned. The partial isolation resulting from such regulations may be considered the result of birth, of occupation, of political rights, or of any other factor which is powerful in the society in which the caste exists. In India, the best example of such a society, the basic distinctions are on the basis of occupations or avocations and the three pri-

\* Cf., for an excellent example of discussion of such assumed differences, "On Several Anatomical Characters of the Human Brain Said to Vary According to Race and Sex, with Especial Reference to the Weight of the Frontal Lobe," by Franklin P. Mall, *American Journal of Anatomy*, Vol. IX, No. 1.



mary castes are those separating the warriors, the priesthood, and the economic workers. Here the caste is a matter of inherited status.

The members of a caste are under obligation to limit their interaction with members of other castes to certain prescribed forms; a rigid etiquette must be observed. This is particularly true of the taboo against marriage with a member of another caste. Such a marriage would be a form of ceremonial uncleanness which would deprive the persons concerned of the protection of their caste until the proper rites, if any are provided, had been performed and purification thereby regained. The same principle applies to other relationships, to the extent that members of a high Indian caste cannot allow the shadow of a member of the lowest castes to pollute them by coming into contact with it.

#### CASTE IN WESTERN SOCIETY

Although we usually think of caste as being confined to India and other Oriental nations, Euro-American society has certain class structures which are almost as rigid and which perform the same functions. In both, membership is determined by birth; the caste status is inherited. This is seen in the prohibition of marriage between persons of a royal family and commoners, or the refusal to recognize such marriages as legal when they have actually taken place.

In more democratic countries which lack a noble caste, birth is made the criterion by which members of certain "social sets" are determined. The social relationships possible for persons of these castes or classes is narrowly prescribed by custom and takes on a ritualistic air, perhaps best illustrated by the activities of the military caste in western civilization but also to be observed in the appearance of "social personages" at prescribed functions and places. Formerly, persons belonging to the upper castes in this country felt it incumbent upon themselves to appear at opera performances; whether they liked the music or not made little or no difference. Similarly, patronage of the arts was one of the functions of this class. More recently being seen at certain places where food and entertainment is dispensed in mixed

form seems about to become the *sine qua non* of membership in such a group.

In our society as in India, the occupation a person may follow is largely prescribed by the class into which he was born, or to which he aspires. Certain forms of work are considered beneath the dignity of certain classes and to occupy oneself with such labor would be to lose caste immediately. For a long time military or political service and agriculture were considered honorable, while trade was considered somewhat less so. Labor with the muscles rather than with the brain was considered the mark of a distinctly low class. The result has been that the "white collar" occupations have suffered from over-crowding while better paid jobs in the trades have had difficulty in finding workers and especially in inducing youths to enter apprenticeship to prepare themselves for such a status.

#### CLASS *vs.* CASTE

However, it is true that in America, and to a less extent in Europe, the class lines are not nearly so tightly drawn as in the caste system as it exists in India or in China. Theoretically class membership is open to anyone who through intelligence and training is able to demonstrate his fitness for any existing class. This has been a part of our democratic philosophy of the equality of all men, and our public school system has sought to put it into effect by training our youth for positions above the reach of their parents. The belief in individualism, our lack of formal rules by which to determine class membership, and the great mobility, both geographic and occupational, which has prevailed in this country has kept the class structure in a fairly fluid condition.

Persons who have risen above the class into which they were born, and those who have lost their former high position are numerous enough, even today, to keep alive the hope of advancement in the hearts of the underprivileged. However, the practice has varied widely from the theory, and the examples of the men who have risen from "a log cabin to the White House" have been the exceptions which are said

to prove all rules rather than the usual and customary. Recent studies of tenant farmers, for instance, indicate that a smaller proportion are able to raise themselves into ownership, while the total number of such farmers is steadily increasing throughout the nation.\*

#### ACCOMMODATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Slavery, caste, and class are all means of accommodation. The groups forming these divisions of society, and the persons forming the groups become habituated to their relative positions and accept them as their fate. When this has been done accommodation has been achieved. Indeed, from the point of view of stability, an open class system such as we seek to preserve in the United States, is a disturbing element. The hope of a shift from one class to a higher one encourages the person to a dangerous discontent with the status assigned him; he enters conflict with the hope that he may better his lot. Similarly groups as whole refuse to accept the status accorded them by tradition and devise plans for a battle for higher position. When this occurs, disorganization is brought about and social relationships are disrupted. This is of course the condition prerequisite to social change of any sort, and therefore is encouraged in any society which has accepted the philosophy of progress.

#### MECHANISMS OF ACCOMMODATION

There are several well recognized social mechanisms which are commonly used in the process of accommodation. Although domination and subordination are, in a sense, used for this purpose, they are more accurately described as forms of accommodation. Both are conditions within which accommodation may be worked out.

*Compromise* is effective in bringing about accommodation where both parties to the adjustment are conceded to have status which must be protected and are willing to make concessions to each other. Both forego some of the wishes they

\* Charles S. Johnson, Edwin R. Embree, W. W. Alexander, *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy*.

have formulated in the hope of preventing conflict and gaining advantages by working in harmony. Thus compromise does not remove the basis of potential or actual conflict; the elements making for hostility are preserved in the compromise but are repressed for the time being. Like all repressed desires they may rise into the sphere of active motivation at any time and cause trouble. By protecting the differences, compromise makes a thoroughgoing and permanent settlement an impossibility. As Lasswell argues, such action denies that there is any basis on which the differences can be resolved. "A compromise is, by its very nature, a crazy quilt in which everyone can identify his patch." \* This makes compromise very difficult to effect, since each party is called upon to lower the demands made and so is likely to "lose face." It is only when the demands have been externalized and evaluated in terms of some unit in which they can be measured and compared that a basis of compromise has been reached. The losses of each side then may be made to approximate those of the other, or to conform to an agreed ratio. But social values are very difficult to externalize, especially if conflict has been present, because of the emotional tone which is a part of them.

In spite of these difficulties, compromise is often used successfully. It is one of the most common means of settling labor disputes and of providing a means by which political units may work together. Most of the laws passed by our national congress, and most of the settlements of industrial disputes involve compromise. The affected parties come together, actually or through an intermediary; the issues are clearly defined and the definitions accepted; an evaluation is made of the importance of these issues and a mutual regression from original demands is made the basis of the resulting accommodation.

*Conciliation* is a closely allied means of bringing about an adjustment in which persuasion plays a larger, and argumentation a smaller part, than in compromise. Conciliation depends more upon psychic elements and less upon the externalization of the values involved. Often the divergent is-

\* Article on "Compromise" in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. IV, p. 195. Quoted by permission of The Macmillan Company.



sues are laid aside in favor of larger and more inclusive values which both parties cherish. Thus, conciliation is more subjective whereas compromise is more objective, though neither element is wholly lacking in either case. Like compromise, conciliation is based on the meeting of the parties concerned and a discussion of their differences, followed by mutual concessions, or, perhaps, by the abandonment of the demands of one of the parties.

*Rationalization*, previously discussed, is a means of subjective accommodation whereby the person discovers or invents "good" reasons for some action he has committed or wishes to commit. Such reasons may not be able to stand the test of a strict logic, but they appear to be sound and meet the demands of society that we have logical reasons for our actions. By this means the person escapes the censure of his fellows, and, more important, of himself.

*Sublimation* and *idealization* are other psychological devices by which persons and groups accommodate themselves to situations through forms of repression. In sublimation the energy which would normally go into efforts to attain one goal is transferred to another accomplishment which holds greater promise of realization. Limitations are accepted and an effort made to win satisfaction in another field which will recompense the person for his initial failure. The youth who finds that he cannot play football successfully may intensify his study habits and substitute a Phi Beta Kappa key for the varsity sweater. Or *vice versa*.

In idealization a person facing frustration may fix his ambition on some attractive feature of his position or on the remote realization of his desires and so escape facing the true nature of his present. Oppressed groups often show great zeal in digging out historical facts tending to demonstrate a former period of glory, as has been done by the Italian nation within recent decades. They may also seek out bases for hopes of future greatness and by concentrating their attention on the future find that their present status is only a necessary stage in their development to be accepted for the sake of what is to come.

In the above mechanisms of accommodation, with the possible exception of domination, there has been evident an

element of repression. The full impact of the situation is escaped by one or the other of the means described. Even in domination the person or group assigned to the inferior position may use rationalization, idealization, or sublimation in efforts to make the status more tolerable. There remains one means of accommodation in which reality may be faced squarely and conflict avoided in spite of differences. This is *toleration*. By this means the differences are recognized, but those differing go further and assert that the differences are not of sufficient importance to justify upsetting the equilibrium existing. Religious bodies which have reached the denominational status use this device. They feel sincerely that doctrinal differences are of importance, and refuse to compromise or conciliate. At the same time they refrain from insisting on the acceptance of their own dogma and the rejection of all others. In politics the same sort of action is seen, especially in democracies. The right of a citizen to hold and express any view he may fancy is upheld in the belief that out of the intermingling and fusion of divergent ideas the solutions to common problems will be found.

Walter Lippmann, in a recent magazine article, has argued that the democratic form of government is possible only when there is toleration of opposition.\* Indeed a democracy might be defined as a social order in which minorities are guaranteed the right to free expression and serious consideration of their views.

#### FUNCTION OF ACCOMMODATION

Obviously accommodation is an essential process in social organization. If conflict is a means of determining the position of the various societal units, accommodation is the process by which such positions are placed into relationships of mutual interdependence, by which the social order comes to assume its particular pattern at any given time and by which that pattern is maintained with more or less stability. Conflict prepares the ground for social organization by breaking down former sets of relationships; accommodation creates

\* "The Indispensable Opposition," *Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1939.

social organization by reuniting the diverse elements into an integral whole. However, this process does not extend to the point at which differences disappear; its essential characteristic is that it enables an integration of diverse elements to take place. It creates union, but not unity. Through preserving minor differences, accommodation provides the framework within which a healthy interplay of social elements may escape the sterility of utter lack of change on the one hand and the chaos of uncontrolled conflict on the other.

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## CHAPTER XVII

### ASSIMILATION

When the process of accommodation has been completed and an adjustment which is acceptable to all the parties concerned has been established for some time, the differences in attitudes, sentiments and customs of the accommodated may become so integrated that a cultured solidarity is attained. This is the process of assimilation. In the case of the person it may be described as that process by which he comes to feel "at home" in a culture pattern, by which he loses his self-consciousness as an outsider. In the case of social groups assimilation is the process by which the group feeling becomes submerged in a feeling of belonging to a more inclusive group. Assimilation is an extension of the "in-group."

Dawson and Gettys have defined assimilation as a "process of becoming culturally identical and indistinguishable." This result may be approached by either of two fundamental processes. Persons and groups may move into a new culture and so absorb the elements found there as to become physically and psychically identical with the older residents. This is the sort of assimilation commonly expected of the immigrant who comes to this country, as is expressed in our programs of "Americanization." The basic assumption seems to be that these people will lose the culture in which and by which they have lived before entering America and become wholly submerged in the stream of American life.

Another concept of assimilation which is more commonly used by anthropologists and sociologists refers to a fusion of the cultures borne by the migrants with that of the persons among whom they take up their new residence. In such a process there is considerable borrowing of culture traits on both sides. The result is not the submergence of one culture in the other, but the fusion of elements from each into a new culture pattern. The process is a synthesis of the two, rather than a destruction of one so that the other may remain intact. It is this second form of assimilation

which takes place in nearly all instances in which two cultures have come into contact with each other, although the proportion of traits which each culture contributes to the new pattern will vary widely with the nature of the relationships between the two groups of persons.

#### ACCOMMODATION AND ASSIMILATION

In accommodation this fusion of culture traits is not accomplished. On the contrary the differences between the groups or persons accommodating to each other are commonly preserved in the process and may become the basis of future conflict. This is the fundamental distinction between the two processes: in accommodation differences are composed and the social groups are organized; in assimilation differences disappear either through being dropped or through being made part of a new pattern, and the separate groups lose themselves in the formation of a new, unified group. Out of this fundamental difference in the two processes grow certain other minor differences.

#### PSYCHOLOGICAL NATURE OF ASSIMILATION

Assimilation, like accommodation, is a process of adjustment to the culture in which a person or group is placed. But assimilation is commonly used to refer to the latter part of what may be termed an accommodation-assimilation process. During the first part of this movement the adjustments are to externals, primarily. The effort is concentrated upon the avoidance of conflict or open hostility. The changes are of a somewhat formal nature. The person adopts the dress and language of the group to which he is accommodating. He learns enough of the customs that he is no longer called a foreigner.

Assimilation takes up where accommodation leaves off and is concerned with the more intimate changes. Not only does the person adopt the dress of the new group, but he comes to feel that such dress is correct and "natural." The new language flows smoothly from his tongue. He no longer frames his sentences in his old language and translates into

the new. So it is with attitudes concerning religious, political, familial and other customs. These take on a quality of "rightness" for the assimilated person, whereas they are queer and only to be tolerated by the accommodated person. If acceptance marks accommodation, imitative approval marks assimilation.

#### ASSIMILATION AS GRADUAL CHANGE

Whereas accommodation may take place with the greatest of rapidity, assimilation is a slow process of cultural reorientation. The changes which take place in assimilation are usually made so gradually that the persons or groups being assimilated are only vaguely, if at all, aware of the process. This is necessarily true because of the deep-seated and intimate character of such changes as those which occur in assimilation. One does not change his philosophy of life overnight. Neither are culture traits accepted by a society without a large amount of tentative and exploratory readjustment of existing traits in the same field. Even such an obviously advantageous new trait as the use of ether as an anesthetic was fought bitterly by the medical profession and others for years after it was successfully demonstrated.\*

Proficiency in the use of a common language is one of the earmarks of assimilation, but is not essential to accommodation. Persons speaking entirely different tongues may easily accommodate to each other, while it is doubtful if persons who use different dialects of the same language may be said to be assimilated. But this use of a common tongue is symbolic of deeper understandings, the sharing of the same ideals and sentiments, the same opinions and attitudes toward matters affecting the culture in which both participate, possession of the same habit structures with which to meet the small exigencies of daily life.

The use of language gives a rough but fairly accurate index by which the intangibles forming the core of the assimilation process may be measured. Every social group has its own universe of discourse, and the extent to which a person will

\* Cf. A. H. Smith, "The Discovery of Anesthesia," *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 64-70.

feel at home with any group, as well as the extent to which he will be accepted by a group, is accurately reflected by his ability to express himself in the peculiar idiom used. This applies no less to groups which employ peculiar slang expressions than to learned and technical terms employed by scholars.

#### CONVERSION AS ASSIMILATION

There is one apparent exception to the generalization that assimilation is a slow and gradual process in contrast to the possibly rapid nature of accommodation. This is in the case of conversion. If conversion means the sudden abandonment of one set of attitudes, sentiments and wishes and the substitution of another similar set in which the new convert finds the satisfaction he has longed for, then it is evident that this is a mechanism of assimilation rather than one of accommodation, as has generally been stated.

What has happened usually is that the person converted has been mulling the matter over in his mind for some time without clearly formulating the issues involved or even thoroughly analyzing his own position. The arguments and appeals of the opposition have been accepted by him in large part, although he may be totally unconscious of this fact and still feel a distinct hostility. Suddenly some incident serves as a basis on which he reorganizes the pattern of his thinking with the values to which he formerly objected occupying a central position in the new configuration. He is greatly surprised to find that his opinions have reversed themselves, but finds a peace and contentment replacing the chaotic and tumultuous feelings to which he was formerly subject. Quite often he is as vehement in the defense and propagation of his new ideas as he was loyal to the old. The experience of St. Paul on the road to Damascus is a typical example of conversion. Paul had been an outstanding persecutor of the new sect called Christians. His antagonism had led him to study the doctrines and customs of the group, however, and he had come to accept these values to a large extent without being conscious that he had done so. Meditating as he travelled a lonely road, he suddenly was convinced that



his former position had been wrong; he reoriented his thoughts and sentiments; he was converted.

Although conversion is usually thought of in connection with religious experience, it also operates in other fields of behavior. A person may be converted from one political party to another, or from a biological to a social basis of interpretation of personality. Small and intimate groups are often converted *en masse*. Missionaries report that entire villages accept a new religion after presenting a united front of antagonism or indifference for long periods of time.

#### ASSIMILATION AS ACQUISITION OF CULTURE

Assimilation is usually thought of as a political process by which a person born in one country becomes a citizen and participant in the culture of another. This is particularly true in America, where most of the literature on assimilation has been concerned with the problems of immigrants. This is one form of assimilation, and the one most easily observed because it is the most obvious. But the same process operates within the area of a nation. The person born in a nation in which he spends his entire life must undergo a process of assimilation no less than the person who changes nations after he is born. It is true, of course, that the native-born has many advantages over the foreign-born in that he does not acquire one culture and then substitute another for it. But assimilation is primarily a process of becoming adjusted to a culture so that there is no strain in its use; not of the substitution of one culture for another.

This is perhaps more easily seen if we substitute the term used by the anthropologists in approximately the same meaning as given assimilation by the sociologists. Anthropologists talk of acculturation, by which they refer to the means by which a person takes over a culture and makes it his own. In this form it is evident that what is referred to is the process of acquiring culture, whether for the first or any subsequent time.

To Giddings, assimilation was simply the objective counterpart to socialization. When the person became socialized in his feelings and thoughts, he was characterized as assim-

lated by the group he had entered. To this scholar assimilation is the process through which consciousness of kind operates to replace subjugation and exploitation by sympathy and understanding. This is furthered by the extent and intensity of common stimuli acting upon the persons who may be assimilated, and the character and intensity of their social interaction.\*

In any culture, the infant begins a long process of cultural acquisition as he becomes accustomed to the clothing and foodstuffs given him. Later he acquires a particular language by which he is able to manipulate many of the other elements of the culture of the place in which he lives. Finally, about the time he reaches adulthood, if he is normally successful, he has acquired a sufficient amount of the culture of the place to feel that he is a member of the in-group, that he belongs. When this has happened he may be said to have become acculturated, or assimilated. He has come to share the common culture with his fellows; the national holidays are more than a memorial to something the history books mention; they arouse in him the appropriate sentiments. The flag is *his* flag in a peculiar way in which it can never belong to one not of his own nation. He knows what to expect people to say in most situations and his own responses are those his fellow group members expect. It is no longer possible to separate him from the group on the basis of his conduct as he displays it in common situations or his inner feelings as they are discovered in crises.

#### THE PROBLEM OF THE NATIVE-BORN

But it must be obvious to persons who have moved about a nation as large as the United States that there are very few persons who are assimilated in this sense to an American culture pattern. There is almost no one, it is safe to guess, who is capable of participating fully in the culture of Boston, Massachusetts, and that of Pocatello, Idaho. Or who feels equally at home in the Union Club and a hobo jungle. The truth of the matter is that we have a whole series of

\* Franklin H. Giddings, *The Elements and Structure of Society*, pp. 304-325.

cultures in America with such divergent traits that it is impossible for a person to assimilate them all. Within such diverse culture patterns there are mutually exclusive traits. The table manners and ideologies appropriate to the Union Club would bring as great ridicule in the hobo jungle as would the reverse situation.

In any complex culture such as that of America there simply is no common culture pattern in any other than the most general sense to which a person may become assimilated. This is a function of the great number of alternatives in our culture, to borrow Ralph Linton's phrase,\* which "represent different reactions to the same situations or different techniques for achieving the same ends." Thus in our society we have various religious bodies, all of which are concerned with the salvation of our souls; we have various political parties, any one of which will assure all listeners that its program is the route to a more glorious future or is essential to the prevention of chaos; we have farming techniques ranging from the man and a mule on a sandy hillside to the great corporation farms of the Mississippi delta or the western wheat fields. Further, these differing cultural elements are put together in various degrees of consistency from that of mere adjacency to that of logico-meaningful integration, as Sorokin has pointed out.† But the entirely consistent integration of cultural elements depends upon the paucity of cultural alternatives. Whenever it is possible for a person or a group to attain a given end by any of various means, the unity of the cultural pattern suffers; and if the number of alternatives be very large, the pattern and coherence is lost. That is what seems to have happened in the case of our culture. There simply is no one universal pattern of American culture to which a person or a group can become assimilated.

\* *The Study of Man*, pp. 271-280, has an excellent discussion of participation in culture which was suggestive of the ideas here stated.

† *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, Vol. I, pp. 1-53.

## ASSIMILATION IN SMALLER GROUPS

But, it may be argued, there are complexes within the general culture of the nation to which assimilation is possible. In a somewhat generalized sense the regions afford such cultures. In spite of the minor differences, the general culture pattern of the Southeast, for example, is sufficiently alike through the region that a person may move about freely without feeling that he had entered a strange land as would be the case if he migrated to the Northwest.

There are also cultural patterns associated with the social classes within which the person may feel at home regardless of the portion of the nation in which he may be. The intellectual culture of college campuses is much the same in Maine and Montana; but the moment the college professor steps outside his classroom and becomes a participant in the general culture he finds himself at a loss. In spite of the best efforts of Emily Post, the social amenities, as well as the situations in which they are to be used, differ widely from one area to another.

This variation of culture within the nation and the necessity for the *intranational* as for the *international* migrant to become assimilated is illustrated in the fate of the people from Kentucky and Tennessee who have entered the automobile industry to take the place of the foreign immigrants now forbidden to enter this country. These people are facing the same forms of discrimination and terrorism which a decade or so ago were used against the Poles and other slavic immigrants. Further, it is objected that their attitudes and habits are "peculiar" and that they refuse to fit into the ways of the industry and the city.\* In other words, these native-born Americans are finding it essential to become assimilated, or at least accommodated, when they move a few hundred miles. They have left one culture pattern and have entered another, and are now making the necessary readjustments.

\* Erdmann Doane Beynon, "The Southern White Laborer Migrates to Michigan," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. III, pp. 333-343.



## THE COSMOPOLITE

There are, however, a small number of cosmopolitan persons to whom the above remarks do not apply. Some of this group are those who move about from one resort to another in a restless quest for entertainment. Others are the servants of large corporations with far-flung holdings whose employees are sent wherever it is thought that their services will be of greatest value. Such persons appear to be as much at home in one place as another. But they are really at home in no place whatsoever. They have become entirely assimilated in the small class or bureaucracy of which they are a part, but they never put down roots which tap the underlying essence of the culture in which they live. They develop no deep-seated loyalties for place, or for class. Their great mobility and their feeling of impermanence have prevented their full participation in the culture about them. They always feel as if they were "outsiders" wherever they may be; and the local groups share that feeling with them. Such persons are in much the same position as that of the Negro, who is denied full participation in the culture and who has no other culture on which to fall back for those things he is denied. Both groups attain nothing more than a conditioned participation, although the conditioning factors are different in the two cases.

## CULTURAL CONSISTENCY AND ASSIMILATION

From the above it would seem that the use of the concept assimilation to imply a full participation in a culture would apply only to those simple societies in which there are few, if any, alternatives. In some savage and isolated groups this condition is found. Everyone does as does everyone else because there is no other known way in which to act or to think. The person growing up in such a culture, or even a migrant into such a culture, may become indistinguishable from his fellows so far as custom and attitude are concerned. This is shown by the fact that such societies often have no idea of the use of a police force; it simply never occurs to anyone to violate the mores.

But in a complex culture subject to varied influences from many sources, it is unlikely that a consistent, integrated culture pattern will exist, or that the persons will adhere to it if it does exist. Thus, assimilation as a state of being would seem inapplicable to western civilization as a whole. However, assimilation as a process by which a person moves toward full participation in a culture is not affected by such considerations. It is true that the process is seldom if ever completed, but there is an easily demonstrated trend in that direction which richly deserves study since integration of persons and groups is a goal on which all peoples place a high value. The stranger and the foreigner are often distrusted and hated; almost never are they made a part of the community.

#### CONDITIONS OF ASSIMILATION

The rapidity with which assimilation may take place is controlled by several factors, all of which have to do with the prevailing attitudes and sentiments toward members of the out-group. These are reflected in the degree of intimacy of contact which is permitted. In the case of the native-born, primary contacts prevail as the child grows up and assimilation progresses so evenly and so in accordance with custom that it is largely unnoticed. In the case of foreigners of different racial stock the process is so slow that it sometimes seems that no progress is taking place. This is true in the case of the Negro in America. This group has been in close contact with the culture of the land for three hundred years, but is not yet fully assimilated and probably will not before some hundreds of years yet. It is only through participation in a culture that a person may work out his assimilation. If the contacts permitted him are of such nature that his participation is only limited, he cannot achieve full assimilation. So closely are contact and assimilation related that Park and Burgess say "As social contact initiates interaction, assimilation is its final perfect product."\*

\* *An Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, p. 736. Quoted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

## RACE AND ASSIMILATION

Racial differences are one of the greatest deterrents to assimilation because they have become the vehicles of much of the prejudice and antagonism between groups. Further, race makes it impossible, or extremely difficult, for the person to escape being assigned to a particular group and so gives the common feeling of exclusiveness of many groups an objective basis for discrimination. Ethnocentrism is one of the fundamental social facts. Most groups have so rationalized their positions as to make themselves feel superior to most other groups. Many savage tribes considered themselves the only true examples of mankind; others do not quite measure up to the standards of manhood.

Rules of various sorts are set up to reinforce such attitudes of ethnic superiority. Intermarriage is forbidden. Sometimes no sort of intercourse is permitted, as was true of Japan for many decades, for fear of contamination by the members of other, and therefore lower, groups. Although this is not a universal sentiment, as some sociologists of the last century assumed it to be, it is common enough to be a most potent factor in deterring assimilation.

This feeling of loyalty and admiration for one's own group is the primary factor in segregation, which in its turn regulates the closeness of contact and so affects assimilation. The members of groups like to live together, more especially if they find themselves in a strange culture as do immigrant groups. At the same time the "native" group likes to keep such people segregated. The two attitudes work hand in hand. In Texas three sets of schools are commonly supported, even in small towns. One is attended by the Anglo-American children of the dominant group. Another is for the use of the Latin-American, or Spanish-speaking children. The third is for the Negroes. Although the Anglo- and Latin-American children are sometimes placed in the same school, in the higher grades particularly, in many cases the Latin-American community has asked for a separate school for their children, a request which the Anglo-American group is usually eager to grant.

## THE INFLUENCE OF CLASS

Class distinctions also prevent the closeness of contact needed for successful assimilation. This is illustrated in the public school system even where racial or ethnic considerations are not present. The schools in large cities are usually found to be graded roughly as to correspond with the social position of the parents of the pupils. This is easily accomplished since the areas of a city served by the schools are also generally ranked as to the social position of the residents. But in many cases a parent will feel that his place of residence does not entitle his child to attend a school of the proper social standing and will petition the authorities to allow the child to attend some other. Since money is one of the fundamental criteria by which social position is judged in America, evidences of relative wealth are important factors in making for ease of interaction which leads to assimilation. The ragged urchin and the well-dressed and well-washed youngster have little in common and both feel ill at ease in the presence of the other. Their parents share their feelings in an intensified form.

## ETHNIC COLONIES

Intensifying the psychic segregation of such groups are the distinctive institutions they set up to serve their needs. Ethnic colonies often support their own newspapers, their own banks, grocery stores, churches, and what not. By failing or refusing to use the same set of institutions they miss opportunities for common participation which would greatly hasten the assimilation process. Indeed, such institutions and the social life surrounding them may prove to be so satisfactory that the person makes no effort to move out of his group into the larger world about him and may remain within his own small group throughout his life. This is a common experience of foreigners who come to this country and enter large ethnic colonies where they find it easily possible to satisfy all of their needs and desires without ever coming into contact with the America to which they immigrated. The only contacts such persons have with



any phase of American culture is mediated and transmuted by transmission through someone else. They are affected, but only indirectly, by what happens in the outside world.

However, such colonies and their institutions are not to be condemned out of hand. They facilitate assimilation in most cases rather than retard it through giving the person a secure base from which he may make tentative and exploratory excursions into the new world, feeling sure that he can retreat if he finds conditions there too hostile to him. In this way much personal disorganization is avoided and the gradual taking over of attitudes and sentiments proceeds at a pace at which they can be incorporated into the personality without undue strain.

Very few persons are so self-reliant that they are able to enter a new culture alone without passing through a stage of disillusionment which may effectively prevent assimilation at any future date. In many cases antagonisms are added to the disillusionment and the person finds himself in open or concealed conflict with the culture he had hoped to enter and to share. Unfortunately this was the net result of much of the "Americanization" work done by patriotic bodies following the World War. The attitude of many persons engaged in such work was so patently that of forcing the immigrant to take over the outward signs of American culture that resentment was the net result in many cases. There was an almost total lack of appreciation of any of the values the immigrant culture might have for America.\* Any such forcing techniques are much more likely to retard than to accelerate assimilation.

#### NATURAL HISTORY OF ASSIMILATION

The progress of assimilation may be observed in the case of foreign-born persons entering this country, and their descendants. Carl M. Rosenquist, in his study of the acculturation of Swedish immigrants, found that the immigrant himself stays aloof from the more intimate phases of the new culture to as great an extent as possible. His ideals and many

\* Cf. Donald Young, *American Minority Peoples*, p. 457ff for a discussion of the problems of Americanization.

of his ideas are traceable to the culture from which he came. He feels a loyalty to the older rather than to the new.

The second-generation members, on the other hand, are determined to become members of the new cultural group at whatever cost. They often change the spelling of their names along with their dress and accent in efforts to disguise their group membership. They deprecate the culture of their parents and praise that of the land in which they are living. But they have imbibed much of the culture of their parents, and usually are unsuccessful in posing as members of the native group. Many of them fall into the class of persons who have not become fully assimilated in either group, who live on the margins of two cultures without full participation in either and so are called "marginal men." Such a situation often breeds intense conflict between children and parents. The children are ashamed of the "backwardness" of their parents and curse them for making their acceptance by the in-group impossible or very difficult. Such persons may be fairly well accommodated, but only in rare cases are they assimilated.

The third generation, however, has won entrance into the native group. They speak the language as do the natives; they share their tastes as to dress and as to behavior patterns. Further, they have acquired the sentiments and traditions of the native group. They have become indistinguishable. Feeling secure in their status as natives, this generation often develops a pride in their immigrant ancestry and the culture of the land from which their grandparents came. They often import foodstuffs from the older land and observe holidays in the fashion of that culture. Feeling secure in their acceptance, they can afford to point out the beauties of the culture of their ancestors and even to urge the incorporation of such elements in the culture of their homeland.\*

#### AMALGAMATION

If racial differences or "high visibility" in any other form retard the assimilation process, amalgamation, or the interbreeding of the two groups, is one of the most effective

\* *Acculturation of the Swedes in Texas*, unpublished manuscript.

means of hastening the process. As physical differences disappear it becomes impossible to assign persons to groups on bases other than their behavior and expressed opinions. So soon as the immigrant adopts the language, dress and manners of the native group, his identity as a foreigner is lost and he is at liberty to participate as freely as he desires in the culture and to become assimilated through participation. So soon as the members of a differing racial group lose their physical traits through miscegenation, they are in the same position as the immigrant of the same race who has lost himself in the general population. The basis on which differential treatment was possible has disappeared and the person is thrown on his own capacities. It is this freedom from restriction rather than the biological mixture of physical traits which makes amalgamation an important factor in assimilation.

There is no known case of racial groups coming into contact without amalgamation taking place. There is not sufficient difference in racial characteristics to form an effective bar to miscegenation. However, the degree to which such mixing takes place is subject to the widest variation. The degree of physical difference probably has much to do with this, since ideas of beauty, and consequently of sexual desirability, are usually reflections of the experiences of a people so that those persons displaying the characteristics typical of a race will appear beautiful to other members of that race. Exceptions to this generalization are found, however, where one racial group has dominated another to the point at which the values of the dominant group have been accepted by the subordinate one. This is the case with the Negro in the United States to a very large extent and explains why Negroes seek to disguise their physical characteristics. But, in general, differences in physical characteristics do restrain the amalgamation of the two groups.

More important than physical characteristics in conditioning biological intermixture of two groups, however, are the attitudes and sentiments regarding the groups which are prevalent in the cultures represented. The fact that amalgamation leads to assimilation was early recognized, and *mores* and taboos have been used by most societies in their

efforts to prevent such mixtures. This is, of course, a variant of the "in-group" feeling, but is often reinforced by myths of a former golden age in which the particular biological stock, which must be protected, achieved superhuman attainments.

A strong feeling of group consciousness will retard both amalgamation and assimilation. The superior group feels that it must protect its blood lines; the inferior group withdraws as much as possible from contact so that its collective ego may not be hurt by the slights and discriminations to which it is commonly subjected. In spite of these efforts, however, the process of amalgamation goes steadily forward; the two groups become more and more alike in physical appearance; persons find it easy to pose as members of either group as they will, and assimilation gradually comes about.

Theoretically it is possible to maintain social distances between physically identical groups over an indefinite period of time; practically it is very doubtful whether such a thing has ever happened. The present plight of the German nation in trying to decide who is or who is not Jewish in a country in which anti-semitism has been a part of the culture for centuries illustrates the degree to which it is possible or impossible to maintain such distinctions on a cultural basis. If Nazi charges are to be accepted, it would appear that the Jewish group had become so well assimilated in German culture as to dominate its original bearers! Although amalgamation is one of the primary forces making for assimilation, it is not essential to the process, nor is the fact that it has taken place evidence in all cases that assimilation also has been effected.

Participation in culture is the key to assimilation. Indeed, assimilation is a process of acquiring divergent culture traits, and this can be done only through participation. Hence any factor which makes for fuller participation encourages assimilation. Any factor which limits or conditions the free access of a person or group to the culture of the area prevents his full and complete assimilation.



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## PART IV

### *Means of Social Integration*

#### CHAPTER XVIII

##### UNORGANIZED MODES OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Out of the interactions of persons and groups arise common ways of behaving and believing in common social situations which are customarily accepted by the children and migrants growing up in or entering a society. These common elements constitute the culture pattern to which the person is expected to conform within limits, which, also, are set by the group. Implicitly or explicitly, the person finds his liberty of action circumscribed by the attitudes and rules of society. His activities are co-ordinated and correlated with those of others according to specific means. Groups, likewise, are assigned certain functions and are held responsible for their satisfactory discharge, on the one hand, and are forbidden to engage in other fields of activity which have been preëmpted by other groups, on the other. It is thus that society gets itself organized. Each person and each group knows, with fair accuracy, what to expect from other persons and groups before contact is established. When these expectations are not fulfilled the parties to the interaction are puzzled and resentment or conflict usually follows.

##### RANGE OF SOCIAL CONTROL

The collective action out of which come such uniform patterns, together with the more formal institutional rules and regulations set up to coerce persons into behaving in the expected manner, may be referred to as means of social control. These means will vary widely with the nature of the society, the number and nature of contacts with other societies, and the traditions of each of the societies. Within the society itself they may be ranged along a scale of formality, running from the utterly informal and implicit

control exerted by like stimuli producing like action in biological organisms of like structure, to the highly formalized procedure of a court applying the laws enacted by a consciously deliberative legislature such as our Congress. In between such extremes may be observed control by such means as the unconscious cultural conditioning of the growing child; the operation of the folkways and mores; unpremeditated group action as seen in crowds; the use of devices directed toward the person, such as ridicule and flattery; other devices directed toward the group as a whole, as ceremonies and legends; the use of argument and persuasion in public opinion and propaganda; and control based on knowledge, as represented by the educational system, reports of research workers and inventors who produce new cultural elements which demand new adjustments on the part of the person and society as a whole. All of these mechanisms have this in common: they tend to take the choice of appropriate ways of meeting situations from the person and to give it over to the group of which he is a member. They all function to regulate the actions of the person so that they conform, within recognized limits, to the standards of the group. In this way they make a social order possible.

#### BIOLOGICAL FACTORS OF CONTROL

On a sub-social level many animals form herds, or other compact groups, which act in similar ways and so attain ends which are of importance for the entire group rather than for the individual animals only. Various explanations have been offered for this phenomenon but they usually contain one common element. These animals have a nervous structure which makes such similar behavior a mechanistic result of stimulation, a thing over which the animal has little or no control. Taking his clue from this fact, Giddings developed the theory of pluralistic behavior. Animals with like nervous structures behave in much the same way in the presence of the same stimuli, he argued. But they do something more; they recognize the likenesses of their behavior and of their physical structure and, so, do not attack or flee from each other as they probably otherwise would. The ac-

tions observed might be the result of imitation, and in part they are, he argues. But regardless of this, such similarity of action forms a basis of consensus among humans. Thus his "pluralistic behavior" leading to "consciousness of kind" is made the fundamental social fact.

Just where such similarity of behavior based on like nervous structure leaves off and socially inspired behavior, such as imitation, takes up is a moot question. Do members of the crowd at a football game yell because each person responds simultaneously to a brilliant play, or do they yell because of interstimulation; because they wish to do what others are doing? It seems safe to guess that both factors are usually operative and many persons would have difficulty in determining which was more important in his own case. At all events, the connection between biological structure and social pressure as a motivating factor is at such a fundamental level that scholars are at a loss in many cases to know whether an action should be placed in one classification or the other. The heredity-environment controversy has persisted because of this inability to distinguish clearly between the two factors in such behavior.

#### CROWD BEHAVIOR

There is an interstimulation whenever two animals of any sort become aware of the presence of each other. No wild animal, any more than any human, ever behaves in exactly the same manner when alone as when in the presence of another animal. But the nature of the contact between animals and persons differs greatly in intensity in different situations.

The persons walking along the street may often be only dimly aware of the presence of others. But nevertheless their behavior is more or less conditioned by such presence. The keen observer gets a great deal of pleasure from watching those who pass him as he stands idly on a street corner. Ideas as to new styles of dress are gained in this way, as well as looking into shop windows or reading magazines devoted to fashion. Bits of information are often picked up from fragments of conversation overheard along the street.



Street crowds also display a tempo in their walk, a tone in their conversation which makes it apparent whether they are in good humor or bad, and this awareness has an effect on the casual observer. Such aggregations of persons and the mutual influencing which goes on between them is of little importance, however, in comparison with the crowd gathered for some specific purpose which is shared by all.

#### THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CROWD

Any occurrence, planned or unplanned, which serves to focus the attention of all, or most, persons present converts an aggregation of persons into a psychological crowd. In more technical language, a crisis, or an awareness of a situation which demands action, is the basis for the formation of the psychological crowd. Such a crisis may be the cry of "Fire!" or it may be an exciting lecture. If the crisis is of sufficient intensity and no immediate solution is apparent, the ordinary patterns of behavior are greatly changed or may be almost entirely discarded for the time being. The behavior of a psychological crowd sinks to a primitive level and the restraints of culture are forgotten.\*

The formation of a crowd follows a well-recognized pattern. A crisis appears and a large group of persons is brought into contact with each other. In its initial stage the crowd may be at a loss for a definition of the situation; no customary action is indicated. Hence there is random movement and tentative gestures in various directions. Persons move about through the crowd with no objective in mind. They engage in a *milling process* which is much like that of an excited herd of animals. This movement furthers the formation of the crowd by increasing the excitement. Each sees in the eyes of his neighbors an emotion similar to that he is feeling, with the result that the emotional tone of each is intensified. As each becomes conscious of sharing an exciting emotional state with others, *rapport* is obtained. Suggestibility is heightened greatly so that members of such a group respond almost unconsciously to the stimuli

\* The classic discussion of crowd behavior is that of Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd*.

presented them. Customary repressions and inhibitions are forgotten. Individuality is lost.

If at this time a leader appears who suggests a simple and direct action, it is more than likely that he will be followed blindly, without reckoning the cost of the action he proposes. A crowd may be guilty of the basest action, as in a lynching; or it may perform deeds of the greatest heroism, as the formation of living barricades against the charges of trained troops, as in the early days of the Spanish civil war.

A crowd is a social unit of only temporary character. It has no history and a very short future. It is organized only in the sense of having a focus of attention and a plan of immediate action. No rules or regulations apply. The crowd is peculiarly susceptible to illusion. Any strange incident which attracts attention may be interpreted almost immediately in terms of some common fear. At the same time the crowd will brook no interference with its proposed action. It feels itself to be omnipotent and justified in any action it may take.

Anything which serves to break the focussing of attention on the common object will dissolve a crowd. Once the rapport is broken, the crowd members become persons in their own right once more, their inhibitions return, the traditional ways of behaving reassert themselves, and such persons may be intensely ashamed of the actions in which they indulged under crowd intoxication.

#### MASS MOVEMENTS

However, it should be stressed that crowd behavior is also characteristic of groups not within physical proximity of each other. Through the radio, or even the newspaper, huge numbers of persons throughout such a nation as the United States may be subjected to the same stimuli at the same time, may make their feelings felt through conversation, demonstrations, and other means, so that the nation as a whole becomes an immense crowd. This is what happens almost universally when a nation enters a war. It is also evident in mass movements, such as the Florida real estate boom of a decade or so ago, the Klondike rush of a few

decades further back, and the Mississippi Bubble of almost two centuries ago. History is full of illustrations of crowd-like behavior.

#### TYPES OF CROWDS

Crowd behavior may be classified into several types distinguished by important differences. The casual street crowd or similar gathering, lacks most of the consciousness of kind which distinguishes other forms of crowds. Awareness of others is present in the minds of the members of such a crowd and is reflected in their actions to some extent. But it is not so intense as in any other type of crowd. Mass movements represent a slightly higher consciousness of other participants and is distinguished from the psychological crowd by the common center of interest which activates its members. But the persons forming such a group are not united or organized through leadership as is common with true crowds. Often the members are engaged in competition of the keenest sort with each other, while in true crowd behavior the interests of the person are submerged for the time being.

True crowds may be orgiastic, or aggressive. The orgiastic crowd has no definite plan of action and none is formulated during its existence. Its function is to allow its members to release tensions through expressive behavior such as shouting, dancing, singing, parading, or more vague and random movements. Rapport in this type of crowd is high and it may be turned into an aggressive unit very easily through the suggestion of a clever leader. Its development and nature is the same as that of the aggressive crowd, except that the final step of carrying out a concerted drive against or in behalf of some value is not taken.

All types of crowd behavior illustrate primary reaction patterns through which the individual is controlled by the group of which he becomes a member. They are all spontaneous and never achieve an organization save on rudimentary levels. Rules and regulations providing for orderly procedure are unknown. Hence they lack one of the essential characteristics of social organization. However, out of

such activity may grow a social movement which is highly organized and which may play an important part in bringing about social changes of more or less fundamental nature. When, and if, this happens the crowd has been transmuted into a public or an organized social movement with recognized leadership, stated and defended aims, and a continuing organization which guides its efforts toward some more or less distant goal. These are clearly different forms of collective behavior which demand separate treatment.

#### FOLK PATTERNS OF CONTROL

Much has been said already of the role of the folkways and mores in furnishing patterns of behavior by which persons meet everyday situations. Most of the ordinary occasions of life are provided for in these folk patterns, so that the person has little choice to make; he merely repeats the appropriate action or sentiment. Nor is the transmission of these patterns from society to the person always a conscious process. In most cases the patterns are taken over with little or no conscious effort on the part of either teacher or scholar, although the use of the words "teacher" and "scholar" immediately calls to mind one of the formal means by which conscious efforts are made to pass on some sorts of behavior.

Praise, flattery, persuasion, rewards, cajolery, are other means employed in the primary groups to secure conformity to its desires and standards. These have the common quality of being pleasurable to the person on whom they are being used, and are generally preferred means of control. But if they fail, the group has other and less pleasurable weapons at its disposal. Ridicule may be used very effectively when the group is small and compact. No one likes to be made the butt of a joke, and few persons will continue a line of activity which makes them the laughingstock of their close friends. Satire is a similar means of control, but is applied over a wider range and in a more impersonal manner. Ideas and movements are satirized; persons are ridiculed. Either or both may be the basis for gossip, which is one of the most powerful weapons at the disposal of the group in small units. So long as one is forced to live in close association with



others, it is imperative that his reputation be fairly high. It is only in the partially anonymous world of the large city that a person need not fear what the people of his immediate vicinity think of his actions. Gossip is a form of constant reappraisal of character and may raise as easily as lower the status of the person gossiped about, but is commonly thought of in the negative sense.

#### CONTROL BY COERCION

If gossip is not sufficient to control the behavior of a member of a group resort may be had to the application of physical force, or the offender may be denied the association of the group; that is, he may be ostracized. The use of force, whether by mobs or by the more orderly processes of the law and courts, is more characteristic of civilization than of savage society. It is true that among savages little regard for pain inflicted upon another is to be observed, but the group, as such, generally reserves such treatment for enemies. Ostracism is the more generally used method employed in dealing with recalcitrant members of the group. This is possible because of the very much greater danger the person incurs through ostracism in savage society. He has no other group to which he may turn and often ostracism is literally the equivalent of a death sentence. In civilized societies, however, the person may always find some other group which will accept him as a member, either through ignorance of his past misdeeds, or through the possession of a set of values which makes a crime in one group a means of gaining approval in the other.

In closely-knit groups the existence of a taboo is commonly sufficient to prevent an action thought to be of danger to the group. From our point of view many of the taboos of savages are meaningless, but it should be remembered always that such prohibitions have a place in the organization of their social life. Further, they may sometimes serve practical purposes which do not appear at first glance. The taboos against eating certain sorts of foods, or against eating certain foods at particular times, often serve the function of preserving the supplies. But savages are not the sole

offenders against logic in this respect. In our own society we have food taboos which are seemingly without meaning. Such are the prohibitions against eating the flesh of horses or dogs. Other taboos refer to forms of dress, speech, sexual behavior, religious practices and a wide variety of activities. These are, of course, mores stated in negative form.

What is in accordance with the prevailing mores is moral ; what is in violation of such codes is taboo. Like morality, the mores and taboos gain much of their power from their connection with religion and supernatural powers in general. It is sometimes admitted that the breaking of a moral prescription would not harm the guilty person at the time of the violation, but would lead to more remote consequences which would be very terrible indeed. These remote consequences often are not made specific.

#### CEREMONY AND RITUAL

Ceremony and ritual are other devices by which the person is impressed by the social values of his group. Ceremonies are reserved for the unusual occasions which are out of the routine of ordinary living and which demand special commemoration. Ritual may be used more often but also serves to call attention to extraordinary elements in the situation. Ritual consists of the exact performance of a series of acts, such as the repetition of a formula, at an appropriate juncture of affairs. Both are used to solemnize the action of which they are a part and to impress on the observer that such actions are of more than ordinary importance and must not be taken lightly. Our court procedure illustrates the use of these devices nicely, but they enter into most of our fields of behavior. The relationship between teacher and student is largely ceremonial in nature and many lectures sound somewhat like the repetition of rituals.

The value of ceremony and ritual in controlling the actions of the person lie in their impressive presentation of the ideals of the group. Although such actions do not create the hoped-for attitudes on all occasions of their use, they do tend in that direction. Further, they force the person to act as if he possessed the approved attitudes and so give a

basis on which behavior may be predicted. The simulation of an attitude one desires, is a step toward its acquisition. There is much good advice in the old adage "If you would possess a virtue, feign it." Ceremonies and rituals also refer to a glorious past and thereby tend to awaken an emotion of reverence and awe for the group and its accomplishments.

#### TRADITION

This function of awakening reverence for the past of the group is also performed by myths, legends and tradition. These all refer, primarily, to the glorious exploits of the group or some of its members. They are generally forms of common memories, although they may be and often are embroidered with fanciful details which serve to make them more attractive to the novice than they would be in their state of natural truth. Persons, or an era, are idealized and made to appear the epitome of whatever characteristic is portrayed. The real happening is enshrouded in sentiment and protective pathos and so is lost. But in its place there appears a much more wonderful and admirable picture which receives the praise of the group and which carries its ideals to new members.

Myths and legends may also function as do dreams in giving the person or group an escape from the hard facts of reality in visions of a glorious past. This seems to be true of the legend current in the southern portion of the United States of the slave regime. Having created a myth of kindly colonels sipping mint juleps on the verandas of colonial mansions while ecstatic pickaninnies did tap dances on the lawn and their happy parents cake-walked through the fields of snowy white cotton, some Southerners—a few at least—have been afraid to move for fear they would disturb their beautiful vision, or else have spent their days reviling the "Damned Yankees" who made its perpetuation impracticable. It must be added immediately that such is not a true picture of the typical resident of the South any more than the imagined golden age of "Before the War," is a true picture of the situation at that time. But myths, legends, and tradition are potent factors in bridging the gap between the past

and the present and of preserving and transmitting the culture of the group, more especially the immaterial cultural elements which give tone and meaning to any society.

The forms of social control discussed above have all operated without any definite structure or set of functionaries. They function informally, but effectively. Only students of social organization and action ever bother to bring them out into the light and attempt to scrutinize them. The values they transmit are accepted uncritically as natural and right; the notions embodied in them seem to be axiomatic in their obvious truth. They serve to define most of the situations in which persons find themselves, and so control most of behavior. Even where a choice is forced upon the person or the group, the values imbibed through the implicit forms of social control are the basic materials on which and out of which the choice is made.

#### PUBLIC OPINION

Still without a definite structure of functionaries or a concretely defined goal and plan of action, but with a recognized interest in the solution of some problem through discussion and deliberation is the form of association known as the public. Thus, the public occupies a position between that of the crowd and that of the membership of an institution. The process of formation of public opinion partakes of the informal nature of crowd behavior, but is to be distinguished by its greater calmness and the fact that it is critical of the proposed modes of action brought to its attention. In fact, the primary function of the public is to find new ways of meeting a situation through a rational procedure of argumentation, debate, or less formal give and take in which ideas are advanced, considered, and rejected or accepted in terms of a consensus. The formation of public opinion is a process of evolving an agreement. Thus the public is much less emotional than the crowd; the persons forming a public retain their unique personalities or may even enhance their feeling of individuality through offering and supporting some proposal.

On the other hand, behavior as a member of a public



differs from that of membership in an institution. There is no effort made to preserve or extend a value which has been accepted; the effort is toward creation of a new value. Further, there are no rules and regulations which are to be followed, and no definite organization of the group. Theoretically anyone is at liberty to join any public at any time he chooses to do so. The only criterion for membership is that the person has command of the particular universe of discourse used by the public to which he seeks admission. Without this he finds it impossible to make himself understood, and hence is barred from active participation.

The public may develop into a crowd under the influence of emotional leadership, or if it appears that immediate and decisive action is demanded. Thus the public which is concerned with a discussion of warfare as a means of settling international disputes may find itself a crowd reacting emotionally to the announcement of an outbreak of fighting. The public may, also, be changed into an institution if it develops a conviction that the consensus it has reached is of value to the society as a whole. In such a case a formal organization results, functionaries are selected, and a plan of action evolved. Most new institutions arise from the public discussion of some issue, which seems to demand continuing action over a fairly long period of time. But the public, as a public, is characterized by the give and take between its members on an informal basis. It is a body which functions in making tentative gestures toward the solution of problems and which develop an opinion which is representative of the group through collective action.

It is the statement of an opinion, rather than a plan of action designed to force its acceptance, which gives the public its great power. The only force used by the public, as such, is secured through the desires of persons to conform to group standards; although there is always the potential threat of concerted action in defense of public opinion through any of various institutions. Public opinion thus controls the individual in much the same fashion as do the folkways and the mores, because we have agreed tacitly that it should be obeyed. If active steps are taken to secure conformity to public opinion, as through the passage of

legislation or the change of rules of non-political institutions, the process has taken another step, and we are considering not control by public opinion, but by the institutional framework of society. Again, whereas the folkways and mores are static and stable, public opinion is creative and changing. It defines situations in new terms rather than by the invocation of old patterns.

#### FOLK ELEMENTS IN PUBLIC OPINION

From this it should not be concluded that public opinion is not influenced by the folkways and mores. In nearly all cases it is merely a new synthesis of existing thought. Public opinion is made up of the results of the interplay, through conflict, accommodation, assimilation and cooperation of ideas and their spokesmen. But the ideas these spokesmen advance in the public opinion process are themselves derived from the cultural milieu. It is only at most rare intervals that a new idea makes its appearance as a new star floats into the ken of astronomers. Students of the history of ideas are constantly amazed at the way in which almost any theory is a composite of many previous theories given a statement which makes it acceptable at the time and place in which it is expressed by the person whose name is currently attached to it.

Further new ideas, and other inventions, often appear as the work of various persons in the same social setting at about the same time. Darwin drew his theory of selection and evolution from various recognized sources, the critical one of which was Malthus' essay on population. But at almost exactly the same time another naturalist, Wallace, in Java, had arrived at the same conclusions. There are at least three claimants to the honor of inventing the steamboat with fair claims to recognition. The same might be said for the use of ether as an anesthetic, or for various other inventions. If this is true of what have been termed revolutionary ideas, how much more it must apply in the case of the opinions advanced in everyday conversation. Hence, it would appear that thought is largely, though not entirely, a social product. If Darwin had not worked out his theories, some other per-

son almost certainly would have within a very few years.

A glance at a few of the opinions held by any person, plus an honest attempt to determine their origin will be enough to convince the student of the truth of this statement. Why do we eat three meals a day? or wear the particular sorts of clothing we wear? or belong to the church or political party of which we are members? or dislike certain racial groups? or hold to our particular economic beliefs? All of these things are of importance to our living, but few of us ever arrive at our decisions in such matters through an investigation and evaluation of the facts available. We simply absorb our opinions from our neighbors.

#### STEREOTYPES

This may or may not be unfortunate, but in a society as complex as ours it is inevitable. No person can by any stretch of imagination be conceived to have the knowledge on which to form logical opinions about all the things with which he must deal or on which he must express an opinion. Hence we are forced to rely upon hearsay, upon the expressions of others who may or may not be better informed than we. But even if we are fortunate enough to observe the facts on which our opinions are to be formed, the problem is still far from solution. Actually we do not see what is before us. We see that, or parts of it, in which we may be interested at that particular time, plus many things we have seen in like fashion before. The chemist and the geologist see entirely different objects when a bit of rock is placed on the table before them. The layman could see little of what either of these experts sees. In each case the observer sees what he had agreed upon as a definition of that particular object or occurrence. "For the most part we do not see and then define, we define first and then see. . . We are told about the world before we see it. We imagine most things before we experience them. And these preconceptions, unless education has made us acutely aware, govern deeply the whole process of perception." \*

\* Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, pp. 81, 90. Quoted by permission of The Macmillan Company.

Creation of stereotypes as Lippmann calls these "pictures in our heads," comes of the desire to simplify and to illustrate abstract notions in a concrete manner. Many of them are the result of a happy inspiration of a writer or artist who seized an opportunity to make his point by overemphasis upon some outstanding characteristic of his subject. Such stereotypes save vast amounts of time by relieving us of the burden of thinking and form the common coin of our discussions. Through them the culture furnishes us with ready-made type ideas which we repeat indefinitely. We see all Negroes as happy-go-lucky, dancing morons; all Japanese as sly, avaricious, but polite, graspers; all college professors as absent-minded, impractical pedants. It is only when we come to know members of such stereotyped groups that we discover how far wide of the mark our opinion had been.

The stereotypes used by large and diversified publics are even further from the facts than are those of many individuals. Here the ideas must be so simplified that they may be grasped by the slower and less well-stocked minds; and this is often very great simplification indeed. Hence, such labels prevent our getting at the facts which we need for intelligent decisions through eliminating the more subtle shades of meaning or the exceptions to easy generalizations. They also form an excellent tool for the use of those interested in the formation of public opinion in line with preconceived notions, the propagandists. But, in any case, it is upon these pictures of what reality is like, false or true, that men must depend as a basis for their actions. Not all of the notions men receive about things they have not observed are false, of course. There is a vast amount of accurate information available on almost any subject one chooses to investigate and this store is being added to daily. But there are many reasons why much of the information passing currently as factual is highly fictitious.

#### FAULTY OBSERVATION

It has been indicated above that the reports of eyewitnesses to events are not to be relied upon entirely. This point is borne out in many experiments by psychologists



and others, and is so commonly accepted that no argument or illustration is needed here. But this fact has an important bearing on the formation of public opinion since it is only through the reports of those who have made observations that any basis for the formation of opinion is available. Obviously, if such reports are not correct, the basis on which opinions are formed is unreliable.

This lack of correctness may come from various sources. The person may be, and usually is, prejudiced through the acceptance of stereotypes from his group. Further, he always unconsciously interprets what he sees in terms of his past experiences. Differences in reports of eye-witnesses vary widely not because the witnesses wish to confuse the listener, but because they actually saw different things taking place; the differences being accountable in terms of their past experiences through which they were seeing. This often makes for inadequate reporting of facts as well as for inaccuracies in the reports. The observer sees the aspects in which he is interested or which he has been told are important. He may entirely overlook some other aspects of the most vital importance from the point of view of the person trying to use the information. The report of a freshman on his Sunday walk through the hills would be of almost no value to the geologist who wished to know whether those particular hills were the broken top of an anticline or the protruding edges of a syncline. On simpler levels most of us have been exasperated at the report of a friend who had failed to observe some aspect of an occurrence in which we were particularly interested. Further, for any of various reasons the observer may deliberately falsify his report. In this case, of course, the information received is worthless as a basis for logical action.

But most of the information we receive comes not directly from an observer, but through various channels, such as gossip, public meetings, the newspaper, the radio, the motion picture, magazines, books, or special reports. Such reports are seldom the work of the observer himself. The information gathered by observation has passed through several minds, all of which have done more or less reinterpretation. So that it is not only the difficulty of accurate observation

which prevents us from receiving accurate information; the channels through which it is conveyed are also likely to be distorted.

Finally, the information received is once more interpreted by the receiver. Just as the original observer saw only those things which his past experience and native capacity had fitted him to see, so the person receiving reports of observation tends to pick out from them those things which are of particular interest for any of many reasons. This tendency is furthered by the reluctance of most persons to hunt out, or even to pay attention to information which does not reinforce their preconceived notions. This is why newspapers and radio commentators of various shades of opinion find ready audiences. Each person selects the newspaper or news commentator who gives the facts the sort of interpretation desired, and thereby reinforces his prejudices. The staunch member of the Republican party is quite sure that the New York *Herald-Tribune* gives accurate accounts of what *really* happens. The Communist is just as sure that you must read *The Daily Worker* to get at the truth. Neither newspaper, of course, is an accurate and unbiased channel through which the reader may receive reliable accounts of events on which to base an opinion. Each, consciously or unconsciously, selects those news items which portray what appears to its editorial staff as truth, perhaps, but the alignment of each with certain interests makes this selection a biased one. Each is seeking to influence public opinion in favor of its particular philosophy.

#### PROPAGANDA

No discussion of public opinion in a society such as ours can afford to neglect attempts to influence the public to accept as valid, predetermined conclusions of interested persons or groups. This is propaganda, which may be defined as an attempt to manipulate common symbols so as to control the attitudes and sentiments of other persons and through these to control their actions. In more facetious terms, propaganda may be defined as "an attempt to make

up our minds for us." All such attempts have a predetermined end in view, and it is here that propaganda may be distinguished from education, if at all. Propaganda seeks support for a preconceived position whereas education supposedly seeks to impart information on which the person makes his own decision. However, it is evident that most education does influence students in favor of traditional attitudes and values and so far as this is true, education must also be classed as propaganda.

From this it must be apparent that propaganda as such is not necessarily an evil thing. Any and all efforts to present arguments or emotional appeals with the object of converting the listener or reader to a new point of view or strengthening his present attitudes are propagandistic. All special pleaders are propagandists. But the ends sought may be good or bad according to the current reaction of the public to them, since good and bad are dependent upon social definition. In our society it would be generally agreed that propaganda in favor of monogamy is good, whereas propaganda in favor of any other form of marriage is bad.

Propaganda, as defined above, is one of the oldest devices for control of persons and groups. In the village pow-wow of the savage the proponents of specific lines of action were propagandists. One of the chief functions of ambassadors and other governmental representatives in foreign lands has always been the creation of good will for their home-land. Missionaries are propagandists for a particular religious faith. It was in this connection that the word first came into general usage. In the early part of the seventeenth century Pope Urban VIII inaugurated the College of Propaganda as a training school for priests who were to be assigned to mission work and whose duty would consist largely of the propagation or spreading of the faith of the Catholic Church.

In more recent times, and especially since the World War the term has come to have a derogatory connotation. In popular thinking it is now commonly associated with efforts to secure action of which the person would not approve were he in possession of all the pertinent facts. That is, it is commonly assumed that the propagandist operates by concealing important elements of the true situation. This is

often true, but is only one of the many devices used by the manipulator of opinion and attitude.

#### PROPAGANDA AND PUBLIC OPINION

Public opinion is often, if not usually, the result of the efforts of opposed propaganda groups. The issues on which public opinion is formed are usually of immediate concern to two or more interest groups within the society. These groups seek to influence public opinion in their favor by stating their positions in the best possible light. Through enlisting the support of others not immediately affected they create a public which considers the issue at stake. But each of the groups affected seeks the support of this same general public, which is thereby thrown into the role of umpire. In such a situation it is to be expected that the interest groups concerned will use whatever means they think will be effective, subject to the limitation that such means must be acceptable to the public to which the appeal is being made.

#### PROPAGANDA DEVICES

There are several well recognized and constantly used means of propagandizing. The Institute for Propaganda Analysis has listed seven such and has made them the basis of their analyses of propaganda.\* "*Name Calling*" is the device by which a person, movement, theory, racial group, or what not is labelled with an epithet carrying a derogatory connotation. "Propagandist" is an excellent example of such term in our society at this time. Many politicians are adept at the use of such labels. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt, and General Hugh Johnson are recent political figures who have made use of such terms as "economic royalists," "malefactors of great wealth," and the logically meaningless but emotionally powerful "boondoggler." In all such cases the effort is to associate the object of attack with some opprobrious sentiment held by those to whom the appeal is directed.

\* *Propaganda Analysis*, Vol. I, pp. 5-7. This analysis is the basis of the following discussion.



The opposite effect is sought through the use of "*Glittering Generalities*." Here symbols are used which have a high value in our thinking but which may not apply in any direct manner to the problem under discussion. Such phrases are not specific and so have little or no meaning but appeal to favorable emotions and attitudes and so tend to induce favorable action. "A full dinner pail," "A fair day's pay for a fair day's work," "The American System," are examples.

"*Transfer*" is a device by which the propagandist carries over the authority, sanction, and prestige of something we respect and revere to something he would have us accept.\* If the propagandist can succeed in associating his program with the church, the government, or the family, for instance, he is able to use favorable attitudes already in existence. This is often accomplished through the use of symbols closely associated with such institutions, as the cross, the flag, or a picture of a motherly woman. A variation of this device is that of the *testimonial*. Here the transfer is of the personal prestige of some person or group of prominence. Endorsements of all sorts fall into this category. A prominent society leader may be induced to endorse a facial cream or a church leader may support a political candidate. In either case the transfer is from the group of which the endorser is a member to the thing endorsed. Argument by appeal to authority also partakes of the nature of this device.

In democratic societies the use of the "*Plain Folks*" device is peculiarly effective since it aims to associate the person or idea with the masses and thus win their support. This device is popular among political candidates and may be observed in their attendance at barbecues, their handshaking and back-slapping, their posing for pictures pitching hay or fishing, and so on. The effort is to convince that the user of this device is of the same sort as the great public and so can be expected to act in the interests of this large group.

"*Card Stacking*" is the device commonly called to mind when propaganda is mentioned. It consists of distortion or suppression of some of the essential facts so that the effect is favorable to the person presenting such an argument or appeal. Under- or over-emphasis is another form of this

\* *Ibid.*, p. 6. Quoted by permission of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis.

device, as is the practice of "drawing a red herring across the trail," that is, of meeting an argument by an unrelated countercharge.

Through the "*Band Wagon*" device the propagandist seeks to create the impression that his is the popular side in a controversy and so appeals to the desire to be on the winning side. He pins his faith on the old adage that "Nothing succeeds like success," and by creating an atmosphere of success succeeds in winning many converts to his cause. This device is especially effective at large public gatherings in which crowd psychology has a better opportunity to operate effectively. Also, in such a crowd a carefully placed claque can start applause at critical moments which will be taken up by others who, finding themselves applauding, rationalize their action as the result of some unanswerable logic in the presentation of the speaker. Often such applauders cannot repeat the telling argument, but feel sure that they must have recognized it as such at the time. Parades and demonstrations are other forms in which this device makes its appearance.

It is apparent that all of the devices discussed above appeal primarily to our emotions. But propaganda may also operate on an entirely intellectual plane. Many propagandists make sincere efforts to present all of the pertinent facts, feeling sure of the soundness of their position. Competent research workers are often engaged to search out such facts and to make them public in media which are non-emotional. But, it must be observed, such efforts are not so common as those described above.

Whether the matter used by the propagandist is true or only a half-truth, or utterly false, much of his success depends upon constant *reiteration*. Mere repetition of a statement tends to win acceptance, partly through the cumulative effect and partly because other persons will repeat what they have seen countless times and so will accept responsibility for its accuracy. Adolf Hitler states the case very clearly: "The intelligence of the masses is small, their forgetfulness great. Effective propaganda must be confined to merely a few issues which can be easily assimilated. Since the masses are slow to comprehend, they must be told the

same thing a thousand times.”\* Hitler hits upon another basic principle of the propagandist in this quotation. The issues must be simplified and argument avoided since deliberation serves to destroy the crowd-mindedness which the propagandist usually seeks to create, or at best, serves to bring into the mind of the listener adverse arguments and doubts as to the “rightness” of those advanced by the propagandist. “The ordinary man hates nothing more than two-sidedness, to be called upon to consider this as well as that. The masses think simply and primitively. They love to generalize complicated situations and from their generalizations to draw clear and uncompromising conclusions.”†

Through all of these devices the propagandist seeks to reorientate the thinking of a group and through this reorientation to control their actions. He seeks to secure acceptance of new viewpoints, or to reinforce those held at the time as a means of preventing defections. Thus propaganda has a dual character. Though it is ordinarily thought of as a means of bringing about social change through the inculcation of new ideas and values, it often seeks the preservation of the *status quo* through appeals to loyalty to the existing order.

#### MEDIA OF PUBLIC OPINION

Propaganda may enter and color any of the channels through which information is carried to the public and the charge has been made often that such channels are not free of defect. It is often asserted that newspapers, radio and motion pictures do not give clear pictures of reality. Some of the limitations upon clarity of presentation have been discussed above, but it may be well to consider some of those specifically levelled at these media. In the case of the newspaper and radio it is charged that the commercial nature of the enterprise prevents an unbiased presentation of facts. Both of these institutions have a dual role. From the point of view of the public they are media through which news and entertainment are disseminated and upon

\* *Mein Kampf*, quoted by William Albig, *Public Opinion*, p. 316. Quoted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company.

† P. J. Goebbels, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 316.

which the public relies to a very large extent for information on which to form opinions. From the point of view of their owners they are commercial enterprises to be used to make as high profits as possible. These two roles are incompatible, it is argued.

#### INFLUENCE OF COMMERCIALIZATION

The chief revenue of the newspaper and radio comes from advertising and if the enterprise is commercial in nature it is likely that the interests of the advertisers will be considered. The final arbiter as to policy is the owner. If profits are to be made it is essential that the persons who are in a position to place advertising must not be antagonized. Further, it is essential that the persons who read the advertisements are such as are able to buy the goods and services advertised. Thus the newspaper, and the radio have an impulsion toward serving the monied classes. Further, operation of a newspaper or a radio station is a business which requires a large amount of capital. The owner then, it may be supposed, feels his interests to be much the same as those of other possessors of large investments, and the policies of the media are likely to be affected by this conviction.

Does this mean that the editorial staff of newspapers and radio stations are instructed to present their news and entertainment in such a manner as to serve the interests of the monied group? Not necessarily. Such orders are seldom necessary. Editors and announcers are not forced to change their opinions; they are selected because they have opinions which coincide with those of the owners just as workmen in other fields are selected because they display those characteristics the employer desires. The opinions expressed are often entirely sincere; the reverse seems to be very rare.

Thus, it appears doubtful that there is any "conspiracy" on the part of the newspapers and radio stations of this country to protect or serve any particular class in our society. That such protection and service is rendered, if it is, seems to be a natural outgrowth of the nature of the institutions.



## MOTION PICTURES

What has been said of the commercial nature of the press and radio might be repeated for the motion picture, with a shift of emphasis from the informational to the entertainment function. Although news reels serve the informational function in the motion picture theater, and though much of the material in newspapers is for entertainment rather than for instruction, the two place their major emphasis on different functions. Further, except in rare instances motion pictures do not carry advertising and the producer is dependent upon the consumer for revenue. The objections most often raised to the motion pictures are that they tend toward sensationalism and the philosophy implicit in most of the plays presented is unrealistic, not to say mawkish.

The same charges are made against the press and radio, and with about equal basis, it would seem. All three media are under the necessity of finding and holding consumers in spite of the advertising revenue of the press and radio. Obviously if no one buys a newspaper or listens to a radio program, no advertiser will be interested in subsidizing either. This forces producers of all three to make their product as appealing as possible. Whether or not this means that the appeals used are below the current mores seems to be doubtful. But it seems to be fairly evident that these media are not being used to raise standards. It is questionable if they are to be expected to serve such a function. Considering their commercial nature it seems no more just to ask them to sacrifice profits in favor of raising standards than it would be to ask grocers to refuse to sell lower grades of foodstuffs and thereby force the public to eat better.

## POLITICAL INFLUENCES

The newspaper has been aligned with political parties from the time of its birth until recently. It is only within the last few decades that the "independent" newspaper has appeared. Even now it appears that nearly, if not all, of the newspapers support one or the other of the political parties. Some are frankly party organs; others reserve the

right to support whatever party or candidate they choose on each separate occasion. More recently the radio and motion picture have been charged with entering the political field. The gubernatorial campaign in California in which Upton Sinclair advocated his EPIC program served to warn the nation as to the possibilities of the use of the motion picture as a means of political propagandizing.\* A careful listening to the remarks of radio news commentators will often disclose a political bias. The tone and inflection with which news is announced may give the hearer a distinct impression as to its nature which is not carried by the actual words used. On commercial programs the advertiser sometimes uses a part of the time at his disposal to present arguments for or against some public issue in which he is interested. However, such argument and persuasion is commonly discounted as advertising, whereas the commentator poses as a fair and unbiased reporter of what has happened and what it means.

#### POWER OF THE PRESS

Effectiveness of the efforts of press, radio and motion pictures to mould public opinion is very hard to determine. Very little work on the problem has been done, partly at least, because of the intangible factors involved. It has commonly been assumed that if the media of communication favored the candidate winning an election their influence was largely responsible for the result. However, there are several cases which throw serious doubt on this conclusion, particularly the presidential election of 1936. In this case newspapers having about 70 percent of the total circulation in 15 large cities were supporting the losing candidate, who received only 31 percent of the votes cast in these cities.† This would seem to indicate that the press is not strong enough to counteract a powerful movement of public opinion, but leaves unanswered the question as to how powerful it is over a long period of years. The evidence, however, points toward the conclusion that the power of the

\* Cf. Richard Sheridan Ames, "The Screen Enters Politics," *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 170, pp. 473-474 for a discussion of the use of faked pictures and interviews in this campaign.

† Supplement to *The New Republic*, March 17, 1937.

press has been greatly overrated. Carefully planned and executed studies are badly needed in this field before conclusions can be stated with certainty.

#### PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

Important as public opinion is, it is only natural that efforts to gauge its trends should have been made for some time, particularly in connection with political elections. Since about 1900 many newspapers have conducted straw votes in an effort to predict the outcome of elections. Of these the most famous were those conducted by *The Literary Digest*, a weekly journal of news and opinion. This journal compiled circularization lists of as many as 20,000,000 names and addresses from automobile registration lists, telephone directories, and similar sources. Huge numbers of postal cards were then sent to these persons inquiring how they intended to vote. On the basis of the returned cards predictions were made which varied from the actual returns by a significant margin, but no reversals were encountered until the election of 1936. The actual voting showed that this poll had been in error by approximately 20 per cent.

Meanwhile other methods of conducting straw votes had been developed by *Fortune Magazine*, A. M. Crossley and The American Institute of Public Opinion under the leadership of men trained in marketing research. Whereas the *Literary Digest* Poll had used large numbers of names from lists of property owners, these polls were careful to see that all classes were represented among those expressing an opinion. Fewer persons were interviewed, but a careful check was made to see that the sample represented by the poll was proportional to the general public as to residence by states, sex, age, urban-rural residence, size of income, and political affiliations. Each of these polls correctly predicted the result of the presidential election of 1936, although two of them showed an error of 6.9 percent. This would indicate that some refinement of method is needed.

Assuming the accuracy and honesty of such polls the problem still remains of the effectiveness of the opinions expressed. Polls by the American Institute of Public

Opinion have indicated that a majority of the citizens of the nation are in favor of abolition of the ban against sending information relating to contraception through the mails. But this opposition to the ban is evidently not of sufficient intensity to produce action, since little concerted effort seems to be made to secure repeal of the legislation objected to. Similarly, this organization reported in May 1937, that 84 percent of the people were in favor of sterilization of habitual criminals and the hopelessly insane. But relatively few of either class are actually sterilized and there is no powerful movement to secure such action. It would seem that public opinion is powerful only when it is implemented by some group interested in securing some action.

#### OPINION REGIONS

Finally, it should be pointed out that public opinion varies not only by classes, but by geographic areas, or regions. Such differences may be due to several factors. The organs of public opinion vary widely as to distribution and as to quality from one region to another. Traditions and common sentiments which have grown up within a region exert a powerful effect on its residents and their opinions. Economic interests are often roughly coterminous with regions. The communication facilities will have an effect on the availability of specific newspapers and other media, and so will affect the opinions expressed in the area. Such opinion areas may be demonstrated by mapping any social phenomenon which involves an expression of opinion. Maps of voting on specific questions are excellent examples.\* Membership maps for various institutions indicate support for the ideas sponsored by the institutions. Below and fundamental to these are the folk attitudes which are not subject to exact measurement but which are recognized and commented upon by visitors from other areas; such differences in "atmosphere" as are noted between New England and the Pacific northwest, for instance.

This is merely another way of saying that opinions reflect

\* Cf. C. O. Paullin, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* for excellent work in this field.



to a greater or lesser degree the place, and time, in which they are expressed and that one can understand an expression of opinion only through a knowledge of such surrounding factors. This factor has been recognized since the time of Bacon who discussed it under the term "Idola." It is painfully apparent in the attempts of foreigners to understand attitudes and customs they observe, as the Japanese reverence for the Mikado. This is the basic idea of the new sociology of knowledge, or *wissensoziologie*, and the study of ideologies.

#### PUBLIC OPINION AND DEMOCRACY

The activity of public opinion is an excellent index to the fluidity of a society. In an utterly stable society there is almost no expression of public opinion because there are no issues to be settled. There may be, and is, a very strong public opinion in the sense that the public has definite ideas as to what should be done, and how, and will punish the violator of the mores. But the control here is in terms of folkways and mores, not through the operation of public opinion. The same is true in totalitarian states, but for a different reason. Here the expression of opinion not in accordance with the ruling party is heavily and swiftly penalized. What opposition opinion there is, is driven underground and constant efforts are made through propaganda to convert the opponents of the government. Thus the right of the minority to express its opinions openly and freely is one of the earmarks of a fluid and democratic society. When it has disappeared, it is safe to assume that democracy has disappeared.

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## CHAPTER XIX

### THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PLAY

Cultural conditioning controls the activities of persons by giving them socially accepted ways of doing the things they are called upon to do. In the last chapter an attempt was made to show how some of the more elemental folk aspects of culture condition social behavior. Later consideration will be given to the more formal aspects of this same problem when we come to discuss the function of institutions as tools by which man seeks satisfactions and through which the cultural heritage is passed on to him.

Between these informal folk means of passing on culture through folkways, mores and discussion and the more specific and formalized institutions such as the family, church and school are broad fields of activity and interest which serve to transmit much of the culture of the past, express the spirit of the present, and so exert powerful influences on the behavior of persons and societies. Play, art, science and technology may be conceived as broad cultural streams from which the person or the group takes much of his nature through the absorption of the culture carried, and in which his efforts are directed toward the currently accepted goals. Each is dynamic and creative in the sense that it takes raw activity of the social unit, person or group, and moulds it into patterns which are distinctive of the society in which it operates. At the same time, each is conservative in that the elements used are generally to be found in the society and are only recombined into new forms which are thought to represent better adjustment to the needs of the present, although a partial exception to this statement must be noted in the case of technology. Each takes on forms characteristic of the particular society in which it is found; but all are to be observed in all cultures in positions of relatively minor or major importance. Together they form the bulk of the subject matter of education, formal and informal.

## PLAY AND THE CHILD

The child's chief business is play, not for his advantage or pleasure merely, but as a necessity for the growth of his personality. If he cannot have a chance to play, to that extent his growth is stunted. Persons whose childhood is marked by a lack of play disclose in their later life the results of that deficiency. John Ruskin, for instance, whose early years were so much under the influence of his parents as to make his development precocious, had very little opportunity for play, but was forced rapidly through his early childhood into a mature atmosphere. Apparently his adult life was not only less wholesome than it should have been, but more unhappy than if he had been allowed fair opportunity for play.

The play of the child is hard to define because so unlike adult recreation; it is more like our work, a very weighty matter. He is more intensely concerned with play than with school lessons, farm chores, or home tasks. It is neither like adult work nor adult play, but different from both.

We cannot trace the growth of the child's play in such a way as to give orderly development. The kinds of play the child carries on show only roughly a constant advance. First comes the sort of play that has to do with sensations. This we might call *sampling-play*, since it is largely touching and tasting. It is the perception of contact with environment. Often it is also an imitation of processes the child has watched. This has been called *the mimic period of play*,\* but that does not fully describe the essential characteristic of this form of play because only occasionally does the child mimic. Most of the time he is simply trying to get sensations.

A little later self-expression takes a larger place, with the desire for creation. Now the child tries to do things, not merely to come in contact with things; he makes mud pies, plays horse. When he ceases putting his blocks in his mouth and tries to build houses he has largely passed from the first into the second type of play. The mark is indefinite and there is much overlapping.

\* J. Lee, *Play in Education*.

As the child grows older he turns from passive to active play. From being subservient to his environment he gradually changes until he is trying to control and alter it. Another movement easily noted is from destructive to constructive play. The Fourth of July and Hallowe'en Night show how faint is the demarcation between the ages at which these tendencies predominate and how readily the older child drops back into destructive play when he has special invitation as on these holidays.

While the infantile trends are being replaced by more advanced kinds of play the child is moving on from solitary to co-operative play. It is unnatural for him to want to play much by himself after the third year.

The only child and the frail child are apt to prefer playing alone so as not to be interfered with, the one because he is not strong enough to hold his own in competition with his mates, and the other because he is used to being the object of special consideration. Once introduced to the satisfactions of playing with other children, by a tactful supervision that places the delicate child with younger companions or provides opportunity for him to compensate for his physical handicap by using his wits in games of skill, and gives the only child such large doses of companionship with people of his own age that he gets out of the habit of thinking first and foremost of himself, these hampered children are led by their awakening craving for comradeship to co-operative play. Children who fail to break into the world of shared experiences are likely, as adults, to be morbidly fond of their own company. Normally an individual likes to be by himself at times, but also wants to associate with others in play experiences.

Feelings of rivalry and loyalty become strong about the age of nine or ten when association in play is well established. As soon as boys are old enough and numerous enough in any neighborhood to form a fluid sort of gang and thrill with the fervor of group loyalty, one of the first things they do is to hunt up another gang so as to carry on a mild degree of contest, which is mostly noise and not to be taken very seriously; it is automatic that as soon as they have an organization they want to match themselves against some

other organization and test their power. Girls do somewhat the same, but with smaller cliques.

#### SEX PLAY

The sex play carried on in childhood is often misinterpreted as precocious sex experience or even immorality. The interests of sex are vague and mysterious but lead to a play spirit on the part of the child. The parent who knows his child well is likely at times to find the child's play taking on a suggestion or even a considerable expression of sex, and is often tempted to give this undue importance; it is merely play with no moral tinge whatever, unless it should become a persistent habit or morbid desire. If the child's concern with sex is summarily checked by an emotional outburst from the parent, or prematurely forced by older children, normal growth in his sex life may be blocked. Occasionally we meet highly trained persons who represent a morbid arrest of sex development. In thinking of the child's sex play we must remember that he has no sex that is conscious, but plays at this as he plays at keeping house or school or store or at being a doctor or a teacher. His play takes on a sex character just because that represents one of his natural interests.

To have complete development through play, the child must have a suitable place to play; this is difficult in the city at present and often can be provided only by transferring much of his play outside of the home life. He must have time to play. The chief danger in the long school day is the desire of educators to use the added time for more work rather than for more play for the child. It would be better if his school day were shortened instead of lengthened unless his play needs are guarded. If the greater day is merely to make possible more work in the school it is not unlike what we call *child labor*; there are innumerable children who would prefer to go to a factory and make cloth rather than spend their time on arithmetic and spelling. If little children are to have the longer school day it is particularly important that they use a large part of the extra time for play, since play represents the best educational resource they have.



The child must have playmates. This is a very serious problem for rural children and sometimes a perplexing problem for parents who find their child without normal mates, because of age differences or perhaps because the neighbor's child is not a good child but a persistent trouble-maker. The choice between having no playmate and having a bad companion is one no parent would want to make.

Children have to have freedom. Most teachers who regulate or supervise play meddle too much, make the children's activities follow a set routine, insist on standard ways of playing; they keep saying, "Don't do this; do that. Do it differently." In so far as they interfere in this way, they pervert freedom and the result tends to be not play but work for the child. He will gladly slip away from the over-regulated playground and go around the corner to "play," as he says, with his friends because then he gets a chance for real play.

Much is made of the child's equipment for play, but we are likely to misunderstand his needs and give him ready-made playthings instead of raw materials for construction. He wants to manipulate and create. Children get more opportunity for development by making their own things than by just playing with toys that are bought for them. Some parents smother their child with over-equipment.

#### PLAY IN SAVAGE LIFE

Savage children play very much as ours do. They have imitative toys, a bow and arrow, a canoe, a doll, and other things their fathers and mothers have, just like our children. They play a great deal and are almost always happy. Nearly all travellers notice how happy the children of primitive people are at their play. Much of this play is not only imitative but preparatory for their later life; this preparation is not consciously planned, but the parents do see the value of the children's doing the things they will later have to do. The child takes the opportunity given him just as our child does when eager to cook or to drive nails.

The older savages play also, having a great deal of pantomime and play in their dances. Sometimes their mimic

plays suggest our comedies. At the initiation, especially, the savages enjoy long dances that show, perhaps, how a white man or a kangaroo behaves, and imitate processes or animals that have been observed.

Some of the games we are familiar with and often play come from savages and are very ancient. Contest games are popular among savages almost everywhere in the world. A common one makes boys or men accept a challenge to stand a certain amount of punishment. In a Malay game played by two men, each man puts out one hand and holds a short stick in the other. The players hit each other with the sticks until one says, "I have had enough." These men are showing off before many spectators, particularly women, their ability to stand pain. American Indians used whips to fight what we should call a duel, but which was in reality another form of the contest game.

Modern baseball comes from an old game called *rounders*, in which a player could be hit by the ball and put out by being struck. If we carry that back we find the North American Indians playing ball and always permitting a player to be struck by the ball, since that gave a certain amount of risk to the game, which added to their enjoyment of it. Anthropologists say this goes back to the time when it was wise for savage boys to be trained in using a club as a weapon and in throwing stones in preparation for fighting; out of this came the contest which gave way to the ball game of the Indian and that in turn to our professional baseball.

#### THEORIES OF PLAY

One of the oldest of the theories that try to account for the origin and universality of play is the Schiller-Spencer theory of surplus energy. Play, like laughter, releases surplus energy so that it can flow out and lower the tension of the organism. We say to our children, "Play and get rid of your extra energy." But the malnourished and the sick child plays; it is not always true that play represents a surplus, for sometimes the person cannot afford to dispose of any of his energy in that fashion, yet he loves to play.

Groos said, "Play is practice. We play the things we want

to do later." That is partly true but most of us will confess we have played at many things we never seriously wanted to do in life. Only in the animal is this preparation seriously carried out. Groos was led to his theory by watching animals. Puppies play at being watch dogs as if they thought their destiny was to be mostly snarling and barking. But preparation is not the only meaning of play. We cannot assume that the child is only doing the same thing as the puppy; instinct accounts for much of the puppy's behavior, but the child's life is more complicated.

G. Stanley Hall's theory is that play recapitulates the history of the race. The child repeats the experiences of his progenitors. We no longer believe this because the child evidently does not go through any constant series of activities representing cosmic periods, but merely reproduces some of the experiences of past ages.

It is true he plays at being a caveman, a tree-dweller, a nomad, but he is unlikely to play spontaneously at being a shepherd or an agriculturist. Even when hunting or fighting he is often reacting to suggestion he has received from conversation, stories, pictures, or events that have come within his environment. The child craves action, and is won by the drama of man's early life, as by the exploits of more recent times. It may be that the child's interest in dramatic contests of modern as of ancient times is due to his cosmic past, but it is difficult to disentangle so broad an emotional bias from the fundamental human urge to activity and the seeking after sensation which in early childhood are characterized by a preference for intensity of stimulation and activity involving the use of the larger muscles.

McDougall tells us play is rivalry. That is true of some play. Rivalry has a large place in contest games but does not fully account for play.

Miss Appleton says play is the result of biological necessity. As the body changes its structure it has to change its play. Play is for the advantage of the body. Sensation play enables the child to become more delicate in his contacts. That is true also but it is not the whole truth.

We should have to put all these theories together to have

a satisfactory understanding of play, and then come back to the statement that play is the business of childhood and that we cannot account for it other than by saying it is the great need of childhood.

During the first three decades of this century decided changes have been observed in the types of recreation offered growing children. At the turn of the century the emphasis was on formal gymnastic drill. This type of "taking exercise" gave way to competitive athletics in which highly trained teams competed with one another under the auspices of institutions of various kinds. This type of activity is still largely characteristic of the colleges and universities, where it reaches its heights in football games. In other institutions the trend has been toward playground and mass activities in an effort to secure participation of greater numbers of persons. In colleges this movement is represented by the intramural programs. More recently the trend has been toward more emphasis upon the individual and his needs, although the group aspect of play has continued to receive emphasis. Emphasis on physical activity has been moderated by the introduction of story-telling hours, dramatics and handicrafts and arts as parts of the playground program. Similar activities receive great emphasis in the summer camps for children.

#### ADULT PLAY

If we turn to the adult our problem becomes simpler. There are two reasons for adult recreation: monotony and intensity. Persons whose lives are monotonous will play, for to them play is a rest from routine. The majority of such people, if they play at all, do so on account of this desire to rid themselves of the result of monotony, fatigue. Their play is likely to be noisy, rough, spectacular, over-emphasized, because it is such a relief to them after the monotony that has impressed them in their working experience. Professional people who have great responsibility, whose life is intellectually intense, play, not to get away from monotony but to lessen the intensity of their life by a change



of occupation which will bring them relief. They are likely often to choose the same sort of play as those who are suffering from monotony. To both play is relief.

Play also gives the adult new experience, something human nature is always craving as relief from monotony. Play represents adventure. The traveler and the explorer enjoy an extreme type of adventure play. Theodore Roosevelt, going to Africa to hunt game when he left the presidency, illustrates the zest to be found in this sort of recreation.

Contact provides motive for recreation. The person who is playing solitaire with cards exemplifies the kind of play that is largely struggle; the fascination of the bridge party lies in the opportunity it provides for association. Much of our play springs from the desire for effortless contact with people.

The play that allows conflict is the kind of play the boy likes. It permits him to try his resources against somebody else's. It is necessary in most games to have scores, records, or distinctions in order to have struggle. When we feel we cannot pit boy against boy but must urge the boy to improve himself we get his past record and pit him against that, but this is a more sublimated struggle; he would rather beat somebody else than himself, so we have to advertise his success and add to it arbitrary prestige, to make this new type of struggle as compelling as the other.

Much of our play is imitation of things other people do. Not long ago the story was told of a man in New York who built in his basement a large electric railroad with many cars and stations and invited the boys of the neighborhood in to play. Every little while they ran a regular railroad system. The fathers heard about what was being done and soon interfered so much that the man had a night once a fortnight for the older enthusiasts, when several prominent men would gather and run a complicated railroad service, trying to see if they could manage the system they had planned. These men confessed they had wanted as children to be railroad men and had not outgrown the desire; as long as it was play, not work, they still wanted to manipulate trains. They were getting recreation from what is prob-

ably a more vital interest than billiards or bridge, though not common because people seldom have an opportunity to imitate in that way. Camping is a return to boyhood dreams and allows imitation of the doings of that time.

#### VICARIOUS PLAY

Play is also carried on for distinction, certain kinds of recreational success bringing advantage, especially to the boy and the girl in school. Every educational institution is troubled by the position athletics hold in public thinking and among the great mass of the students. It is hard for school administrators to realize that the prize fighter, the noted tennis player, the football hero are the greatest persons of the period to these young people. In their eyes these are the men who have achieved. Having no idea of what it means to earn money, to conquer nature, or to discover new facts by skilled research, the student body honor the man whose doings they can understand. It is very easy for educators to cater to this emphasis on bodily prowess so as to get such results as school loyalty and discipline. Just so long as any college honors athletes more than students, it will find its athletic attainment outdistancing its intellectual achievement in the minds of its students. College administration has often neglected opportunity to stress scholarship, executive and organizing ability and other capacities that bring distinction in the outside world, but is beginning now to change its attitude and is getting results.

An outstanding problem is our tendency toward vicarious play, which is of no great advantage, though it has some value. It should not take the place of personal play. Probably the chief criticism of American athletics is its development of specialties and specialists, its willingness to let a few persons get the advantage of the game, becoming almost professional, while the rest merely look on and back what is being done. The desire for success in athletic contests is so great that few coaches are willing to pay attention to the average candidate for sport, but are interested only in the extraordinary; they train a team as one would train a trotting horse and for the same purpose. This should not be

called recreation, because that is not what it is at all. It exploits the individual who is trained and exploits still more those who are only supporters.

There is at present some reaction against this, not only from the public but especially from the student body, which has become critical of the highly organized, money-producing athletics, that, in the case of football at least, have tended to overshadow every other campus interest and activity. Meanwhile, college administrations are wrestling with a situation which antagonizes the primary purpose of an educational institution. The root of the difficulty seems to be that the alumni find in athletics their chief tie with the institutions from which they were graduated. From them comes the demand that their Alma Mater win the prestige of inter-collegiate victories. What is most needed is the revival of the idea that sport, to have educational value, must be play rather than a profession.

Along with the increased interest in sports as spectacles, however, has gone a parallel interest in participation in sports. Steiner, in his study of recreational trends, found that the demand for adequate playing facilities and their use by the public has equalled, if not surpassed, the interest in watching expert teams perform. The two seem to have stimulated each other.\*

The English spread their recreation through the mass of people, so that almost everybody takes an active part in some sport: the young play football; the middle-aged (those over twenty) go in for cricket; and bowling on the green, for the older people, can be played almost as long as a man can walk about. These are interesting, require skill, and bring people together in the open air in a very different way from that of sitting in a grandstand watching professionals play their game as a business. Walt Whitman said, "I hear America singing"; when a poet can say, "I see America playing," our culture will be markedly changed.

\* Jesse F. Steiner, "Recreation and Leisure Time Activities," in *Recent Social Trends*, p. 932.

## COMMERCIAL AND COMMUNITY PLAY

We have in modern life three kinds of play: spontaneous, organized, and commercialized.\* Spontaneous play occurs mostly in the family, organized play is in the hands of the school and such groups as the Boy Scouts or the Y.M.C.A.; commercialized play is merely a business carried on by people who have no responsibility except to themselves in profits. At this point the risk of modern recreation is clear. The danger of commercialized recreation is being lessened by an increasing stress on organized play. The time may come when the community will feel that unless it provides play for its children it is not giving its citizens a reasonable preparation for life; it will not dare have its play entirely in the hands of men thinking only of profits.

The Little Theater is a good illustration of the difference between commercial and community recreation. The ordinary theater has almost lost its artistic value. It does have slight value as relief, but compared with its function in the past it has dropped to a very low ebb. The Little Theater has come from the attempt of thoughtful people to produce plays of a higher order than the ones that can be commercial successes. Nearly all the fine playwriting of today is in the hands of those who are working for the Little Theater. North Dakota University is an amateur dramatic center that has attracted attention. The Carolina Players of the University of North Carolina go all through the South putting on plays most of which are written by the students of that institution. Harvard has had its Workshop 47 which has produced many of its plays and published others. Dallas, Texas, has a Little Theater that has met with remarkable success. Pasadena Community Theater stages plays of a high order, the work of artists who live there, and act because they love to, not at all as a commercial undertaking. Scattered through the country are many of these sincere attempts at dramatic expression, reaching a far higher level than the ordinary theater.

It is depressing that good plays are not now self-supporting, but one cannot feel that this necessarily means a drop in

\* J. Davis, and others, *An Introduction to Sociology*, p. 766.



the general level of appreciation of the audience. The spectacular modern productions of heavily-capitalized showmen in any period would have done much to crowd out the higher-type drama because they demand so little of the onlooker and inculcate a superficial sense of sophistication by accustoming him to scenes of splendor, that form no part of the genuine drama, and a finished technic of execution not easily attained by the small producer handicapped by a comparative lack of funds. When the average theater-goer of today, then, goes to see a play that is above the ordinary level, he resents the mental and emotional exercise demanded of him and is contemptuous of the lack of elaborate costumes and settings.

One of the unfortunate results of frequent attendance at the movies is the encouragement that is given to a passive attitude toward dramatic art. There could be no more parasitic entertainment provided, for on account of its mechanical character it requires only the lending of eye and ear to the program provided. Usually its portrayal of character is so obvious and exaggerated that no thought is required to follow the meager plot. Seldom could a moron find anything beyond his emotional appreciation. Much of this kind of entertainment leads to a lowering of artistic appreciation and insistence on dramatic presentation that makes no mental demands of the theater-goer. It produces much the same effect in the artistic field as commercial sport in the realm of play. It becomes a substitute for mental activity, as does the other for the physical.

#### PLAY AND PERSONALITY

The kind of play a person takes part in rebounds and influences his personality. One can as quickly tell about a person's character by what he likes to play, how he plays, and his standards of play, as in any other way. It is not true that this is the only thing one must take into account; man is too complicated to allow that to be true. One can have a fine character in one's working life and a high type of responsibility, yet enjoy a low type of play life; but such a case is rare. In the mass if one sees people playing over a

length of time one has a clear indication of their culture and character.

Play has an educational function that influences personality. This came out in our World War experience. It was not wise to bring great multitudes of soldiers together, with their desire for self-expression, unless they had wide opportunity for wholesome recreation. As soon as they were free from routine, effort was made to bring them at once into the atmosphere of well-directed play; if left to themselves they ran risk of degenerating immediately to the lowest kind of play. Wherever soldiers gathered, even in the prisoners' camps, the governments of all countries had to organize play under the supervision of specialists as a means of building up morale and protecting personality from the deadening effect of the war experiences. Some of this was not so well carried on as it should have been and did not succeed therefore in doing what it attempted.

If true in wartime when people are gathered together in great numbers, it is always true that the desire for play must be made an asset lest it become a source of degeneration; only this does not appear so clearly in times of peace when most people are influenced in their recreation by family ties, the force of early habit, expectations of friends, and pressure of public opinion.

The realization of the effect of play on personality accounts in part for the keen interest now being shown in the play movement all over the country, and the large amount of space, money, and attention given to play by some of our larger cities, notably Chicago. If wisely carried on this will make a satisfactory attack on our crime tendency. Society ought always to provide the means to satisfy the craving for recreational self-expression; much of the mischief that appears in society is the result of emptiness in the play life. If we fill up this void we shall have less trouble. Neighborhood problems with children indicate the need of providing opportunity for play.

The American officials in their government of the Philippine Islands had the problem of trying to stop head-hunting. It had been the fashion for a man in the late adolescent

period to go out and kill somebody and bring in his head. A lover could not stand well in his courtship unless brave enough to get an enemy's head. When the United States assumed control, the mountain section had this old-established custom. We wanted to stop it. Somebody was wise enough not to depend on policing the section or legislating head-hunting out of existence. Although that was done, football was also organized and the rival tribes were started playing with each other, until in time this drove out head-hunting in the Philippines, though it still exists in some other places.

When play is organized, there have to be play standards. This is the place for supervision. Groups cannot go on playing without leadership. Even if they did nothing wrong, their ethics would soon be on the level of the lowest in the group. Those who are interested in play have to spend a great deal of effort in trying to establish proper standards of good taste and justice. In order to do that they have to depend on the support they get from the group. Supervisors cannot put their standards upon others with success; they must lead in a strategic way by suggestion rather than by dominance. If the leadership is trivial, it defeats itself and the boys and girls escape supervision as quickly as possible.

#### PLAY AS RELIEF

When there is not enough play there are bound to be substitutes for it. The craving for powerful narcotics, like opium, cocaine, and alcohol is in part a hunger for the same sort of relief from monotony or hard work as that offered by play. There are times in the lives of most of us when it seems as if relaxation has to be provided or we shall break down under the strain of long-continued effort; if play is impossible or if we are not in the habit of playing, there is danger of our taking up some form of drug. It has been said that anyone who would discover a harmless narcotic for human nature would bring it one of its great gifts. The play spirit acts as a harmless narcotic, taking the attention off whatever is wearing down one's resistance, and giving a sense of respite before one goes back to the task of facing realities in a business-like way.

## PLAY AND ACHIEVEMENT

Whatever comes out of the child's play interest is dynamic. After anger, hate, and love, play is a fourth source of energy. The adult watching the child at play asks, "How far can the things we want children to do be made play so they will be done easily and with great willingness by the child?" The modern pedagogue says, "You cannot get all you want from the child unless you make his work interesting." The adult also asks, "How far can I carry the play attitude in my work so as to have the advantage of being stimulated by play?" In so far as any of us can imbue our work with the spirit of play we have the advantage of stimulation that we should not otherwise have. When we are interested in our work we do it easily and therefore accomplish more than if we did it with difficulty, and at the same time we reduce our fatigue because that comes from friction in the personality. Moreover we discover a satisfaction in doing things playfully which does not often come from doing things as work. We like sometimes to feel that we have done a hard thing, and enjoy a sense of moral self-mastery; because this is so spectacular, we have been falsely taught in religion and education that a thing is valuable because it is hard. At times we must fall back on effort but the better way is to do things happily without struggle. The satisfaction that comes from the play attitude is more convincing in the long run than the other sort.

The play spirit in work tends to improve judgment. The buoyant type of person is likely to show better sense in his activities than does the person who takes his work too seriously, making it unduly difficult. As proof of this, the more tired a teacher or a parent becomes, and the more overwhelming seems his obligation of getting things done, the less discrimination he shows in dealing with young people, so that his lack of spontaneity defeats his purpose. The child discovers that the judgments passed are unreasonable and extreme and that fault-finding is quick; he, in turn, becomes nervous and less able to work efficiently.

It has been hard for New Englanders and all who have taken over their traditions to realize that the doctrine of



hardness which comes down through authors like Locke and later theologians like Edwards is false teaching. It is a whipping of human nature. The more light-hearted way is the normal thing. The shadow of the New England conscience still rests on many Americans, for it is not confined to territory but is a morbid attitude, representing fear of relaxation. What one does easily is what one does well. Only in a crisis where our strength is hard pressed, must we fall back on the driving of determination in workaday mood. If unreasonable in his usual demands on himself, one may be less able to meet the crisis when it comes. Good development would build up reserves of strength to be called on in extraordinary circumstances. The buoyant person is probably as often equal to a crisis as the work-hardened person.

The advantage of the play spirit comes out in the professional man's career. One of the arguments for entering upon professional work is the amount of opportunity it gives for the play spirit. A man may not make so much money here as in some other occupations but he is freer, since his work is ordinarily more interesting and he can carry more of the play spirit into it. He usually has the advantage over business men, though some of them can greatly use the play spirit. Factory work offers little opportunity for play but its very monotony drives the operators to daydream a large part of the time. Specialists who know what working girls occupy their minds with, while at their machines, testify that these girls spend their time in dreaming about the themes of love and wealth that appear in the novels they read or the moving pictures they see, making their own plots and putting themselves as heroines in love stories where they have delightful success in romance. Only when they have to come back to reality by the snapping of a thread do they leave this dream world. Their work is automatic and their minds, instead of being concentrated, are free to play. Dr. Pruette by her survey of the daydreams of the adolescent girl shows us that these reveries are a common experience of youth without regard to economic class.\* The factory girl

\* L. Pruette, *Women and Leisure*, pp. 152-190.

merely uses the opportunity her work offers to carry on a fascinating mental and emotional play.

From the point of view of play interest we can make a scale of occupations. On the lowest level we should put toil, best illustrated by the slave who has to do as he is commanded even though it is unpleasant; this represents subordination with no play spirit. The man who has to stick close to his job in order that his family may survive is a toiler with practically no play spirit. Above that stands work, where most persons are in their adult occupations; here is a slight idea of self-expression, so that the workers do not have to accept employment where they do not want to. These people have a small amount of choice, and a sense of their own value; what they do is purposeful, but they do not have very much play, their labor is too serious and not desirable in itself but only for what it brings. Highest of all is the play attitude, which makes an adventure of difficulties and a delight of accomplishment; we think of this as being characteristic of the old-time craftsman, and as typifying the surgeon, the artist, and the lawyer who lose themselves in their work and forget even personal grief or acute physical pain in the ecstasy of achievement.

#### SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SPORT

In modern life the most interesting thing about sport is its democratic character. This is one of the few places where democracy actually does succeed. We cannot yet have democratic government, industry, or education, though we try hard; but sport is really democratic, because the game carries everyone with it. The man who cannot attend the contests gets the returns from radio bulletin or newspaper. Sporting news goes into all sorts of homes and most persons take some interest in it. At first thought it may seem ridiculous that sport has so much space in the newspapers and so many people turn first to it, but this provides a real insurance for society. The establishment of a common ground of understanding for the business man, the man of wealth, and the loafer on the street corner, all turning to the same

page, gives a basis of interest that protects us from a complete separation of classes. This is perhaps our only genuine democracy.

There is evidence that this democratizing effect is being extended by wider participation in sports. "The rank and file of the people are insisting upon the right to participate in those diversions, amusements, and sports which traditionally belong only to the favored few. This demand has given the problem of recreation a new importance and has considerably broadened its scope." \*

Sport also in our time is invigorating because it gives us new experiences, and therefore substitutes for some other things we want to rid ourselves of. Besides attacking alcohol and other narcotic drugs, and undermining the trend toward crime, it does away with the dissatisfactions that turn us toward war. One of the reasons for war, as Tennyson said in *Maud*, is that peace gets so monotonous. Peace is tedious to a certain type; at least the hope of sharp change offered by war unconsciously wins their sympathies. William A. White analyzes the war spirit as representing a psycho-analytic craving for relaxation. When war comes, it soon gets too serious to afford much relief from peace-time routine, but at the beginning it brings a feeling of holiday. All the old shopworn annoyances and difficult problems are automatically sloughed off and what lies ahead seems a glorious adventure.

Even commercial sport, which has lost for the spectator the value that comes from participation in play, does offer a degree of relaxation, especially when it brings back impulses of childhood and youth that were associated with personal experiences. Its exciting appeal helps one to forget immediate problems and the spectator finds in it wholesome relief from routine and responsibility.

We must have new experience. Human nature used to get it in warfare and hunting and still wants it in some form. It is only a drag horse kind of individual that can go on day after day doing the same thing. Some literally do not want new experience, but most of us crave it and if we do not get

\* Jesse F. Steiner, "Recreation and Leisure Time Activities," in *Recent Social Trends*, p. 912. Quoted by permission of McGraw-Hill Book Company.

it become restless or, in certain circumstances, tend toward morbid expression. Sport is one of the ways in which we get new experiences, as we go out of our own routine and identify ourselves with an expert in another line of action.

Sport of all sorts tends to give us social experience. Tennis stands low, from this point of view, as compared with football because it does not yet have the universal appeal of the gridiron, is too high grade and aristocratic to be appreciated to the same extent. Baseball is more characteristic than tennis because it interests more persons and represents a cruder form of running, throwing, and hitting than tennis. Football, like baseball, wins the multitude because of its resemblance to the elemental struggles of savage life. All these contests give people a chance to step out of their business and for a little while have a new type of experience. While not so good as travel, they act in much the same way. For many, sport must be the usual method of relief. It gives zest to life, by invigorating the mind, breaking concentration, and clarifying judgment. The man who, when perplexed in making a decision, locks up his office and goes to a ball game is a wise strategist; he has done as much as he can, so will rest a while, get interested in something else, and come back able to see the question differently and make a clearer judgment.

Sanity in society is protected by sport. If we could get the cranks and the agitators playing, we should check their unwise meddling as, probably, nothing else ever will. They are seeking a crude sort of satisfaction by attacking society and their desire for a struggle can be sublimated in sport just as could the cravings that lead to war.

Lack of play and delinquency are linked together; when there is more play there are fewer juvenile offenders. Studies made of cities have shown that the coming of the playground with its encouragement of play decreases crime, so that play is felt to be much better than the policeman as a means of preventing delinquency. Since sport is so valuable socially it properly belongs to government and education. The Roman Government learned how to protect itself from civil uprisings by providing public spectacles. Athens and Sparta learned the value of play as a construc-



tive effort in social control. We use play as a means of educating children and adults in regard to health habits.

The present generation hardly needs a reminder that wholesome recreation leads to both bodily and mental health. It also breaks the monotony of labor and the exhausting routine of our mechanized industrial system. For thousands recreation is now a kind of cult aiming at physical, mental and moral efficiency. For additional thousands it opens the doors to a new world where during hours of pleasurable leisure the onerous drudgeries of life are forgotten. Of an equal if not greater importance is the outlet given our pent up emotions. The theory of emotional catharsis, first developed from the public games and spectacles of ancient Greece, offers a psychological basis for the prevailing belief that recreation tends to reduce crime and delinquency. The large variety of sports and amusements are, on this basis, more than mere diversions for hours of leisure; they are vital factors in the progress of civilization. One of society's important functions, therefore, is the cultivation of mass amusements, activities and diversions appealing to all age groups from the pre-adolescent to the far advanced in life. It is a form of social health.\*

#### PLAY AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Both the rural and the urban environments influence the character of play in different ways. The rural environment offers less play than it might because of the difficulty of getting together. Many adults in rural sections do not believe in play, but still think of it according to Puritan traditions as a waste of time, crippling their own play life and that of their children, though on the whole the country child has the best opportunity for solitary, spontaneous play. The city runs risk of parasitic play. It is depressing on a beautiful Saturday afternoon to stand at a theater entrance and watch the children, who now have an afternoon free, going into the picture theater, losing the value of fresh air and free movement and being put under artificial stimulation. This represents a loss in recreation; it would be much better for these children if they were outdoors on a playground. Yet thousands of children in the cities go to the movies because its spectacular attraction overshadows more wholesome forms of play.

Play reflects culture differences. The Occidental and the

\* *Ibid.*, p. 913.

Oriental represent two types in their recreation, just as in their other interests. Some of the people in this country belong to the Oriental type, and there are people in Asia and India who belong to the Occident in their play attitude. The Occidental in his play is energetic, likes struggle and wants to do things, continues the kind of activity that has made survival possible. This represents a youthful attitude. The Oriental is more passive, tends toward thinking rather than acting, apparently getting much of his play from what we might call *intellectual daydreaming* and discussion. We who are Occidental cannot understand him very well and he does not understand us any better.

Social environments produce complexes that have to do with play. The one that stands out as characteristic of our present Occidental culture is the athletic complex. The athlete has been our hero. Mysticism is the Oriental complex—that is why all religions with one or two exceptions have been born in Oriental territories or propagated by exceptional western persons who conform to the Oriental type.

#### PLAY AND EDUCATION

Recognition of the advantage not only of having play in the schools but of making it a part of the learning process has brought about the prevalence of the interest doctrine. Interest is very similar to the play impulse. This is now being carried farther than at first and children are actually learning through play, most especially in the earlier grades. The kindergarten was a pioneer with Froebel's theory, so strange at the time, that play was education; this movement is now incorporated in the upper grades and little by little it is coming in the highest grades. Even a university course can be taught profitably without any of the conventional attitude toward it, as a play experience. The student who is taking a course without credit gets an inkling of this as he reads according to his interests, without troubling about marks; he may be surprised to find that he is getting more than usual out of his study, with less sense of effort.

As the pleasure philosophy continues to push us away from the older notion that a thing is good because difficult, with-

out doubt we shall have more of play in education. The linking-together of play and school changes the attitude of the child regarding education. Those of us who are older had very little play tied up with the school; we played prisoner's base and marbles before and after school and at recess, but had no playing in school, except the spelling match, which for many was agony rather than sport; the school represented a workshop or a dungeon and we carried over into life, most of us, the idea that the things for which the school stood were more or less irksome and the outside things pleasurable. No modern school permits that today because the child finds in the school and connected with it what he loves, as well as some things he dislikes. That will probably always remove from him the feeling that school is toilsome, in sharp contrast with play.

Practically all of the institutions having to do with the child and his development have used play and recreation in their programs. In fact, this trend has become so pronounced as to be a matter of some concern.

The outstanding feature of this new situation is the lack of agreement and of coordination in aim and purpose among these different agencies, so that the individual child is exposed successively to divergent programs, conflicting purposes and discrepant philosophies of child nature. Since the leaders in mental hygiene are stressing the importance of the child's need of security, these incongruities and conflicts in his experience and the prevalence of competitive rivalry in so many children's activities merit much more serious consideration than they have heretofore received.\*

#### PLAY AND THE PARENT

The parent who does not play with the child and take interest in his play comes to have much the same relationship the teacher used to have, merely authority, with little possibility of comradeship. One of the reasons why parents find it so hard to control their child is that the old method of authority has broken down, so that if there is not a sympathetic relationship between parent and child, there is little basis for loyalty. As this movement progresses, the child

\* Lawrence K. Frank, "Childhood and Youth," in *Recent Social Trends*, p. 792. Quoted by permission of McGraw-Hill Book Company.

will care less and less for his family life, and will break from the home very easily and earlier than formerly unless the parents share his play interests in the child's early years. Anyone who has experience with family problems recognizes that. If the parents want to protect themselves from trouble with the adolescent they must do it by investing themselves in the child's early life in play and comradeship. By the time adolescence comes it is usually too late to do much. One seldom sees a serious problem in the home where the father takes a large enough share in the child's play life. The mother usually does her part, especially when the child is very young.

Something of the important place play has assumed in our modern life may be seen from our willingness to spend money on such activities. According to Steiner \* Americans spend well over ten billion (\$10,000,000,000) dollars each year on recreational activities. This sum is calculated without the inclusion of such items as home entertainment, government expenditures for recreation in smaller cities, annual dues of less than \$25 to clubs, and admissions to entertainments where no federal tax is collected.

Vacation and other pleasure travel accounts for most of this huge expenditure. Approximately five and a half billion dollars are spent in this form of recreation each year within the United States, while about one billion is spent on foreign travel. Commercial amusements are a poor second, with an annual cost of about two and one-quarter billions. Games, sports, outdoor life, etc., account for a little less than one billion dollars each year. Governmental expenses in connection with recreational programs amount to a little less than \$200,000,000 yearly.

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## CHAPTER XX

### THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ART

Art is one of the most important, as well as one of the most ancient, ways in which man communicates his emotions to his fellows, and thereby creates a community of feeling. Through the dance, through music, through coloring and shaping objects, through story telling, man has recorded his reactions to his environment, has stated his ideals and aspirations, and has passed them along to others for acceptance or rejection since the dim days when he cowered in caves. Some of these efforts have been discarded; others have received the approval of his fellows and have been carefully preserved. From the latter the social historian derives most of his impression of the characteristics of societies and epochs.

From the hypothetical day when some wise war leader gathered his followers for a dance in which they anticipated in pantomime their glorious victory to the latest mural of Diego de Rivera, art in some form has been used to create and to reinforce social objectives, to arouse emotions and to inculcate notions in accordance with desired patterns of action, to instil persons with a feeling of belonging to a group which acts as a unit and so is more powerful than any individual.

There is more than an accidental relationship between the words "art" and "artificial." Art represents man's effort to create forms and textures which are pleasing or which carry symbolic meaning, or both as is more often the case. Art forms are often observed in nature, and so are not artificial, it is true; but in most if not all such cases the appreciation of the natural beauty is socially inculcated. Flowers, which seem to us to be intrinsically beautiful, had no beauty in the eyes of the American Indians, or of various other savage peoples. When a woman from a smoke-clouded city waxed enthusiastic about the beauty of a sunset, her rural companion looked at her in amazement and commented: "Why, that happens every day." There are

innumerable illustrations which might be brought forward to show that what is considered beautiful is determined by social definition.

Hence, it is not surprising that authorities are agreed that art is social both in its origin and in its consequences. The forms and themes which will be used by the artist are derived from the social group in which he has membership and will express social values of his time and place. Even the art rebel finds some group, no matter how small, in which he can find an appreciative audience for his theories of art. Further, such art forms seem to appear at times of social unrest when society contains large numbers of small groups earnestly endeavoring to change the social order, or finding release for their tensions in expressive behavior of some sort. But in general, artists like other men, accept the values of their society and within them find ample range for the expression of their emotions and ideas.

So vital is the connection between art and the social milieu that it has been argued that "pure art" or "art for art's sake" appears only when the artist is motivated by feelings of hostility to the society in which he lives, and, further, is hopeless of bringing about the sort of change he thinks desirable.\* That is, art which does not reflect the society in which it is created is the product of a person thoroughly maladjusted to his society, according to this theory.

We use the word *art* with different meanings. Sometimes we denote the artificial as compared with the natural. Sometimes we are thinking of applied knowledge, as when we speak of *industrial art*. The term as used in this chapter is limited to the fine arts. This kind of art results from the attempt to express strong emotion, but the turbulent and unpleasant emotions such as anger and fear seldom receive artistic expressions. The emotions that do flow out into art are called by the psychologist the aesthetic emotions, and there is much discussion in that science as to their significance. Although they are not instinctive, yet they are impulses natural to the normal person. One has a strong desire to express an aesthetic emotion. Even the little child, brought into the presence of an appealing, colorful type of

\* George V. Plakhanov, *Art and Society*, translated by Granville Hicks.

art, shows a strong tendency to react, and if possible to get someone to share his experience. Inner feeling also flows out of the little child in the song and particularly the dance, and appears to be more than mere enjoyment of motion or the delight of making sound.

Impulses so deeply buried in human personality are bound to have social significance. In primitive life, as we see it among savages, we have no difficulty in detecting the advantage that comes to society from the uses made of this love of artistic expression. Its largest asset for the group is the part it plays in social solidarity and the feeling of relationship. The appreciation of art and the expression of art draw together kindred persons and strengthen the ties that produce fellowship. In savage culture art also links itself with religion and magic and even the manual occupations. This appears in the carved tool and the beautifully-woven basket of reed and, among the more advanced craftsmen, in pottery. The effort of the savage to create artistic products also leads to an increase of skill. Anyone who has looked upon the carvings of the Eskimo in ivory or wood will appreciate the skillful coordination of fingers and eyes that was necessary in the art of the engraver and its value in training for manual dexterity.

#### SAVAGE ORNAMENTATION

Franz Boas reports in his *Primitive Art* that no people have ever been discovered, no matter how hard-pressed to gain a subsistence, who have not developed an art of some sort. On the other hand, no people who have more bountiful lives neglect art either.\* Lowie agrees, and adds that artistic expression is extremely old in human experience. In the early part of the Old Stone Age, possibly between 50,000 and 100,000 years ago, he says, men had begun to shape their fist-hatchets more gracefully.†

A visitor to a savage tribe might hesitate to catalogue under art the various kinds of adornment he observed, for much of what he saw would seem to him hideous, as, for instance, feathers in the hair, tattooing of the skin, scarification by

\* *Primitive Art*, p. 9.

† *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, p. 177.



making swellings on the surface of the body, face-and-body-painting, and the mutilation of teeth, ears, or even lips. Nevertheless these exhibits of savage fashion are related to the artistic impulse. This adornment also has a distinct part in sexual selection. Most fundamental of all is the appeal it makes to vanity, a motive which is the basis of the vogue of fashion.

The anthropologist at first surprises us when he tells us that adornment had a larger influence in leading the savage to cover his body than did the utility value of clothing as a means of protection. It should be no surprise to learn this, however, when we notice in our own time how far fashion can go in causing men and women to wear or do what is uncomfortable in the effort to conform to fashion.

#### POETRY, MUSIC, AND THE DANCE AMONG SAVAGES

Poetic pictures are frequently found in the folk tales of savage peoples. Their imagination, especially when it plays about the origin of life, the creator, and the golden age of an earlier period, shows a fertile fancy. The songs of the savage, in particular, disclose this love of poetic expression. The topics most commonly relate to the hunt, battle, or food-getting, for the coarser material pleasures receive the larger place in primitive poetry, although it is not entirely destitute of amorous expression. It is rare also to find savage tribes without any instruments for the making of musical sounds. The music of the savage emphasizes rhythm, and the drum is usually the prominent instrument. Sometimes this rhythm is produced by the clapping of hands which accompanies dancing and perhaps singing. The instruments are of the wind, string, and percussion types, and often anticipate modern inventions such as the violin, harp, flute, drum, and musical box.

The symbolism of savage art is often very involved and so escapes the eye of the observer not well versed in the lore of the tribe. Sometimes the same symbol will take on different meanings dependent upon the context in which it appears. In Australian sacred art, spirals and circles may be used to represent such diverse things as a man, a frog, a tree,

or a waterhole. Among the Indians of the American plains the diamond was a favorite form and was used to express sometimes a person and at others a navel, a lake, an eye, the interior of a tent, or even such abstractions as "life and abundance." \* In such cases it is clearly the idea associated with the art form rather than the form itself which is of importance. Many of the seemingly arbitrary patterns are found upon closer investigation to refer to ideas of various sorts, especially those of a religious nature.

Much of savage art has a magical function. War dances and dances preceding a hunt in which the animals and their movements are imitated are examples of sympathetic magic ; the underlying idea being that representation of a person or animal will influence the actual person or animal. It is probable that much of the pictorial art of ancient peoples also had some such motive. Such art as that of the dance also has two other social implications which must not be overlooked. They are means of instructing the younger members of such expeditions as to the techniques they should use when they come to the battle or sight the game, and as such have a distinct utilitarian value. They are also elemental forms of the drama and are used to tell a story of social significance.

Perhaps the most important function of the savage dance is that of promoting a feeling of solidarity among the participants.

In the heat of the dance the several participants are fused together as into a single being, which is stirred and moved as by one feeling. During the dance they are in a condition of complete social unification, and the dancing group feels and acts like a single organism. . . It would be hard to overestimate the importance of the primitive dance in the culture development of mankind. All higher civilization is conditioned upon the uniformly ordered cooperation of individual social elements, and primitive men are trained to this cooperation by the dance.†

#### CHILDREN AND ART

We need not go back to the period of primitive man to discover the spontaneity and the strength of artistic expression.

\* Robert H. Lowie, *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, pp. 183-184.

† Ernst Grosse, *The Beginnings of Art*, pp. 228-229. Quoted by permission of D. Appleton-Century Company.

Every child of normal endowment, even without stimulus from the adult, reveals in early years the rudiments of various arts. During the pre-school years we find in the child interest in sound and movement and later in rhythm. There are individual differences in the degree of this interest and in the discrimination of sound on the part of the child, but even the baby, as soon as he has the necessary control of eye-muscles, is fascinated by rhythmic movements such as the swinging of the pendulum of the clock. The four-year-old expresses impulses upon which art is built in his experimentation with song, dancing, and rhythmic sound-making, especially with the drum. He also responds to simple melody and in rare cases to the complexity of adult instrumental music. Painting, sculpture, and architecture also have their intimations in childhood. Love of picture-drawing and the moulding of such substances as clay appears in the pre-school child, and later in a fainter way interest in architectural forms is expressed in building things. The pre-school child loves various forms of rhythmic activities suggestive of dancing, and, like the savage, enjoys the clapping of hands in unison. Love of color in the run-about child leads to playing with paints, often regarded as mere mischief by the undiscerning parent, and later, if opportunity is provided, to picture-making. The appeal of nursery rhymes and stories, forerunner of literary interest, is so universal and strong that its absence suggests abnormality.

The strength of the art interests in children is of the greatest significance socially. The lack of development of these, their growth choked by the indifference of home or school, leaves a void which later the adult attempts to fill by experiences that deteriorate, such as cheap entertainment, craving for excitement, and sensuous pleasures. In this waste of constructive impulses caused by faulty education is the explanation of no small amount of social maladjustment.

#### THE ANTIQUITY OF ART

Art has had a long history. A multitude of artistic creations belonging to the Quaternary period have been discov-

ered by archæology in its study of prehistoric times. These evidences of the existence of paleolithic art bring out forcefully the strength of the deep-seated impulses in human nature that lead to artistic expression, for the work of the prehistoric artists developed spontaneously, since they were without the stimulus of a background of art. At a time when culture was so crude it is unlikely also that their efforts received much social recognition from their more materialistically-inclined associates. The prehistoric artist must have found primarily in his creations the pure joy of workmanship.

Although experts disagree as to whether some of these paleolithic specimens that have been dug up by the archæologists are hand-made imitations in stone of forms familiar to primitive man or mere accidental resemblances found among the stones scattered about, and kept on account of their likeness to common objects, it would be unreasonable to question the artificial character of certain figures in stone that the archæologists have discovered. When we come to the paintings that have been unearthed in ancient caves, and the bone and ivory carvings, there is no room for doubt that the producers of these were artists who possessed real talent. With great skill and a sense of movement the paintings portray animal profiles. Colors were made by using inorganic material, probably from minerals that were picked up on the surface of the ground, and after having been mixed with grease, applied by some sort of brush. The paleolithic artist, although especially fond of portraying animal life, did not neglect the human form.

It has been said that no race of men, whether savage or civilized, is without artistic sense. There appears to be a widespread delight in drawing the figures of animals. This form of entertainment is also extremely common among children. The impulse of the child seems to be to create. In the older child the criticisms which are generally received increase self-consciousness, and this, allied with an increasing interest in sports and more active forms of play, apparently lessens the love of artistic creation except in those who are especially endowed with artistic talent.



## SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE APPEAL OF ART

The history of art is closely related to social conditions. During the mediæval period, when the church dominated social life, the supreme expression of art was architecture in the form of the cathedral. With the development of the nobility and a more aggressive class friction the castle and the palace became the higher forms of architectural construction. In our own time architecture gets its largest expression in commercial construction or in buildings devoted to the affairs of the state.

When we pass from architecture into literature, painting and sculpture, we find art revealing social culture and responding in the form it takes to the conventional thinking and feeling of the time. Art that depends upon the ear has a more limited opportunity for the expression of social thought than that which is related to the eye. From this point of view literature provides the richest medium of expression and is the art most sensitive to changes in social experience.

Painting has to use color, and sculpture, form, but literature carries art to the point where the symbol itself conveys meaning. This permits the development of a medium for the expression of social feeling which is most complicated, but as we move toward greater complexity, there is a corresponding loss in the ability of the recipient of the art to share his experiences with others, at the time when the æsthetic feeling is experienced. Instead of the social contact permitted by the dance of the savage or by worship in the mediæval cathedral, literature gets an individual response. More is demanded of the mind receiving the impression, and as a consequence the types of art that appeal through the eye are less democratic. The love of literature is much more limited than love of music. Many there are who find in the printed page no value other than utility. The books they read are merely used as tools of the mind. The art which literature represents is to them something that has no meaning.

## DEMOCRACY AT THE NEWS-STAND

If you would meet American democracy at close quarters, loiter by the news-stand. You can find no better place to distil the flavor of our democracy, expressed in what we are pleased to call *literature*. In front of you are spread the papers, magazines, and books that most readers want. You are impressed by the universal appeal of the news-stand. Gradual change has at last brought that for which social prophets and educational reformers have long been working—a civilization in which everybody reads.

Never before has there been such an expression of democratic taste in art, or at least in the rudiments of one of the arts. In the past literature has been aristocratic; it has been dominated by the influence of a restricted class of readers. Even in Athens, where the popular literature reached such high levels, the workers, or slaves, were as a matter of course excluded. Modern American literature has been forced to take the democratic experiment seriously. More than our industry, our education, our religion, even our government, literature has tried to satisfy public desire by catering to what it calls *the general reader*, a personification of popular taste. It is natural enough that democracy should have come early in the domain of the printing-press.

The writer and the publisher, with the exception of the propagandist, whose willful attempt to meddle with people and change their thought puts him in the group of advertisers rather than among the makers of literature, are more anxious to discover what readers want than they are to influence them. Consequently the readers are given what they want, or at least what the publishers think they are likely to want, for the publisher in his effort to satisfy the demands of his market is engaged in a speculative enterprise. The reading public is as fickle as a child; it drops an interest in which it has been absorbed and turns to something new with unexplainable suddenness and without warning. The people rule, with their power over profits, and the democracy of readers takes what pleases it from the material offered by the publishers, indifferent to tradition, authority, even the

standards of the literary aristocrats who choose to think themselves the guardians of literary art.

#### LEISURE AND READING

Literature has grown democratic by the simple process of enlarging the volume of readers. This has come about, as everybody knows, by the increase of inventions and the decrease in the hours of labor, especially of those who, according to the popular vocabulary, are "the workers." Merely by the spread of leisure the essential character of literature has been changed. Once an aristocratic art, it is in these days democratic: once it had to look for survival to the beggarly gifts of the patron; it must now turn for its sustenance to the multitude of readers who know only what they want and care for nothing else.

Increased leisure with its higher standards of life for the great mass of people has shifted the basis of literary expression, but it would be most fallacious to assume that the increased leisure has gone mostly into reading; such is not the case. The material civilization that gave us more free time also determined the use we should make of it. Reading and the arts have received a rather niggardly portion of the new leisure, quite contrary to the expectation of those who advocated a more equitable distribution of freedom from toil. The automobile, the radio, and other mechanistic means of pleasure-getting have taken so tremendous a slice of our added spare time that there is little left for the library and the lecture.

Even our city library building, as any visitor may discover for himself, is patronized to a considerable extent by the homeless and the unemployed, to whom it is a higher type of park bench free to all who will make a pretense of reading, and by the student driven to it by educational coercion, to whom it is a storage plant for the information that he can gather nowhere else and must have if he is to obtain a passing mark in his courses.

The automobile, rather than the family library, has become the characteristic adjunct of our leisure; the average American home spends more money yearly on gasoline than

on all its reading put together. Even Santa has been known to disregard the urgent requests of children for books at Christmas, just at the age when their love of reading could be most easily encouraged or starved; yet the head of the house would immediately buy a new car to replace one only two or three years old.

The middle-class family no longer feels that it must establish its neighborhood standing by books purchased as an ornament; it knows full well that its position will be determined by the kind of automobile in its garage or the radio set in its living room more than by the kind of books it has or does not have. Even the pestering book-agent has been driven out of business and in his place we have the young athlete who tells us that he is maintaining himself at college by selling subscriptions to popular magazines.

Public libraries have recently been alert to the need of attracting readers to the better books. They have made aggressive efforts to bring new books to the attention of possible readers by display, lectures, and printed material, and by popularizing worthwhile literature among those who, unfamiliar with the more satisfying books, have been reading on a lower level than that in accord with their more mature tastes. In some communities the library has become the distributing center not only of the influential reading of the community but also of art, lectures, and every sort of useful information. Fortunately, in these library undertakings the needs of children have not been forgotten.

#### THE COMMERCIALIZING OF LITERATURE

Literature has gone the way of the theater and become a mob-minded art. It takes considerable advertising momentum to give a popular novel a fair chance to become a best seller, but once the book succeeds in winning the popular attention, for a season—usually a very short season indeed—the book rages in the same way as the fashion or the fad; nearly everybody who reads books reads it; all who talk about books discuss it; the library buys several copies of the book and keeps a waiting-list for it: and then the book passes, and nothing brings it back; the several copies gather dust



on the public library shelf, for popular favor has left it and never again will it be sought except by the curious student of literary interest. To a degree this has always been true of books, but the difference now is in the quickness with which the book comes and goes, and in the lack of discrimination with which it is accepted, for even the critic if he is to be heard must follow the crowd and become an interpreter of popular choice rather than a guide that directs the literary movement. The mischief is not in the fact that a book rages, but rather in the monopolistic control it has over the reading public while it is in vogue, and the way in which it wins its popularity. Keeping up with the best sellers is not reading in the old-fashioned sense, but, as it has been called, "a conspiracy against reading"; it is thrill-getting, and in the mental world occupies somewhat the same position that the roller-coaster does in the realm of physical recreation.

Best sellers have only their popularity in common: among them are the good, the bad, and the indifferent, but they are all alike in having something that can appeal to a multitude of readers, the majority of whom read only books that win mass popularity. This literary clientele is as intolerant as mob judgment. By its power of mass suggestion it bewitches those readers who, possessing a native taste, would achieve discriminating and thoughtful reading if only they were not shackled by social coercion. Thus the American reading public tends to perpetuate itself upon an uncritical level. What it lacks in the quality of its literary experience it makes up in its insistence on quantity; it wants stimulation, and of a massive sort; as in the movie and jazz music it asks for a sensational quality that will make little demand upon the mind itself, but give it abundant thrills with little effort. Woe upon the book that was destined to have permanent value, when it becomes entangled in the rapidly moving mass; it enjoys its fleeting season in popularity and then runs the risk of literary oblivion, from which it is rescued either by a happy accident or by the effort of the discerning few.

Commercial organizations have come into existence for the purpose of selecting, month by month, books for their subscribers, stressing the fact that because of the quantity of

published material the ordinary reader is helpless in choosing what is best to read. These organizations undertake to select the most desirable books. In claiming to choose the best book of the month they, of course, aspire to the impossible. No group of editors can possibly discover the best book appearing in so short a period as a month, nor even in a year. Greater time is required to reveal the literary significance of books. Such organizations have promoted good reading among those who in small towns have no method of deciding what books to purchase. On the other hand, they have encouraged the trend toward mass production of books, giving enormous circulation to those that they selected, nearly all of which, as a visit to a library will demonstrate, have had merely ephemeral interest and have been swallowed up by time as effectively as the great multitude of their contemporaries that were not chosen.

Two other recent developments affecting literature must be mentioned in this connection. These are the practices of condensing articles and books into summaries which are then offered as substitutes for the original production, and the oral reviewing of books by professional reviewers. In both cases the "reader" seeks to acquire enough of the content and style of the literature to enable him to discuss it with an appearance of familiarity which he is far from possessing. In both cases he is cheated of the full flavor of a piece of artistic work; given the bones from which most of the meat has been picked by the summarizer or the reviewer. Such practices tend to destroy the appreciation for literature which has been one of the traditional values of our society.

#### POPULAR DOMINANCE IN LITERATURE

The general lack of interest in serious books that may properly be called *literature* has created in the minds of some the fear of a dominance of popular taste which will lead to the censoring of books and thereby limit the reading material of lovers of literary art because of the censors' antagonism toward that which they cannot appreciate. Although we have had some evidences of this trend, the practical danger of popular dominance in literature lies along another

line. It is becoming so expensive to print and circulate books that the publishers, for the sake of profit, have either to depend upon a wide circulation of the books they publish or to fix a price that automatically keeps the book from the reader in moderate economic circumstances.

There is no serious problem regarding books of the past since many of them are being published in popular editions, but, with the new books, the publisher's concentration on the best sellers and the effects of advertising are such that the reading of the people very largely becomes standardized. If, as some charge, this lowers literary taste, it is primarily the effect of widening the number of readers and making it profitable for the writer and the publisher to cater to the lower levels of the reading public.

The commercial situation has a marked effect upon the development of literature both by tempting the artist to be content with work which will bring better financial reward than would his best work, and also by leading the publisher to confine himself to the books that easily sell. Even in the selection of manuscripts, the publisher feels the force of this dictation from a mass of readers of low literary taste. If the submergence of literature is to be prevented, it must be by lifting the standards of popular reading, and this in turn seems to be a function that rightly belongs to the school and the college.

#### POPULARITY OF FICTION

The novel by its persistent popularity reveals its deep anchorage in human nature; the well-nigh universal love of the story, which can put under a similar spell the child, the savage, and the sophisticated American adult, guarantees that fiction can never be made a class type of literature. It draws its magic from the power it has to unloose the imagination and give fancy a free flight; it carries the reader beyond his possible experience, and even in a direction contrary to the realities of his life. When we deal with actual experience we have to take what environment brings us; consciousness has to apply itself to the thing in hand. So long as we pay attention to outward stimuli there is no escape from the tyranny of environment; if we would have different circum-

stances we must remove ourselves from our surroundings. We are the slaves of time and space. Story-telling, however, in its simplest form releases the human cravings, sets us free to dream, to imagine, to revel in our own desires.

In the past the untrained person has been obliged to get his stories largely out of real life, that is, life near at hand, for it would be a grave mistake to suppose that the fictitious is absent ever from that simple form of story-telling which we call *village gossip*. The men that gathered about the circular stove in the country store or the women that packed missionary boxes in the church vestry knew full well that much they heard and said must not be taken too literally. In other words, even the simple happenings of everyday life in the little neighborhood were used to give opportunity for those who could make of them a stimulus to imagination and a way of escape from the dullness of routine. The difference between him who takes the lead in the conversation around the grocery stove and Sarah Orne Jewett is only a matter of skill; the greater delicacy and refinement of expression of the latter shuts out from the enjoyment of her story most of those who attempt to satisfy their cravings for the fictitious in village gossip. These same auditors, lifted to a slightly higher level by more experience, and trained in their early years by the contagious enthusiasm of a disciple of literature, could have developed into readers who would have found in *The Country of the Pointed Firs* greater satisfaction than in their repetitious neighborhood gossip.

The newspaper with its human interest story has developed a technique which draws all its readers together in a common sympathy; even though it is supposed to recount facts, it to some extent sets fancy on the wing. The "sob story" is a sub-species that captivates only those who range on the lower levels of experience.

Fiction therefore serves all classes; its limitations are merely the limitations of those who read. One of the most profitable discoveries in journalism was the recognition that the business man, even when he appears on the surface prosaic, also has the inherent human yearning for the flight of fancy; his reading, however, had to be specially flavored with suggestions of his everyday life interests. When what



he wanted was given him, not only did he read with avidity, but it was soon revealed that in America there is a vast multitude that think as he thinks and want the same sort of magazine he prefers: in the election of fiction types, he and his kind can cast the largest number of votes and at present can justly claim to be the class of readers of fiction that most characteristically portray the literary level of our democracy.

Since the opening of the century there have been three marked trends in American literature, reflecting social attitudes. The first was designated *muck-raking*. Books and articles made attacks on social evils and conditions that were alleged to be such. This material found a ready response from readers and publishers. *The Jungle*, written by Upton Sinclair and published in 1906, was one of the most effective of all the books written during the period. Winning, as it did, the attention of Theodore Roosevelt, then President of the United States, it is justly credited with a much-needed reform. The second period was prolific in books relating to sex. Sigmund Freud has been charged with ushering in this literary movement, but the more fundamental cause was the breaking-down of the taboo of silence that had so long prevailed regarding sex problems. The third trend is known as *the movement to debunk history and biography*. This has been stimulated by the more critical attitude of the historian and an unwillingness on the part of the public to idealize men of achievement. In the hands of journalists, skilled in the art of sensational writing, this has gone beyond merely the portraying of public characters in their true perspective and has become in several instances the rehearsal of scandal, suspicion, innuendo, and false accusation. In one case the family of a famous English statesman brought the author of a biography to the court on a charge of libel, proving that insinuations regarding the character of their relative, now dead, were made without foundation, and thereby winning an important decision of law. The popular demand for reading, aside from fiction which still holds the supremacy, has recently been for biography, travel, books on religion, and mystery stories.

## READING MEETS COMPETITION

In our population there are many individuals who find little pleasure in reading. The newspaper is the only form of literature that makes any appeal to them. If they can get from the radio what previously had to be obtained from a book, they prefer the radio to the book, just as long ago people preferred to have the poet read his poetry, rather than read it themselves. Modern life offers too many attractions to force reading on those who do not enjoy it. In our earlier frontier life there was a great deal of emptiness. At seasons when out-of-door work could not be carried on, because of the frozen ground, deep snow, or excessive rain, people who were ordinarily very busy soon found themselves with their limited indoor occupations so well in hand that the evenings were left free for recreation. The long distances between homesteads made social gatherings few. Relief from the monotony of the yearly routine then had to be sought in reading and re-reading the few books that were about. Persons who would not have read if they had had something else to do for recreation were forced to read by their lack of opportunity to do anything more directly exciting.

Think of the difference between the situation Whittier described in *Snow Bound* only three-score years ago and a winter night or day in most of our villages, towns, and cities. It is a rare occasion when we are shut into our house all day by a storm; even if we are kept in by illness or accident we have radio, telephone; the mail almost always gets to us. We have things to attract our attention that make it unnecessary for us to turn to a book, whereas in frontier life there was often little else. The reason we think the early settlers read so much is that they had so little to read, they read it very slowly and carefully, perhaps read it over and over; then thought about it a good deal, since there was so little to think about; and naturally, having thought about it at length, and having few things to talk about, they discussed what they had read, with as much interest and definiteness of detail as now only paid reviewers are likely to devote to a book. Most of these frontiersmen really read very little;

they were more anxious to sit about the grocery stove and talk ; the non-readers are forgotten when we think back, for the pithy comment of those who read and pondered what they read catches our eye and makes the reading minority stand out.

Modern conditions that influence family life also have much to do with our literary situation. As the direct responsibilities of the family decrease, and the number of children per home drops, the house grows smaller corresponding to the size of the family. In the tiny apartment, where can the family keep its books, especially if it moves every spring, as many a family does? The layout of the four or five diminutive rooms has been carefully planned to leave no waste space, and such matters as a place for books are listed under luxuries and omitted from the scheme of things ; so rare is it to find even a fair-sized apartment in the suburbs making arrangements for book-space that when one does have built-in book-shelves it features them in its brief classified *For Rent* ad. The books in the modern, compactly built house are few : they have to be ; nobody wants to gather together the books he loves, only to have the family immediately move into a smaller apartment nearer the heart of the city, when his friendly books have to be given away or loaned—it matters not—since in the new residence will be no corner even for packing-boxes of books. When apartment-dwellers do buy books, they usually choose the ephemeral types ; they do not intend to put much money or thought into the purchase of books that they are likely soon to throw away.

An organization that tends to prevent our buying books and circumscribe our reading is the lending library, which most of us patronize somewhat. Its policy is rather surprising. Recently the author tried to get a book that had been in print less than six months. It was gone. "What has happened to it?" "We do not keep books more than a few months. Most of the stock six months old does not circulate any more with us." If this is typical of the quickness with which the general public turns from a new book to its successor, the outlook is rather disheartening for the producers of books. According to this, the writer and the pub-

lisher can expect a book to have only six months' or a year's sale, and it is much better as far as profits are concerned to bring out half a dozen poor books than one good one that will last a hundred years. Naturally the makers of books, like other men, prefer an assured income for themselves rather than for their descendants.

What a struggle teachers are making to develop the love of good reading, working as they do under conditions that almost completely prevent their success! If they would try to rouse interest in easier books, intensely fascinating, fairly well written, instead of dulling the expectations of their pupils by forcing them to read books written for adults, books whose material lies far outside the active range of interest of the boys and girls, more deep-rooted love of the best literature would finally result. Probably the greatest difficulty in the way of teachers and pupils is the common practice of dealing in detail with a piece of literature until those who loved it at first sight become bored by its prolonged and microscopic examination, while those who did not happen to fall under its sway at the beginning dislike it more and more, until they end by assuming that all good literature is dull, so that henceforth they take care to avoid whatever seems to bear a tag of over-recommendation. "Oh! dear, we're going to read *Ivanhoe* at school," protests the young book-lover. "It's my favorite story, and now it'll be spoiled for me."

#### LITERATURE AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Literature is in the main extremely sensitive to social conditions. Occasionally books do appear that have no time significance, but belong to the ages. As a rule, however, literary art, like the other forms of æsthetic expression, is distinctly connected with prevailing social conditions. For example, in the eighteenth century literature of England appears the well-established essay, an imitation of the classics, represented by the work of the popular Alexander Pope. This reflects the aristocratic trend of the period. It is not surprising to find Defoe outlawed by his contemporaries because he turned his skill toward the portrayal of the life



of the lower classes. With the rapid social changes that followed the Industrial Revolution and led to the Reform Bill of the nineteenth century, came an increase of political power on the part of, first, the commercial class, and then the so-called working class. Along with this developed a new type of literature, a romanticism that had a distinctly democratic flavor. We find it in Shelley, Burns, and in lesser quantity in Wordsworth. The novel reveals the trend even more, and the difference in point of view between Jane Austen and Charles Dickens, for example, is not that of a period of time but of cultural traits. In America also, literature voiced the trend of social movements. Hawthorne, Whittier, and Emerson, for instance, cannot be appreciated in their literary significance unless one is familiar with the evolution of theology in New England and the introverted characteristics it produced, which in turn influenced the literary expression of these New England figures.

#### THE CLASS THEORY OF TRAGEDY

An interesting theory with reference to the class character of tragedy has been advanced by V. F. Calverton in his book entitled *The Newer Spirit*. Assuming that tragedy represents the highest form of literary expression, he maintains that in the past it has dealt entirely with aristocratic personalities in accord with the undemocratic spirit then prevailing. Ordinary persons often appeared in comedy, but according to this author did not receive the primary role of a tragic character. It is rather shocking to notice how Shakespeare treats the manual worker. In *Midsummer Night's Dream* this contemptuous attitude toward common labor is vividly shown. In the names, dress, and stupid notions Shakespeare applies to the hand workers, he expresses without doubt the prevailing attitude of the literature of his time. With the coming of power to the working class there began to be seen in the portrayal of tragedy a new type of character. Calverton believes that what he calls the proletariat has received no representation by a truly tragic character in literature until recently, when the change ushered

in by Walt Whitman glorified the most mediocre and lowly, even base, of occupations.

It would be surprising if we did not find reflected in literature the social experience of the period so that class distinctions would reveal themselves in artistic expression. It is possible, however, to overdraw this and to forget such facts as that even before the novel was fully embarked, Daniel Defoe treated enthusiastically and sympathetically a prostitute character, giving her the tragic role. Crabbe, Wordsworth, Burns, Goldsmith, and Robert Browning are authors whose works challenge the statement that Whitman was the first to find among the working class subjects for tragic portrayal.

#### ART AND SOCIAL SURPLUS

The society that spends all its energy in physical maintenance has little opportunity for artistic expression. Art represents social surplus. Even the artistic genius easily becomes submerged if he cannot get leisure and freedom from worry so as to develop his talent. As society gains in the ability to control environment and provide leisure, opportunity at last is provided for the development of art. When society was primarily aristocratic those with leisure became the patrons of art. To get the full value of our social surplus we now need a popular interest in artistic expression. Art, like philosophy, does not make bread, but it does have a large place in leading to a contented and idealistic population.

It is generally conceded that the United States has not produced works of art comparable to those of other great Western nations of the same general culture pattern. Accepting this as true, there are several elements in the American situation which may account for the lack. Art is essentially the work of leisured persons. It is to a society much what play is to the person. But in America both leisure and play have been condemned as sinful. This is in large part due to the Puritan Tradition which has blighted so many American lives in so many ways. But

it is also in part due to the frontier conditions prevailing in actuality or in the thoughts of the people until quite recently. Pioneers do not feel at home. They are motivated by a desire to exploit their environment as rapidly and as profitably as may be possible. They are motivated by a strictly utilitarian philosophy; and they have little place for art in their lives.

Further, Americans are just now in a few places building traditions and acquiring a historical background. Both seem to be essential to artistic expression of a high order. To most Americans a stream is just a flow of water. There is none of the reverence for the stream such as the German feels for the Rhine, or the Scot for the Dee. The Mississippi is the only American river which comes to mind easily which has inspired literature. The Sewanee made famous by Stephen F. Foster was selected because of its sound only and placed in a song in which it plays only a very incidental part. Americans seem to have been in too much of a turmoil to have found time for artistic achievement.

It may be objected that in other countries the great periods of artistic production have coincided rather closely with such times of turmoil. This is true, but with this difference. The artists of those nations had a historical background which the American has lacked.

#### THE THERAPEUTIC VALUE OF ART

Art also has therapeutic value for the individual. Even in the insane hospital it has been discovered from actual experience that music can be made a benefit to the patients. Again and again we find in literature testimony to the value of various forms of art in helping individuals to master their problems and win possession of their souls. We are just beginning to learn the therapeutic value of art along social lines. In a society restless and competitive, even feverish in its activities, art becomes an antidote for excessive stimulation and the régime of ordinary routine.

The public park is supported by the progressive city because of its social utility. In European countries the municipal theater performs its function in making social life

more wholesome. Canon Barnet, when he inaugurated the social settlement in Whitechapel, made much of his annual exhibit of painting. He felt that good music, good literature, and good paintings were as much needed in that congested section of London as more food, more clothing, better shelter, and more funds. To this day, settlements find they cannot serve well the people to whom they minister without emphasis upon art.

Here and there we have recognition in community movements of the value of art as a curative element, and still more as a preventive in the treatment of social problems. The Little Theater movement is a step in the right direction. It does not merely furnish better entertainment; it affords amusement and builds character, and also constructs social values. By lifting the individual from the narrowness of his social environment it invigorates and gives him moral energy and better enables him to co-operate with progressive society.

#### SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF ART

Art, it would seem, has several clearly distinguishable functions in the social order. As a means of expressing emotion, it serves to release tensions in the artist and his audience. Thus it may be said to be a social catharsis. It breaks the drab dullness of utility with a flash of extravagance. At the same time, through arousing the emotions of the audience, art tends powerfully in the direction of social solidarity. It is in the dance that Durkheim finds the elemental religious experience. The feeling of solidarity and of increased powers resulting from such intense stimulation is explained as the presence and power of the tribal god. Art is of utilitarian value in passing on information and ideals from one generation to another. It affords an interesting, and therefore effective, means of education in the broadest sense of the term. From the point of view of the social scientist, art performs the invaluable service of giving an insight into the sentiments and attitudes of societies in a way nothing else can.



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## CHAPTER XXI

### THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SCIENCE

During the past three hundred years science has remade the world ; and in so doing has remade the men who inhabit the world.

Paradoxically, science has at one and the same time expanded and contracted the world in which men live ; and has done both in enormous proportions. One of the immediate results of the astronomical discoveries which ushered in the modern age of science was to remove man from the center of the universe to a position of small importance on one of the satellites of one of the minor stars. Psychologically the effect was somewhat the same as may be imagined in the case of an emperor of the world awakening to find that he is only a stable groom. The blow to man's collective ego was terrific ; so terrific, in fact, that he has not yet fully recovered. No one can be flattered to think of himself as an atom in a world machine. But that is the picture of man's position which gradually grew up as scientific discoveries multiplied and were systematized in the Newtonian philosophy.

Geographical exploration, made possible by several inventions and discoveries, disclosed that the Europe which had comprised the world for our ancestors was in reality only a peninsula on a vast continent stretching to what must have seemed an infinite distance eastward. In turn, this vast continent was only one of several comprising the land surface of the earth. But perhaps even more distressing, accounts of travellers to these strange places revealed that there were other peoples living under other social systems which were of distinctly different natures. These strange peoples had strange gods and philosophies and manners and values. Inexorably it was borne in upon our provincial forefathers that what they had always accepted as natural and right was only one of a number of possible alternatives by which common situations could be met. Very gradually we are coming to realize that our society is not necessarily the depository

of all wisdom. The confidence and security man had felt was badly shaken.

But if science takes away, it also gives. Because of a number of factors, our particular forefathers were able to conquer most of this new world which science had revealed to them. When science was applied to the problems of warfare and of industrial production in Europe, this area soon outstripped other areas so far as to be able to dominate them politically and economically. From this domination there resulted an enormous increase in the effectiveness of man's labor. Increased leisure and increased productivity, the two great boons for which man had prayed through his history, suddenly were his. The standard of living was raised to a height undreamed of a few decades before. Common men lived like their grandfathers' kings. It was discovered that the strange peoples in strange places could be intimidated and often could be used to increase the flow of wealth into Western civilization. The European once more became the ruler of the world. His collective ego expanded; he became quite sure that he was master of his own fate, as well as that of others.

More recently, it is true, some doubts have crept back into his mind. Recurring financial crises have defied the efforts of mechanistically and scientifically minded economists either to explain or to control this phenomenon. In physics, the bedrock of the natural scientific world, theories of indeterminacy have arisen which seem to assert that statistical averages are a better representation of reality than are invariable laws to which all cases must exactly conform. It is even argued by some that man cannot live by science alone. Whether this be true or not, it certainly is true that that science has precipitated man and his social institutions and folkways and mores into a new world, and in so doing has reshaped his ways of thinking and of acting.

#### THE SCIENTIFIC ATTITUDE

Science is also often thought of as a method through which accuracy of observation is obtained. The emphasis from this point of view is on what is done, and how it is done,



rather than on the facts gathered. Stress is placed on the care exercised by the observer to make sure that no extraneous factors have entered his calculations. The procedure by which facts are derived becomes as much of a science as the facts themselves.

Closely allied to this approach to science is the notion that science is an attitude of mind, a way of looking at the world about us, a social philosophy. Such an outlook is characterized by its tentative nature, by caution and by open-mindedness. The scientific attitude is the direct antithesis of dogmatism and so denies to the scientist the common love of making sweeping statements. It is this attitude aspect of science that is of special significance to the social scientist since here seems to be the element through which science has most largely affected patterns of personality and of social organization.

#### FACTS AND SCIENCE

Science may be approached from several directions. Perhaps the most common approach is from the viewpoint that science is an accumulation of facts, or the discovery of truth. The accumulated facts are said to comprise a science of the subject to which they relate. The careful and painstaking collection of data is certainly the foundation stone of the scientific edifice, but it is no more the whole structure than is the pile of brick and steel and cement and sand the school-house or warehouse which may be erected from them. This is indicated by Giddings' definition of science: "Science is nothing more nor less than the getting at facts and trying to understand them, and . . . what science does for us is nothing more nor less than helping us to face facts."\* After the facts have been gathered and verified there remain the problems of classification and generalization through which they will become meaningful to the investigator and to others. This work is as essential as fact gathering. Facts do not speak for themselves, in spite of the common saying to that effect. It is only when some person arranges facts

\* Franklin H. Giddings, *Scientific Study of Human Society*, p. 37. Quoted by permission of the University of North Carolina Press.

in a manner such as to give them significance that they take on meaning. And this classification and interpretation always and necessarily implies some sort of assumption on the part of the scientist.

Human beings may be classified as to color of skin, shape of head, length of nose, size of fingers, number of pores to the square inch, or any of a hundred other purely physical characteristics, to say nothing of the amount or quality of clothing worn, trim of hair and nails, walking gait or scores of other socially acquired traits. The particular criterion by which the person will be classified will depend upon the particular interest the classifier has in mind, the assumptions with which he began his investigation and the unit of measurement he has chosen. From any of these classifications certain relationships may be worked out. It might be discovered, for example, that young women with noses more than a quarter of an inch longer than the average seldom, if ever, win bathing-beauty contests and the generalization drawn that success in such contests is positively correlated with length of nose. If such a statement seems ridiculous, it is only because we think of bathing beauty contests as being below the dignity of scientific study; which may or may not be correct, depending upon the interest a particular society has developed in such displays. The basic point lies just here: The sort of problem the scientist will attack will be determined largely by the interests of the society in which he lives.

The fundamental thing about science that distinguishes it from ordinary thought processes is the fact that it holds back desire. The scientific thinker has to stop his mind's working toward the thing he desires. The ability to block one's personal preference in order that one may better discover the truth must be acquired by effort. This difference of attitude explains what is meant by critical and uncritical thinking. Whenever there is need of coming to a conclusion by the forming of a judgment the untrained person finds suspense irksome, because it is not enjoyable to be undecided, just as it is fatiguing to hold up the arm without moving it for any length of time. Mental processes seek quickly to reach their goal. When we start thinking, we naturally wish to pass on rapidly to a decision. It is just

this that the scientist must not do. He assumes the task of searching for facts and cannot be impatient.

The attitude of Charles Darwin with reference to his theory of evolution illustrates the attitude of a scientist. Just as soon as he had come to a conclusion, as a result of patient investigation, he tried hard to disprove the judgments to which he had been driven by his search. Although he spent years in critical examination of the problem he had undertaken to study, he was even then reluctant to announce publicly his conclusion. The unscientific person is irritated by this attitude and dislikes to have anyone challenge his opinions or attempt to examine the thought processes by which he has come to the ideas he holds; as soon as his judgment is formed he wishes to announce it and may even become angry if his assumptions are doubted or the way he arrived at his deductions questioned.

There is another characteristic of the process of scientific thinking. Usually we wish first and think afterward. We use our thinking to back up preconceived opinions. The scientist, however, is expected to keep his desires outside his thinking process. He does this not because he has no feeling, but because he cannot allow his wishes to interfere with the thinking process without spoiling the effort he is making to get at the facts. The scientist, outside his special province, cannot always keep his thinking upon such a high level of freedom from emotion. He is human like the rest of us in allowing his preferences at times to interfere with his thinking, yet his habit of guarding himself against his emotions in his special field of study does to some extent influence him even in the minor and personal affairs of life.

To hold back thinking and to keep it free from the coercion of emotion are essential to the discovery of facts. Just as soon as the ordinary individual reaches a conclusion, he turns his attention to something else, and usually dismisses that upon which he was engaged because his purpose has been achieved. If this is not done, usually the same thinking is gone through again and again because of the satisfaction it brings. The scientist, on the other hand, keeps his mind open by delaying his conclusion, and this gives him opportunity to see elements that otherwise would be con-

cealed from him, as he tries to analyze or observe or deduce so as to obtain a trustworthy conclusion.

"Science is the highest form of that reality thinking of which the psycho-analysts make so much and stands in sharpest contrast with their definition of the easy-going pleasure-form thought. It is the most heroic effort the human mind can make to get rid of all personal inclination and bias in meeting an intellectual problem in order that the truth of any matter be as accurately known as is possible." \*

#### THE SCIENTIST AND LIFE

The scientist realizes how difficult it is to be sure of one's facts even when one has thought without bias and with every critical faculty alert. This leads to a caution which seems a sort of skepticism to those who have no appreciation of the superior value of the scientific method of thinking.

Instead of speaking with assurance, the scientist often announces his conclusion tentatively; instead of positive decision, he builds up hypothesis. When he constructs his theories he does not claim that they represent truth but merely that they account best for the facts in so far as knowledge has at that time attained. This attitude of caution seems to the outsider indecision as a result of doubt. The scientist, however, could do no differently without making trouble for himself. If he were not cautious in his investigation, he would be constantly tricked.

The scientist has to go where his facts are. He cannot rest himself in comfort in his armchair and construct the world as he would like it to be. Wherever the sources of information for his particular study are found, there he must go or he cannot hope to get reliable data by which to arrive at his conclusions. As a consequence of this the scientist is driven close to life. This again teaches him to be careful in his generalizations and modest in his claims, for in the world of living things facts are more complicated than they seem to be when viewed from a distance. Indeed the human desire to make everything simple has to be guarded against

\* Ernest R. Groves, "Science and Social Unrest," in *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 10, p. 158. Quoted by permission of The Science Press.



lest the scientist, in order to construct a theory, fail to observe those things that are inconsistent with his generalization. The scientist cannot be merely open-minded, he must also be zealous in his effort to get at the facts by persistent investigation.

#### THE STEPS OF SCIENTIFIC THINKING

The steps by which the scientist arrives at his conclusion have been best stated by Thomas Huxley. First there must be *observation*. This in itself is often very difficult and requires ingenious methods by which the thing studied is separated from other elements that would hide from the scientist what he is trying to discover. Of course scientists are not all equally gifted in their ability to observe.

Following observation is *comparison*. This permits the scientist to make use of information already gathered and to compare what he has found by his investigations with the results of other investigators along lines that help him work out his particular problem.

Then comes *generalization*. By this process the scientist puts together the meanings he has found in a multitude of concrete observations. To emphasize the tentativeness of his judgment he often constructs what he calls a *hypothesis*, which is an attempt to account for all the facts but to recognize that something has slipped out of the knowledge of the observer, so that demonstration is impossible.

*Classification* enables the scientist to put a new discovery in relation to the other facts that have been determined in science.

When these four steps have been taken, the scientist cannot dismiss his undertaking without attempting to verify it by some sort of experiment which will reveal its soundness or unsoundness. By this testing of his conclusion, the scientist retraces his steps and tries to find out whether under observation the law or the group of facts that he has hypothesized actually works as he expects. The ease or the difficulty of these various steps differs as we pass from one field of science to another. For example, *verification* is much more difficult in sociology than it is in physics.

The scientist should realize always that the material with which he has been working is related to other materials; that the application of one discovery will have important repercussions in other fields. The development of the Darwinian hypothesis has been reflected in changed beliefs and doctrines in religion, the introduction of the motion picture has changed manners and morals. The scientist, no more than anyone else, works in a world which is self-contained. This has not always been acknowledged by the worker who feels himself secluded in his laboratory, but it would seem that Giddings was correct in his observation that:

A scientific scrutiny of facts and a scientific interpretation of relations are not complete until we have asked the question, as old as human apprehension and desire, as old as curiosity, what else? What else is, or happens? What else was, or happened? What else will be, or will happen? \*

#### THE ORIGIN OF SCIENCE

There is much discussion as to how and when science started. The answer to the question largely depends upon the definition given. There is a sense in which the first expression of human curiosity represents in an elemental form the start of science. The savage concept of magic is also a reasonable place to establish the beginning of science. The savage, by his idea of magic, is believed to have developed the notion of contagion which carried with it the thought of cause. It is true that he misinterpreted the operation of causes and his assumption of magic seems to us stupid because it was contrary to fact. We call these ideas of the savage *superstition* yet they were a groping after the idea of relationship as an explanation of why things happened. They contain the germ of science even though to us they seem mere fancy.

#### THE BASIS OF SCIENCE

The fundamental drive behind science is curiosity. At first it seems far-fetched to put together as products of a com-

\* Franklin H. Giddings, *Scientific Study of Human Society*, p. 182.

mon basis village gossip and technical science, but they are both alike in having come from curiosity. In the little child the spontaneous expression of this desire to know what is going on around him reveals how fundamental to human nature is curiosity. In primitive people a more mature type of curiosity shows itself, but one relatively easy to satisfy as compared with that which distinguishes the scientist.

The fact that science rests upon curiosity explains in part why it is so long in coming in human development. The strong desire of human nature to satisfy its curiosity prevents it from holding back judgment in the way science requires. Human desire runs far ahead of facts and fills the empty spaces where knowledge has not yet penetrated. Into this unexplored territory, later, science forces itself and frequently gets into trouble by questioning well-entrenched preconceived ideas.

As science develops, it drives ahead of itself superstition and tradition. It is not strange, therefore, that science always goes forward with a good deal of opposition; it has to uproot as well as to construct. If it merely had to discover truth by careful observation in a territory empty of opinion, it would progress more rapidly and with greater ease. Its history is an account of a persistent breaking into new territory. In Galileo's time it broke into astronomy. Harvey, with his idea of the circulation of the blood, entered new biological country, which psychology, many years afterwards, invaded again, and by beginning seriously to study the mind, laid itself open to the charge of being immoral, materialistic, and inimical to human happiness. The region of social experience is one of the last places where science has begun to investigate in a thorough fashion and naturally once again scientific method is denounced by some as mischievous, making an attack upon human values.

Human curiosity is too strong, however, once it starts along the line of science to allow any field to be protected from serious study. Man wishes to know; fortunately, he also needs to know. Science has utilitarian value which wins for it an increasing support. Discoveries in pure science which at first prophesy little significance for man's practical affairs of everyday life prove in the long run to be the start-

ing point of new inventions and findings of the greatest value; thus it was in the case of the original discoveries that led to the X-ray, the telephone, radium, and the radio. From a practical point of view, the motive behind science is better control of man's resources. Even if investigation leads to the formulation of laws like that of gravitation, which cannot be controlled, the information obtained proves of value in many ways in enabling man to understand his problems and how best to meet them.

During the last century one of the most fascinating lines of scientific advance has been its study of microbes. Once the microscope was constructed so as to permit man to have evidence of the micro-organisms that exist about him, a new department of science was created. The discoveries of Pasteur, ushered in by his study of yeast, gave a great impetus to this research, and rapidly all over the world marked gains were made in the understanding of micro-organisms. These are not entirely related to problems of disease; bacteria also concern the agriculturist and the industrialist at the present time. Spectacular discoveries have been made as to the origin of infectious diseases. Tracing the causes of malaria, yellow fever, diphtheria, tuberculosis, and syphilis has constituted a series of brilliant conquests by science in a field previously unknown to man.

Rapidly following the new knowledge as to the origin of infectious diseases came discoveries of means for their prevention or cure. Now we have for typhoid, diphtheria, and several other once dreaded diseases specific serums that can be used either to prevent or to cure infection. A very recent discovery that malaria can be used in the early stages of paresis as a means of cure,\* although not yet well tested, shows how complicated is the field of the micro-organism, when one disease may be used in an effort to cure another.

#### GROWTH OF SCIENCE

In the modern sense we find little science earlier than the eighteenth century. A hundred years later science arrived at the point which gave it dominance. Three periods have

\* Cf. also *Diathermy*, electrical production of fever.



been distinguished in science. At first science was largely a form of entertainment. Benjamin Franklin typifies this period, for, although some of his inventions, like the Franklin stove, were distinctly utilitarian, many of his investigations were carried on in the spirit of play. It is not uncommon for men, and occasionally women, to turn to science as an avocation. This amateur interest in some field of science must not be discounted, since from it often come important inventions and discoveries.

Christian missionaries have made valuable contributions, especially along the lines of medicine, geography, and ethnology. Many Catholic priests have taken a keen interest in some department of science and obtained fame from their work. Mendel is an example of this. His patient investigation of the coloring of the sweet pea, carried on for many years, although not at first appreciated by the scientist, eventually became one of the most important discoveries in modern biology. During the eighteenth century men and women of leisure found entertainment and relaxation in simple forms of applied science, especially electricity.

In the nineteenth century, however, science became a serious undertaking motivated by the idea of utility; commerce, business, amusements, and even such traditional occupations as housekeeping began to be influenced by science, and today the greater part of the business of the world rests upon a scientific basis. The present importance of chemistry illustrates how dependent is modern industry in all its aspects upon scientific investigations. Even the bread we buy is a product of elaborate experiment and constant research by skilled chemists.

Besides its utilitarian interest, science is not only a source of entertainment in our own time, as evidenced by the automobile and the radio, but it is extremely significant from the point of view of education. Slowly science has made headway into the educational processes, and although even yet it does not receive in the public school program the commanding place it deserves from a cultural viewpoint, it has already modified the spirit of modern education. Thomas Huxley, the great biologist, spent much time in his later life trying to persuade the authorities of England to make greater use of

science as a cultural training in the schools. The educational progress of science has been delayed because it has had to force itself into a crowded curriculum by disturbing the traditional subjects of instruction such as Greek and Latin, and naturally its intrusion has not always been welcomed by the authorities in charge of school practices.

Our century has witnessed in the United States the democratizing of science. This has come about not from agitation or even deliberate effort on the part of the leaders of science, but merely as a consequence of the increasing advantages that science brings to people in all the common experiences of life. One has been able to escape the influence of science only by isolating himself altogether from the current of contemporary life. In the field of agriculture, where tradition was perhaps as securely established as in any form of industry, science has made rapid headway, in part due to the skillful extension service carried on for farmers by our federal and state governments.

Now, not only have we a host of magazines devoted to science along particular lines, but even the popular periodicals and newspapers give a large amount of space to matters of science. Every discovery that has human interest becomes news at once. Indeed, the eagerness of the newspapers to report inventions and discoveries has become an embarrassment to scientists, since it often leads to premature publicity and, in the field of medicine especially, sometimes brings about great misunderstanding and gives afflicted people false hopes with subsequent disappointment. Human nature is being gradually led into a cultural atmosphere pervaded by science. The territory where uncurbed desire is permitted to formulate ideas grows steadily smaller as the field of science extends and draws within it every human interest.

#### PRESTIGE OF SCIENCE

Science has become largely a religion of our time. Realizing the great gifts it has placed within our grasp and failing to understand the mundane ways in which it works, we have given science in general a prestige which protects it from critical analysis. To say that a thing is scientific is to gain

favor for it at once and without question. Advertisers have been quick to exploit this faith in science. Pictures of doctors and nurses are used in advertisements for the widest variety of objects and services. Microscopes and other paraphernalia of the laboratory are inserted into all sorts of appeals. The effort, of course, is to trade on the prestige our society has awarded science through associating the object or service advertised with science. Often the association is so incidental or so superficial as to be worthless, but it is far from being meaningless in popular thinking nonetheless.

It is with science as elsewhere; the premises of thought, being common to a group, escape scrutiny, and so, by the most rigorous methods, the common error may be propagated indefinitely. No group is a trustworthy critic of its own premises. The men of the past thought they proved a world of things we regard as nonsense, and we cannot know how much of our own science will turn out to be the same sort. Some results are permanent, but only time reveals which they are. . . . Scientific men are almost as eager to believe as the religious. Their doctrine differs from that of the church mainly in having a confessed obligation to show, sooner or later, that it consists with verifiable fact. . . . Verification is the assent of competent minds, not of the public. When you get beyond precise and easily repeated experiment it involves interpretation and is never unquestionable. . . . No wonder the plain people distrust "science" and cling in spite of it to cherished beliefs. It shows their good sense. What honest and thoughtful student expects that more than a small part of the contemporary speculation that reputable men proclaim as truth will be believed a century hence? \*

Clarence E. Ayres has called attention to the fact that science, like all other human things, tends to surround itself with a folklore. From this point of view, he defines science as "a body of truth verified by repetition and sanctified by faith." He might have added that the prestige of the person announcing a scientific discovery has a very great deal to do with its acceptance and addition to the sum of knowledge accessible to the public, or even to the scholars in the field concerned. Mendel, of course, is the prime example of an unknown who discovered and published an account of a

\* Charles H. Cooley, *Life and the Student*, pp. 148-150. Quoted by permission of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

theory which revolutionized ideas of heredity but which lay buried in an obscure journal for fifty years before it was re-discovered and popularized by others. Mendel was an obscure Catholic priest whose word carried no tone of authority among geneticists of his time.

#### THE VOCABULARY OF SCIENCE

Science in the past has been handicapped in its popular appeal by its specialized vocabulary. It has been difficult for the average person unread in a particular field to understand the writings of science. Again we must credit Thomas Huxley with an epoch-making contribution. He attempted to make science so clear and interesting that it could be understood and enjoyed by untrained working men. All scientists have not taken this attitude; many have ridiculed efforts to popularize science. They have desired to keep science an exotic experience, feeling that it could not be popularized without being cheapened and diluted to an extent that would make it without value. Some have gone so far as to oppose the introduction of science in an elementary form in the secondary schools, claiming that high school instruction merely made it more difficult for the college student to start work in science.

It is true that it is not only convenient but necessary in each particular science to build up a special vocabulary, with the precision of thought that comes from definite agreement as to the meaning of fundamental definitions. Nevertheless, experience has shown that scientists of the highest rank, provided they have literary skill, can make popular presentations that will appeal to a multitude of thoughtful people.

Moreover, the scientist has at last come to realize, generally, the necessity even from a selfish point of view of winning popular sympathy. Attempts to hamper science by coercive legislation which would make the scientist teach, not according to his conviction, but according to an arbitrary act of the legislature, have taught the American scientist the need of being better understood; and now we have a better appreciation of the value of books and articles for bringing science to the attention of the average person. In



history such a book as James Harvey Robinson's *The Mind in the Making* and in biology Kruif's *Microbe Hunters* have not only interested, but taught a multitude of readers. In the cities we have under the auspices of colleges an army of specialists gifted in interpreting in a clear and appealing way the advances of science. Universities, by correspondence courses, as well as by extension classes, have assumed their rightful obligation to contribute to adult education, and much of this effort has been along the line of science.

#### THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF SCIENCE

As science becomes more popularly known, a greater number of persons are troubled by its changeableness. They hardly become familiar with the current teaching along the line of biology, psychology, or physics before they learn that some new discovery has upset the ideas they have caught from their study. As a friend has recently said, "You psychologists and sociologists are like people making canoes which we who do the work of the world hardly get into and prepare to paddle away in before we are told that the canoe is useless and we had better take another." It would indeed be easier if our knowledge of truth were static and not constantly changing as a result of the advancement of science, but there is no escape from the situation in which man finds himself, however much he may wish it otherwise. As his knowledge grows, his opinions must change. The situation outside of science is merely covered up by the static character of traditions that can continue year after year because they are not obliged to square with actual facts. Wherever man is at work trying to arrive at a greater quantity of truth, there change constantly has to be made as the new information corrects or pushes aside what formerly was accepted as factual knowledge.

The critics of science often have a right to complain of the dogmatism of some scientists who forget that the teaching of their period will be modified, just as they have moved away from what formerly was thought. Individual scientists are guilty of assuming that the knowledge which they have obtained is final. Sometimes they use the authority that

rightly belongs to them in their chosen field to express opinions outside the territory which they have seriously studied, and expect their word to receive docile acceptance. Such attitudes are justly resented by those who detect the destructive influence of this dogmatism. These slips on the part of scientists show how hard it is for human nature to keep within the spirit of scientific thinking.

Since science is self-correcting it does not need to be coerced by outside authority. Errors are sooner or later revealed by the investigation of other scientists who carry on further experimentation. Recent changes with reference to the meaning of gravitation show us how impossible it is to know when the time has come that any teaching of science is final, taking account of every element in its problem. Sometimes the opposition science receives from laymen is due to a misunderstanding of the meaning of hypothesis. The hypothesis of science is a theory that has been made as a provisional explanation of the facts known at the time. It is assumed that it has a tentative character until better established by subsequent investigation. Often the hypothesis is not confirmed by later study; then its importance is merely in closing up a false trail which was leading away from the truth.

#### SOCIAL FUNCTION OF SCIENCE

The social function of science appears at once when it is thought of as an attempt to determine the nature of phenomena and their interrelationships as a basis for prediction. If man can determine what will happen in types of situations, he has the possibility of changing the conditions or his own behavior in such a way as to escape pain or to secure satisfaction. Thus if one knows that a thorough wetting in a cold rain is likely to produce pneumonia, he has the possibility of escaping that disease from that causal factor. The political speaker knows that voters in general have great reverence for their mothers; hence he finds time to make references to his own mother and the influence she exerted over him as a child. Knowledge on which prediction may be made is the basis for the techniques, social as well as

mechanical, which we use in our efforts to adjust to the two environments in which we live. “. . . science is becoming increasingly a manner of life, a way of behaving, and is developing a philosophy which substitutes for the old conception of knowledge the new conception of successful behavior.” \*

That science helps us in all the affairs of everyday life is important socially but it is more important that science teaches us the meaning of causation. In teaching children we should be especially careful that they are not led to believe that the facts they have acquired represent the larger value of science. Since we live in a world of law where causes operate, it is fundamental for our well-being that we realize the significance of our environment. This means that we come to know the import of causes. The great waste of human thinking in the past has been its failure to see the folly of allowing human desire to intrude in the realm of causes and tyrannize over facts.

Now that our culture has produced a great quantity of inventions and discoveries, an understanding of the meaning of cause among people generally has become imperative or the quality of our civilization will be reduced and the opportunities of our social prosperity largely lost. Modern education cannot escape the necessity of building up in the thinking of the child the meaning of causes and appreciation of the method by which science has been able to enrich human life.

#### TECHNOLOGY

Although it is only within the past three or four centuries that science has come to occupy such a large place in our thought, man's efforts to generalize his observations and to use such generalizations as a basis for prediction and the control of his and others' behavior goes back as far as we have records of any sort. The ancient proverbs are in essence such generalizations when they are not statements of social ideals. An Egyptian record of about 2700 B.C. con-

\* Bertrand Russell, quoted in Howard W. Odum and Katharine Jocher, *An Introduction to Social Research*, p. 10. Quoted by permission of Henry Holt and Co.

tains an admonition to a young man seeking success to speak only when spoken to when in the company of an older or more powerful man, but always to laugh at the jokes of such a person. Further, "Undertake nothing as the result of having drunk beer, for, if thou dost, words which can have a second meaning may come forth from thy mouth without thou knowing it. When thou fallest down and breakest thy bones, there will be none to help thee. Thy boon companions will say 'Away with this drunken beast.' " \* Such a statement epitomizes observations of a common reaction to a common situation and so serves as a basis on which prediction may be made; thereby fulfilling the requirements of a scientific generalization in exactly the same way as does the observation that gases vary in volume in direct ratio to the pressure applied to them.

#### ANTIQUITY OF TECHNOLOGY

Further, men have always had some techniques and some tools with which they worked. The ancient techniques are known only through their products, of course, but before men began to chip flint they must have developed the technique of using stones in their hunting. The shaping was merely an improvement in technology to produce a more efficient tool.

Both this body of generalized knowledge, or primitive science, and the tools and techniques through which it was put into effect have shaped men's actions and thoughts for as long as they have been in existence. They have been ways through which culture has been preserved and transmitted and like play and art, have provided men with ideas and ideals and so have influenced their social organizations. Science and technology have always constituted one of the major streams of culture in which man has lived and from which he has derived his ways of living. Through them man has created an artificial world, quite different from that of nature, to which he has been forced to adjust.

This process of changing the natural into a cultural world,

\* Quoted in Joyce C. Hertzler, *Social Wisdom of the Ancients*, pp. 59-60. Quoted by permission of McGraw-Hill Book Co.



or of creating a cultural alongside the natural world, has been greatly accelerated within the past few centuries because of factors which we will need to consider a little later. Here it seems pertinent to point out the extreme antiquity of invention, and its product, technology, and their function of channelizing social behavior.

It was remarked above that man must have worked out a technique of using stones in his hunting before the time at which he began to shape such instruments. The first shaped tools appear in the early portion of the Old Stone Age, almost certainly not less than 50,000 years ago. Thus man was an inventor at least that long ago. But, it might be argued, as has been done by Edward Elway Free, that invention goes into the level of the lower animals. If bodily changes come about as the result of efforts to meet the environment, then why not say the worms living in streams *invented* a backbone through their efforts to resist the current? Or, on another level, did the beaver invent the dam, and the technique of impounding water with it? \*

In this discussion of the acquisition of cultural elements which mould social life on a new plane, there is one other question that has bothered students a great deal. Is a given acquisition an invention or a discovery? For our purposes, the question is pointless, since what we are interested in is not the nature of the process, but its effects. Whether the first person who secured fire by rubbing sticks together discovered that friction between bits of wood will produce enough heat to cause combustion, or whether he invented a means of artificially producing fire is of small moment. What is of the greatest importance is that through his effort or observation his society was placed in possession of a tool which has been of the greatest importance to mankind. Our culture is unthinkable without fire.

#### BASIC TECHNOLOGY

There are a small number of basic inventions or discoveries, as you will, which form the basis upon which our civilization rests; which make it feasible to obtain satisfac-

\* Article on "Inventions," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. XII, pp. 545-47.

tions through their use, and therefore control our conduct. The use of seeds for the propagation of desired plants is the basis on which we have built agriculture and so have established settled places of residence. This in turn has made possible the investment of social surplus in institutions which would have been impossible for a nomadic hunting or pastoral society. The domestication of animals has given man a reliable and mobile food supply. Pottery and weaving, often combined in savage societies, made it feasible to reserve and preserve food supplies for a short time and gave containers for all sorts of objects which are not used constantly. Agreement on units of measure made commerce possible. All of these bits of technology are extremely old in the history of human society; so old and so fundamental that it is hard to imagine a social organization without most of them.

Also of great antiquity, but younger than those named above are such technological devices as writing, by which man can bridge both distance and time; metal working, which gave immensely superior tools; the wheel, fundamental to ease of transportation and the basic element in the machine; the lever, another basic element in the machine; well-digging, which provided a constant and reliable water supply in areas without surface water; the boat, which turned the river barrier into a highway; the lamp, serving as an extension of the day; and clothing, making it possible for man to live in inhospitable climates and to artificially ornament himself.

Still later we find such outstanding developments as the germ theory of disease, the process of canning foods, the use of the compass for navigation of wide bodies of water, use of coal and oil as fuels, utilization of energy of steam, improvements in working metals which made them much harder and tougher; the application of electricity as a source of power, development of cement as a plastic building material, and the evolution of the internal combustion engine.

All of these are basic units in our technological culture. They have given us means of production and consumption which have so enormously increased the things available that it is estimated that between 85 and 90 per cent of production

is the result of technology rather than directly applied human effort.\*

This high percentage of technological production is of fairly recent date; and it is this fact that is the basis for the often-repeated statement that this is the age of science and technology. The number of inventions has enormously increased within the past three hundred years in marked contrast to the meager number of additions in ancient times. This is to be explained principally in terms of the slow accumulation of all cultural elements. Inventions beget other inventions. Most of our modern inventions are merely slight modifications or combinations of existing elements; and the presence of such elements is a prerequisite to the invention. That is, the possibility of new inventions increases in geometric ratio to the number of elements which may be combined. The ancient peoples had a relatively meager culture and hence could not be expected to make the combinations which are now possible.

#### SOCIAL ASPECTS OF TECHNOLOGY

Inventions are commonly thought of in mechanical terms. But it should always be remembered that no mechanical invention is without implications for the social order. The importance of any tool rests upon the use society makes of it, not on its mechanical nature. The radio is essentially a mechanical device, but its use for entertainment, and for the dissemination of news and propaganda make it one of the most potent social forces of our civilization. The automobile has changed our ways of living in many obvious ways, and in others, probably, which are not yet recognized.

But invention is not confined to the realm of mechanics. There are many social inventions which have been made within the last few centuries which we have tended to overlook in our amazement at the products of the laboratories and the machine shop. W. F. Ogburn, in his study of inventions as a part of the recent social trends of cooperative

\* Ibid.

effort has drawn up a long list of such purely social inventions from which the following are taken: auto tourist camp, Australian ballot, basket ball, boycott, chain store, charity organization society, city manager plan, clearing house, community chest, direct primary, esperanto, intelligence tests, Ku Klux Klan, mother's pension, patents, Rotary Club, summer camp, universal suffrage.\*

The same authority has summarized the social effects of inventions in such a way as to leave little doubt as to their importance in any discussion of the organization of society and the moulding of personality. His summary is followed here.†

An invention has a variety of effects. The automobile aids the growth of suburbs, redistributes marketing facilities, cuts the revenues of the railways, encourages the consolidation of rural schools.

A given social change often reflects the cumulative effect of many inventions. The growth of the suburb has been stimulated by the automobile, the electric train, the street car, the motion picture, the telephone, the radio, and the decentralization of industry.

Inventional causes and social effects are intertwined in a process. The telephone has increased residence in suburbs, has changed the marketing habits of housewives, and has had an effect on family structure.

An invention often has a series of effects, each of which is linked to a preceding one. The automobile has decreased the number of horses, which has reduced the number of stables, which has reduced the number of flies, which has lessened the incidence of some communicable diseases. Such effects tend to disappear through their wide diffusion, but when the great number of inventions is considered the total effect is real and of great importance.

Groups of inventions have great social effect where any one, considered separately, may be negligible. Technological unemployment is largely such an effect. The invention of any one labor-saving device has comparatively little effect

\* *Recent Social Trends*, p. 162.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 158-163.



upon a whole society; but in the aggregate may be a factor in restriction of immigration, development of social security programs, family structure.

The accumulation of the influences of smaller inventions is significant. Few inventions are of major importance. But each invention which finds its way into our culture has some effect and in the aggregate these smaller inventions have materially affected our civilization.

The majority of inventions are merely slight improvements on existing devices. These slight changes collect around the major invention and add to its effect. The number of inventions represented by the automobile one sees on the street must run into the thousands. The plow sulky, a relatively simple tool, has had 549 patents on it, each of which had some distinctive feature.

Social and mechanical factors often are derived from each other. The decline in the birth rate may be said to be due to mechanical devices by which conception is prevented. But there are clearly social factors at work also, including the social conditions of city life, with attendant difficulties of rearing children, the competition of amusements, educational facilities and new conveniences for funds. Again, these competing forces are largely based on mechanical inventions and their social effects. The attitude of the church appears to be a purely social factor in the birth-rate situation, but the changing attitude of the church is an indirect effect of the mechanical contraceptive devices, even where their use is forbidden and it is suggested that "natural" means of control of conception be substituted.

The effects of inventions appear on various social levels. Generally personal habits are first affected, as in the substitution of the typewriter for the use of pen and ink. If enough persons are affected, a social class may be involved, as the appearance of the occupational group of stenographers and typists. An organization may be changed, as business has been changed through the use of office devices. Social institutions are affected. The family has been changed through the employment of daughters and wives as office workers and the possibility that dissatisfied wives can earn their own living. Such social changes growing out of in-

ventions may affect ethics and morals. Our ideas about the place of the woman have changed very perceptibly with their invasion of the business world. Finally, and usually after a time lag, such changes affect social philosophies. The employment of women in office and industrial work has probably been one of the potent factors in the change of philosophy concerning equality of the sexes, feminism and social justice.

The social effects of inventions make themselves apparent only after an elapse of some time, the time varying with the level on which the effect is apparent. Habits of persons are affected first of all. Effects on social organizations, classes, institutions, ethical codes and philosophies appear progressively later, if at all.

Science is not, and, it would seem, never can be an exclusive element in human experience. We have our emotions as certainly as our thoughts. It may be possible to reduce the affection of mother and child to a scientific explanation, but this does not replace the affection itself. Even if we could know fully and accurately in the sense of causation what love is and how it comes, our information would be a poor substitute for the feeling itself. Feeling and thinking do not represent divorced incompatible elements in the reaction of the mind, but are responses due to the emphasis of one or the other of its aspects.

Science magnifies thinking and reduces feeling to the lowest possible proportion. Affection, aesthetic appreciation, and religion provide feeling with its necessary and rightful opportunity of expression. The two attitudes need not be separated by a rigid wall of division, but it is necessary that either the feeling or thinking reaction should receive right of way over the other within its appropriate field of activity. The maintenance of the values of life in terms of duty and love need not be an intrusion upon science. However busy science may be in its workshop, there will be a vast territory belonging to the unknown. There will also be experiences that cannot be taken from the realm of feeling and reduced to scientific formulae without loss of their distinctive quality. There would be much less opposition to the constant advance of science if it were commonly appreciated that the feeling

side of human experience runs no risk of being crushed by the achievements of science.

What has been said simply serves to emphasize the instrumental character of the abstract sciences. History and geography, all of the concrete sciences, can and do measurably enlarge our experience of life. Their very purpose is to arouse new interests and create new sympathies; to give mankind, in short, an environment so vast and varied as will call out and activate all his instincts and capacities.\*

#### THE PHYSICAL AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the steady development of the physical sciences and the value of their application in the satisfying of man's material needs has been a constant challenge to those interested in the social sciences. Why should not the same methods that have proved so useful in meeting man's physical needs be applied in understanding and directing human social experience? The fact that the physical sciences have grown in effectiveness has also modified man's environment and added to the necessity of progress in the social sciences. Modern civilization is itself primarily the product of the new conditions brought about by the physical sciences, and all its successes make more urgent the corresponding development of the social sciences. The physical scientist also, in the prosecution of his major interest, has developed material that demands interpretation from the social viewpoint. An example of this is the facts of physical geography that make imperative human geography. The technic of the physical sciences also has suggested the means of working out social investigation, as in the special application of mathematics to statistics.

In spite of this relation of physical and social sciences, there are also differences between them that cannot be thrown aside. Material, for instance, which the physicist studies is so minute that it requires measurement by the

\* Robert E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *An Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, pp. 15-16. Quoted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

most precise instruments and is quite unlike the human experiences that sociology attempts to estimate. The definiteness of form which is found in the biological world is very different from the social pattern with which the sociologist must deal, but the purposes of the workers in the two fields are the same. Each must build up the technic that will make scientific conquest possible. In discussing the need of better measuring technics in the social sciences, Bernard writes :

Where such measuring technics are wanting—and they confessedly are lacking in many or most of the relationships of life as yet—we must fall back on the less definite, more changing subjective measurements in terms of general percepts and images and even of feelings. But no one would maintain that because we began our appreciation of social phenomena historically in terms of the indefinite subjective, we should not turn as rapidly as possible to the more accurate objective measurements developed in other sciences or in our own by analogy and independently.\*

#### THE COOPERATIVE ATTACK

Each of the social sciences has taken over as its special province some aspect of the social experience of man. In order to make headway in dealing with the complexity of social interaction, such a procedure was imperative. It is, however, becoming increasingly evident that when any definite human problem is studied and it overlaps, as is usually true, several sciences, investigation cannot satisfactorily proceed unless there be concerted attack on the problem from the point of view of each science that is concerned. As specialization proceeds, the need of cooperation grows all the greater. Because of this, in recent years, attention has been directed toward cooperative investigation of concrete problems. To encourage effort of this sort the Social Science Research Council has come into existence. It is one of the many indications of this trend toward using all the disciplines involved in the analysis of a social problem or situation. This joint attack, using the technics of various sciences, need not discourage individual investigation in the

\* G. A. Lundberg, *Social Research*, p. 323. Longmans.



field of each science, but it will reveal the need of cooperative research as well as of a particular study within the discipline.

#### HOW THE SOCIAL SCIENCES GROW

It is important to recognize that headway in the social sciences is being made through the development of a methodology that comes out of actual situations. An investigation is undertaken and in its process technic is developed. The various studies not only yield material of social value, they also contribute to the development of technic. Some recent investigations that illustrate this are the social survey conducted by the Lynds and published under the title *Middletown*, Hamilton's *Research in Marriage*, and Ogburn's statistical study of the American family entitled *American Marriage and Family Relationships*.

Odum's study of the *Southern Regions of the United States*, Mumford's analysis of *The Culture of the City*, and Parson's critical synthesis of the theories of four outstanding thinkers, *Structure of Social Action*, are other studies which point toward a more scientific sociology. These differ not only in subject matter but in methodology carefully adapted to the requirements of the special investigation. The future of the social sciences will be largely determined by the growth of an adequate technic for each investigation of social experience. This is especially true of sociology, for the nature of its problems will for some time to come challenge the initiative and precision of the scholar.

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## CHAPTER XXII

### INSTITUTIONS: TOOLS OF SOCIETY

More formally organized means of integrating persons and groups into a social order than those discussed in the preceding chapters are such institutions as the family, the church, the school, the state, and the economic arrangements. Each of these has grown up around some fundamental social interest and field of experience. To each has been assigned functions which are fundamental to the transmission of culture from one generation to another so that the social order shall have continuity and stability. Like the folkways, mores, and public opinion they control the conduct and thoughts of persons and groups through providing ready-made and socially accepted ways of meeting the problems of a common existence. Thus, they constrain by setting up norms to which the person or group is expected to conform. They channelize actions and aid in the process of moulding personalities.

No individual has freer choice than that established by the institutions under which he is living; violation brings some form of social ostracism, at least from the dominant group. This is seen more clearly in primitive cultures than in our own; complexity and rapidity of change of the culture permit wider variation in [behavior] patterns, and the development of different patterns side by side. The same principle applies, however; the individual is shaped by the institutions.\*

These writers might have added that social groups are also moulded by the institutions to which they subscribe. Through institutions, as through all of its forms, culture shapes society, and at the same time is shaped by society.

Institutions are a part of the culture of all societies. Among some savage peoples they seem to be vague or almost amorphous, but closer investigation is quite likely to reveal a richness and complexity which is at first unsuspected. This is particularly true of the mis-called practice of "bride

\* Wilson D. Wallis and Malcolm M. Willey, *Readings in Sociology*, p. 397. Quoted by permission of F. S. Crofts & Co.



purchase," for instance. Under this name the custom smacks of a casual business transaction and was so considered for a long time. However, more recent and penetrating investigators have discovered that "bride purchase" was only a part of an elaborate set of socially approved ceremonies which established definite relationships between the bride and her husband, and the families and often the clans or villages. Further, these relationships were sanctioned by the provision of definite penalties for their violation. Essentially, it turned out, the "bride purchase" was more nearly a deposit to guarantee fair treatment of the bride by her husband and his kinsmen, to be returned to her family in case she was mistreated.

From such practices to the conduct of the Supreme Court of the United States of America may seem to be a far cry. But the two have several features in common. Both are socially established and recognized means of meeting current situations and of satisfying fundamental desires. Both have preconceived rules and regulations through which their functions are administered and in accordance with which the public may participate. Both are expected to punish violators of these regulations, either directly or through other institutions that act upon request.

"An institution is a complex, integrated organization of collective behavior, established in the social heritage and meeting some persistent need or want."\* In this definition Cooley puts the emphasis upon collective action. The institution emerges as a behavior pattern. Thus, it has an immaterial existence; it is a part of what he refers to as the "public mind." Institutions arise when public opinion becomes definite enough to demand continuing action toward a recognized goal or in defense of an existing value. "... its vitality consists in an organic whole of transmitted ideas which has the power to enlist the activities of a group, but does not, for the most part, originate with the group, and cannot be explained as a mere product of their personalities."†

\* Charles H. Cooley, Robert C. Angell, Lowell J. Carr, *Introductory Sociology*, p. 402. Quoted by permission of Charles Scribner's Sons.

† *Ibid.*, p. 403.

Perhaps the most prevalent idea of the institution is taken from W. G. Sumner's *Folkways*. Sumner defines an institution as a concept plus a structure. By this, he means simply that social groups have conceived some notion, interest, idea, or *mos* to be of such value to their collective welfare that they have appointed certain persons to protect or disseminate it. These persons are known as functionaries. They may be appointed formally, as through an election, or may merely assume their positions because of the status they hold in the community. The notion is Sumner's concept; his structure refers to the functionaries, to the ceremonies and rituals they use and to the web of relationships which are established through this use. In the case of the family in a savage society, the concept is that a mother must have some person who acts as social sponsor for her children. Whether such a person is their biological father or not makes little difference; often he is the mother's brother. But in every case he performs those functions which the father performs in our society. That is, he is a *social* father. Through assuming this role, he becomes a functionary of the family institution. Other functionaries are various members of the two families united by the marriage and members of the community who see that the customary familial relationships are maintained. These functionaries, along with the unwritten but well-recognized folkways and mores concerning family life, constitute the structure of this institution.

In the case of the Supreme Court, the basic concept is that disputes of certain sorts must be settled by society acting through the court. The judges, clerks and other officials are the functionaries. The rules of procedure, the ceremonies invoked, and the organized relationships between the court, congress, the administrative officers of the government and the general public constitute the structure.

Institutions, then, grow out of the folkways and the mores. "They began in the folkways. They became customs. They developed into mores by the addition of some philosophy of welfare, however crude. Then, they were made more definite and specific as regards the rules, the prescribed acts, and

the apparatus to be employed. This produced a structure and the institution was complete." \*

Institutions are distinguished from folkways and mores by the addition of structure. Thus, mores may be considered incipient institutions. This is especially true where ritual and ceremony are associated with the *mos*, since these factors require the rather formal functioning of a trained person. It is also obvious that the structure of an institution, as here used, has no connection with buildings or other such visible property. These may house examples of institutions, but are no part of the institution itself.

One of the essential elements in many of our institutions is the reverence in which the concept around which they are built is held. It is often felt that the institution is so essential to the welfare of the society that to question it is little short of sacrilegious and such skeptics suffer a loss of status. This is particularly true of those institutions which have grown up gradually throughout the history of mankind, such as the family and property. We are so accustomed to their ministrations and limitations that it frightens us to imagine a situation in which they would not function. This is also true of those institutions associated with some outstanding personality in the history of the society. It is often thought that such persons created essential institutions through something closely approaching supernatural powers. They are regarded as inspired from on high, and the functionaries who succeed such "founding fathers" take over some of the prestige awarded the original leaders by a sort of sympathetic magic. Even when logical analysis of such an institution seems to reveal its impotence or inappropriateness, the people, led by the functionaries, are likely to defend its continuance on purely sentimental and emotional grounds. Thus an institution may persist for decades, or even for centuries, after it has lost its functional importance as a protector of the welfare of the group.

Institutions differ from folkways and mores in that they are formalized. Whereas persons and groups obey folkways and mores unquestioningly, and even without thought, the

\* W. G. Sumner, *Folkways*, p. 54. Quoted by permission of Ginn and Company.

institution imposes its rules upon the group, demands obedience, and punishes disobedience. The functionaries act consciously. As Ellsworth Faris says, they act in an "office"; that is, they hold an "official" position.

The degree of formality varies greatly from one institution to another. In the family it is very slight; in judicial and legislative institutions it is very great. In general, the more civilized the society the more formal are the institutions. We have many more institutions than do the savage peoples and, also, are much more conscious of them. The savage participates in most of his institutions "naturally"; that is, he exercises no choice in the matter. In our society, on the contrary, there are many institutions in which membership is purely voluntary. Thus we have institutions corresponding in general to the component and constituent groups as described by Giddings or to *gemeinschaft* and *gessellschaft* as developed by Tönnies. Component groups, or *gemeinschaften*, are involuntary and informal. No certificates of membership are issued; no dues are paid. Constituent groups, or *gessellschaften*, on the contrary, are made up of persons who have entered them more or less as a matter of choice. They are more formal in their organization; membership cards are issued; dues are paid. Ordinarily a member may withdraw at his own pleasure. Such groups are those supporting boards of trade or The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and these institutions, of course, are representative of these groups.

However, groups should not be confused with their institutions. Every person comes under the influence of many institutions. No institution absorbs the entire personality of any person. Ordinarily, the membership of an institution is made up of various smaller groups such as local branches. However, it is possible of course to identify the membership of an institution as a group, since the institution serves a particular interest in terms of which the group has been formed. Thus the membership of the United States Chamber of Commerce is a group. The United States Chamber of Commerce is an institution serving this particular group. But obviously members of the United States Chamber of Commerce may participate in other institutions also; they



may be Rotarians, Elks, Methodists, Republicans, and what-not.

A social institution is more than an individual behavior pattern; it is rather the totality of relationships between individual behavior patterns. A social institution is a cultural product, attributable to no single innovator for its origin. A social institution is dependent for its continuity upon no specific individuals; carried by individuals, it is embodied totally in no one person. A social institution is a regulator of individual behavior; to it the individual must adjust himself. Because of this influence upon the behavior of the individual, and because of the supra-individual characteristics inherent in it, a social institution may properly be regarded as a cultural reality, or entity.\*

Chapin has analyzed institutions and concluded that each has the following characteristics:

First, a social institution arises out of and as a result of repeated groupings of interacting human individuals in response to elemental needs or drives (sex, hunger, and fear).

Second, common reciprocating attitudes and conventionalized behavior patterns develop out of a process of interaction (affection, loyalty, cooperation, domination, and subordination).

Third, cultural objects (traits) that embody symbolic values in material substances are invented or fabricated and become the cue stimuli to behavior conditioned to them (the idol, cross, ring, and flag are charged with emotional and sentimental meaning).

Fourth, cultural objects (traits) that embody utilitarian values in material substances are invented or fabricated and become the means of satisfying creature wants for warmth, shelter, etc. (buildings and furniture).

Fifth, preserved in oral or written language, externally stored and handed down from one generation to the next, there are description and specification of the patterns of interrelationship among these elemental drives, attitudes, symbolic culture traits, and utilitarian culture traits.

These five traits just enumerated are all capable of objective treatment and some have been quantitatively measured (the attitudes). They appear in combination and are always interdependent in a functional sense. . .

We may say that the structure of a social institution consists in the combination of certain related type parts into a configuration possessing the properties of relative rigidity and relative per-

\* Wilson D. Wallis and Malcolm M. Willey, *Readings in Sociology*, p. 395. Quoted by permission of F. S. Crofts & Co.

sistence of form and tending to function as a unit on a field of contemporary culture. . .\*

In addition to these characteristics, Dawson and Gettys point out that institutions retain "something of the ritual of the ceremonial occasion in which they had their origin." But these ritual elements are submerged to a large extent in the formal organization. Also an institution outlives any particular member of it. Though individual members come into and depart from the institution, it goes on indefinitely. However, institutions are born, mature, and die as will be pointed out in more detail later.†

The primary function of any institution is to preserve and transmit to persons sentiments, codes of ethics and morality, knowledge, patterns of behavior by which they can meet the usual types of situations arising in society. These are all to be found in the prevailing institutions in any society and through adopting the institutionalized patterns, the person is saved the effort of working out his own destiny. Institutions provide ready-made solutions to most of the critical events in the person's life-history. An institutionalized medical profession presides at his birth and death. A religious institution furnishes standardized forms for his marriage. These events are of supreme importance to the person and form crises in his life. To the institutions concerned they are routine matters to be met by the application of established formulae.

Institutions also guide and control the person in much of his ordinary activity. His personality is largely the product of the family in which he grows up, and the play group of which he is a member. The sort of work he does, the amount he is paid for doing it, and the way he will spend that pay are all fixed within limits by the economic institutions of the time and place in which he lives. The knowledge he acquires is imparted to him through the formal school system and less formal educational institutions such as clubs, Chambers of Commerce, labor unions. His spiritual and

\* F. Stuart Chapin, *Cultural Change*, pp. 48-49. Quoted by permission of D. Appleton-Century Co.

† Cf. Carl A. Dawson and Warner E. Gettys, *An Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 80-81.

aesthetic development is entrusted to such institutions as the church, art leagues, musical clubs.

Further, institutions acquire status and prestige which they impart to a very considerable extent to their membership. This of course is a reciprocal relationship. Such institutions carefully select their members in terms of established criteria; the members in their turn influence the "institutional personality." On every college campus certain types of students are identified with certain fraternities. Many of the characteristics displayed by such students are acquired through the legends and traditions of their fraternal organization. Many persons will have felt the necessity for living up to the family reputation. Further, the treatment received by an individual person largely reflects the status of his family. Perhaps the most striking example of status imparted by an institution is to be observed in the case of the "sanctity of the cloth." Persons wearing the uniform of religious orders are treated as representatives of such institutions; not as persons in their own right. This explains why it is possible for Salvation Army lassies to move freely through the underworld with very little risk, where any other unescorted young woman would be in danger of insult.

Each institution represents a major interest in society. However, it must not be assumed that an institution is devoted to but one interest. Our economic institutions obviously have political interests which they seek to protect and promote with the means available to them. It has been suggested by Max Weber that present day capitalism is an outgrowth of the Protestant philosophy of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Whether this thesis is valid or not, it is historically true that Protestantism and capitalism grew up together. Churches often feel called upon to express opinions on matters not directly concerned with spiritual welfare. A few years ago a high official of one of the churches became actively engaged in a presidential campaign. The family provides for a variety of fundamental desires although its functions have been greatly curtailed within the last few centuries.

Similarly, a single function may be served by several institutions. The school is known as *the* educational institution,

but if we understand education to mean acquisition of knowledge needed for a satisfactory adjustment, it is evident at once that a large proportion of our education is acquired outside the schoolroom. This means, of course, that institutions are interrelated; not one can be understood in terms of itself. The family participates more or less as a unit in educational, political, economic, and religious institutions. The selection of the functionaries for the religious and educational institutions, that is, the teachers and preachers, is conditioned by attitudes and sentiments taken over from the familial political and economic institutions. It is doubtful whether a Republican would be engaged knowingly as a school teacher in many communities of the "solid South." It is certain that no known Communist would be so employed.

Within each society, there is a strain toward consistency on the part of all institutions, as well as on the part of the mores and folkways. A society in which this is strong is well integrated and displays an ethos by which it is easily distinguished from other societies. Where this strain for consistency is weak, as it is likely to be when various culture patterns have been brought into contact with each other, the society suffers from a greater or lesser degree of disintegration. In a normal society, the basic institutions form a cultural gestalt.

As Howard W. Odum has pointed out, institutions function as buffers between the person and his environment.\* This is true in all societies to a large extent, but institutions serve much more effectively as buffers in highly integrated societies than in those in which varied culture patterns are struggling for supremacy. This is seen in dramatic form in the America of the present. Here, we have not yet attained integration and consistency among the various forms of basic institutions brought here from older countries. Until such integration is attained—and the particular level on which it is attained is relatively unimportant—we will have unrest and conflict; we will have institutional leaders hotly debating the merits of their proposals. Out of this unrest comes social change; which may or may not be progress. However, no society ever attains perfect integration. If such a condition were achieved, and unrest wholly

\* *American Social Problems*, p. 275 ff.



disappeared, the social order would become utterly static and retrogression would follow.

Institutions are weapons by which society as a collectivity bludgeons its members into conformity as well as a tool by which persons gain satisfactions. Institutions represent authority and power. They may represent right; they always represent might. Being conceived to protect a value held dear by a society, institutions are basically conservative. They seek to maintain the situation at the time of their creation, although changes are sometimes forced upon them. Schools spend much more time acquainting their pupils with orthodoxy than in stimulating them to create new, and possibly better, social forms. Hence, social change, the creation of a new "right," is always opposed by institutions. The pages of history are filled with stories of radical movements which became institutionalized, ceased to seek change, became conservative protectors of the *status quo* of their time and were swept away by newer movements.

#### NATURAL HISTORY OF INSTITUTIONS

Many institutions arise directly from social movements and exemplify the natural history of such movements as outlined by Dawson and Gettys. According to these writers, social movements regularly pass through four stages. First, there is a stage of unrest. There is a vague feeling among the people of a society that something is wrong. Tensions are increased; an air of expectancy hovers over the group; agitators appear and intensify such emotions through giving voice to the general discontent. Persons notice the restlessness of their friends and neighbors and so are stimulated to become more restless.

Gradually excitement spreads and through the work of agitators attention becomes fixed upon some particular phase of the social organization. It is felt that a change in this field will affect the desired reformation. Objectives are nebulous and vague but at least have taken some shape. Prophets appear who preach the rise of a new day when their programs shall have been consummated. However, these programs are not clear-cut and concise. The prophet

talks much more of the goal to be reached than the route to be used. Like the agitator, his function is to create a demand for action, not to plan and lead that action.

The incipient institution at this stage finds it easier to recruit members than at any other time. As the issues and aims are slowly clarified, many of the initial enthusiasts find the movement taking a direction not to their liking and so drop out. Further, as a definite program is drawn up, opponents find it possible to level criticisms at the projected aims, where before there had been nothing tangible to which they might object. When the social movement enters the stage of formal organization, it is in process of becoming an institution. The concept has been definitely defined; officials, functionaries, take their positions; relationships are established with existing institutions, and a structure emerges. Emphasis is placed upon the early history of the movement and traditions arise. The prophet type of leadership gives way to that of the statesman who formulates a definite campaign through which it is hoped the program will be achieved. If he is successful, a new institution is established and takes its place among the others in the community or nation.

Once the institution is established, its formal aspects multiply. Rules and regulations become definite and often are enforced for their own sake rather than for the effect that violation might have on the success of the institution. The far-seeing statesman is likely to be replaced by the administrator whose vision extends no further than his forms and reports. The list of functionaries is likely to grow so as to include many who are mere time-servers. Gradually the institution becomes so formalized that it can no longer meet changing conditions. It becomes ossified. This, of course, is not the fate of all institutions, even those which have grown up in the fashion described above. Many of them find it possible and feasible to make such adaptations to changing conditions as to survive for many centuries.\*

Thus many institutions grow directly out of unorganized social movements. Such institutions represent the survivors in a fierce struggle for birth on the part of incipient institutions. However, there are two other ways in which institu-

\* *Op. cit.*, Chapter 19.

tions have come into being. Most of the basic institutions have existed for so long that their origins are lost. It is only reasonable to suppose that the family, the state, and economic institutions have grown gradually throughout the history of mankind. It is certain that their forms have varied most widely from place to place and time to time. At the other extreme are the consciously enacted or organized institutions characteristic of our civilization. A felt need arises; a group of interested persons meet calmly and deliberately plan an institution to meet this need. Such is the origin of the electoral college in the United States, boards of trade, Chambers of Commerce, athletic associations, etc. In many cases, however, it is possible to trace the germ of such institutions for some time prior to their formal organization.

Regardless of how any particular institution comes into existence, its primary functions, as mentioned above, are to mould the personality of members of social groups using them, and to serve as a tool through which persons and groups may find reasonable satisfaction for their basic desires and expression of their basic interests. But no institution, or other social tool, functions perfectly. The institutional complex does not wholly mould the life pattern of very many, if any, persons. Few persons find themselves wholly satisfied at all times with the institutions which serve them and which they use. Within the institutional framework, there remains sufficient room for personal initiative and idiosyncrasy to allow for a variety of life patterns. Most persons find the limitations imposed by the existing institutions tolerable. However, there are always in all societies some persons who feel that the current institutions must be changed. These are the rebels who bring social disorganization and make possible progress.

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## CHAPTER XXIII

### DOMESTIC EXPERIENCE AND THE FAMILY

Of all institutions, the family is most immediate in its effect upon the person, both in point of time and the intimacy of contact. Each person is born into a family which at once begins to mould his personality in accordance with its standards. Throughout his life the person uses the family to secure many of the satisfactions without which life would be barely tolerable. Although shorn of some of the functions it formerly performed, the family is still the most basic institution in society. However, in thinking of the family as one of our fundamental human institutions we must not conceive of it as maintaining a separate existence. It is rather a special grouping within the larger whole, for the experience within the family and that outside are, for each person, too intimately connected to be regarded as independent spheres of social behavior. The substance of the family is social experience, the result of the grouping of certain individuals who share special interests and who stand in definite relationship to one another. Thus the family, like everything that falls within the province of the social sciences, is essentially life, the behavior of persons in close contact.

This concept, which emphasizes the functional value in human association, forbids thinking of the family as static. Like the rest of social experience family life changes in the effort to maintain between itself and other social conditions the adaptation necessary for its success. Our emotional attitude toward family life, especially toward experiences of our own childhood, and the binding force this attitude permits past social experiences, produced under different conditions, to exert upon the present family tend to slow down change and to prevent each generation from fully recognizing the trends that may be taking place. This comes out clearly in our own time when the family is more rapidly altering its course than in the immediate past. Social movements do not proceed with regularity but at times travel

rapidly and then, during the period of quiescence which follows, the new experience becomes relatively fixed. This is especially true of the family, where so often tradition checks ongoing although a new social situation demands fresh adjustment.

#### THE FUNCTION OF THE FAMILY

If we think of the function of the family in narrow terms it becomes an enlargement of parenthood. The helplessness of the human infant requires a long period of nurture and protection, and from this necessity develops a special grouping of parents and children, which has become the institution of the family. Allied with this major interest is the control of sex desire which explains marriage as the method by which families are established. From a wider point of view the family, in addition to providing the necessary care of the child and the regulation of sex conduct, normally offers opportunity for the most intimate of social contacts, the desire for which has become a marked characteristic of modern men and women. Whatever aspect of family life is emphasized, its social function is evident. The family conserves and transmits social experience to the newborn child and also educates its members through closeness of relationship; upon its efficiency as an educational agency primarily depend the security and the quality of society as a whole.

The family is not something imposed upon human nature from without, but came into being as an indispensable means of procuring conditions favorable to the advancement of man's social life; its biological function is so essential that we find it foreshadowed in the mating of the higher animals, where instinct provides for a time the cohesion which keeps together male and female until the offspring has matured sufficiently to care for itself.

The family is an organization that has developed out of human experience as a means of superior adjustment. From this point of view its purpose is similar to that of the tool or of an institution such as government. It adds to the effectiveness of human effort for security and satisfaction.

In it we find a blending of personal and social motives. With the emphasis constantly changing, as particular demands from time to time arise out of the prevailing circumstances, family life is a consolidation of patterns. Legally it represents a status, but as a social organization it is primarily a pivot for the concentration of common interests of persons in constant interaction. The individual conscious of family ties not only finds himself in a special association with other members, but also carries the family background into any social activity on the outside, and in industry, profession, business, travel, or whatever his occupation or recreation, everything he does shows a significant relation to his family experiences.

#### FAMILY LIFE OF SAVAGES

The family life of primitive people as we have come to know it through the study of savage society does not present a picture of unbroken development from a simple origin to our present type of conventional family life. Instead we find illustrations of very different family experiences, showing no consistent progress that would permit us on the basis of the family alone to rank the cultural achievements of savage peoples.

Scholars now agree that nowhere in savage society has evidence been obtained of the promiscuous beginning of family life, which once was arbitrarily deduced as the necessary starting point of family evolution. The marriage regulations of savages are often much more complicated than our own. This led to confusion among the missionaries and the travellers who first came in contact with sex behavior so different from the European conventions as to make it seem lawless and independent of restraint. With greater knowledge it was found that what seemed license was really the complexity of marriage relationships and that even when sex behavior was not monogamous it was rigorously regulated by customs that were both specific and authoritative. The marriage customs of the Australian savages illustrate a very complicated marriage system, which permits a woman to be married to a particular man but also at definite times



to be eligible for relations with certain other men of the tribe, while remaining strictly taboo to the rest.

Polygyny and polyandry are found among savages. Neither of these variations is confined to a definite economic status, although on the higher levels wealth encourages the first and poverty the second. Polygyny is chiefly the result of economic and social circumstances. It is true that there is evidence that the desire for variety in sex experience has an appeal to primitive people, as is shown by the letting-down of ordinary conventional restrictions at the time of feasts and special celebrations. But, primarily, the incentive for plural marriages comes from economic motives. Many wives add prestige to the man who can afford them. They not only suggest prosperity and give status, as did the large holdings of slaves in the South before the Civil War; they and their children actually contribute economically, for as workers they add to the wealth of the head of the household.

The economic influence explains why we find polygyny among various peoples living on similar levels in different parts of the world. Polygyny proves an advantage to the older men since they are the ones who have the resources for plural marriages. Polygyny is restricted by conditions that are bound to operate over a length of time. One of these is the relative number of the sexes. It is true, as Hobhouse has said, that we have no accurate knowledge of the proportion of men and women, for of course among primitive people there was nothing resembling a census, but we assume that then as now there was no great difference between the birth rates of boys and girls. Even though a part of the male population can be denied the privilege of marriage, by regulation or by postponing it until they have passed beyond youth, this discrimination has its limits. It is also true that since wives are economically valuable, only those with sufficient capital in the long run can afford to take over many wives. This is true even though the wife might prove a profitable investment. Since she is generally had by "purchase," only those who have already achieved a degree of prosperity have the means of increasing their household. It is interesting to notice that everywhere monogamy is tolerated, even though polygyny or polyandry may repre-

sent the more conventional marriage. On the other hand, when monogamy is the standard the other variations are frequently prohibited.

## POLYANDRY

Polyandry, like polygyny, clearly shows the effect of economic circumstances. It is the least common of the three variations in marriage, and of it we know the least. It is chiefly found in the central islands of Asia and in Southern India. Rivers describes it as found among the Todas in Southern India. Here it occurs in simple form, the wife having several husbands who are likely to be brothers. She cohabits with them in succession and when children appear they are allotted to each husband in turn, not on the basis of physiological responsibility but according to some sort of ceremony which distributes them. This suggests some disturbance in the ratio of the two sexes, but, as Wissler suggested, it may be that the marriage custom itself, by influencing infanticide, is responsible for determining the ratio rather than the latter controlling the form of marriage.\* Polyandry appears to be encouraged by poverty, especially in circumstances which make it necessary to have the co-operation of several men in order to support a household. Polyandry is clearly conditioned by the proportion of men to women, although, as in Tibet where there is a large number of monks, there may be an artificial preponderance of marriageable women. As a matter of fact, we know very little about the ratio of the sexes among primitive people now in existence and next to nothing of what has been true in the past. Two types of polyandry occur, one of husbands who are brothers, the other of unrelated men. In the second form the wife is likely to be migratory, spending several weeks or months with one of her husbands and then going on to another. In such cases control of the children is determined by customs that prevent friction. Among some peoples the first child born acknowledges as father the oldest of the woman's husbands, the next child has the next younger husband as parent, and so on.

\* Clark Wissler, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, p. 189.

Nor does the polygamous family show the strain which would surely develop under the conditions of modern culture. The wife is often anxious that her husband marry other women since in this way she frequently gains assistance in the toil she has to carry on in household or field, while as head-woman she extends her authority.

Another important characteristic of the savage family is the regulations that maintain endogamy and exogamy. The first requires that marriage take place between persons in a definite group, while the other forbids marriage to persons outside of this group. These regulations, usually specific plans of mating, are often based upon totemic relationships.

No people exist who do not prohibit marriage within certain relationships. The idea of incest is universal, but its origin is puzzling and has led to much controversy. Punishment for infraction of the rules against marriage is sometimes death. The marriage of parents and children is universally prohibited and the brother and sister marriage rarely is permitted, having been found chiefly among the Incas of Peru and the later Pharaohs and Ptolemies in Egypt.

The marriage not only of those closely related by blood is taboo, but also that of individuals who have no close relationship but who are regarded as having descended from the same totemic ancestor. For example, in Australia, there could be no marriage between members of the Emu group in one tribe with the opposite sex in the same group of a tribe a hundred miles away, although the distance between the two made blood ties impossible.

Much effort has been made by students of primitive society to trace the origin of this universal horror of incest. Havelock Ellis and others consider that there is an instinct against the mating of persons of close blood ties. In opposition to this theory is the fact that animals breed freely even when they are of the same blood. For example, rats, rabbits, and squirrels inbreed constantly with no loss of vitality or fertility, and in their mating there is no trace of an incestuous instinct. In the higher animals also we find no such instinct, so that if it should prove that incest among humans meets with instinctive protest, this would be one case where a new instinct has been developed by man. As a matter of fact, we



have records of occasional accidental mating of brothers and sisters who did not know their relationship, and no problem appeared in these rare cases until the parties concerned knew that they were relatives.

Westermarck thinks there is no desire for union among those who have been household comrades, because their familiarity fails to stimulate the sexual impulses. It is a common experience that membership in the same family circle, when blood ties are not involved, does not lead to the indifference Westermarck assumes, and, according to Briffault, primitive people do not feel the repulsion that normally limits sex appeal in our own sophisticated society. Aside from the taboos, there seldom seems to be any feeling of restraint. Sexual selection and discrimination, Briffault insists, play scarcely any part in limiting attraction and determining marriage among people of simple culture.\* Malinowski sees a social purpose in the prohibition of incestuous relationships. Incest, by upsetting the age distinction, mixing up generations, disorganizing sentiment and exchanging roles that properly belong to the various members of the family, would lead to disturbances within the family upon which rests the responsibility of child training.† Unquestionably, incest violently antagonizes family stability. In the occasional case of incest in modern life it is usual to find that even the semblance of family organization that existed prior to the mating has been destroyed by the unnatural association. Of course, it is true that in such cases we seldom are dealing with individuals free from psychopathic traits. Hankins, who agrees with Malinowski, adds the comment that he believes the strength of male jealousy played an important role and tended to check promiscuity and inbreeding.‡

Briffault sees in exogamy also an attempt to establish the stability of society. Since the kinship and descent are traced through the mother, the maternal relation becomes the predominating one, and it would therefore be contrary to tribal security to allow the women to go after strange men. They

\* R. Briffault, *The Mothers*, Vol. 1, pp. 242 and 245.

† B. Malinowski, *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*, p. 251.

‡ F. Hankins, *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, p. 689.



must not leave the group, and the men that join them are looked upon as accessions of economic and protective value, but they are not regarded as an integral part of the group. The maternal group can continue as a self-existing unit only so long as they remain together. This would lead to opposition to marriage outside the group. Exogamy between tribes is rarely found. Tribes are usually matriarchal, and within each tribe such groups are exogamous.\*

It is interesting to find a widespread taboo against intimacy between the mother-in-law and her daughter's husband. Many ingenious reasons have been advanced for this, and although we cannot know how it came about, it does adjust a problem in savage society which in some families of our own time is especially perplexing. Students of savage life bear testimony that ordinarily the family association is a happy one, in view of the difficulties of adjustment now so common in contemporary family contacts.

#### THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN FAMILY LIFE

The family life of our early Atlantic coast settlements was, of course, European and for the most part English in tradition but there were wide variations in the geographical and industrial conditions and more especially in the customs and traditions of the different settlements. The introduction of slavery influenced the South, while the Puritan tradition impressed itself on the family life of the North Atlantic settlements. When the western territory was opened the culture in the new territory was not entirely imitative of the earlier settlements. Not only was there a mingling of influences from the Northern, Middle Atlantic, and Southern states, but other qualities were brought about by the necessity of adaptation to the conditions of frontier life.

The general trend toward a more democratic family life than that maintained in the older localities in part explains the greater educational and political opportunities that were given women as the frontier pushed toward the Pacific coast. Even now differences in educational theory and practice are shown by the prevalence in the East of the segregated col-

\* R. Briffault, *The Mothers*, p. 250.

leges exclusively for men or for women, while the states west of the Alleghenies are thoroughly committed to coeducation. Although economic conditions had some part in bringing about this change, it represents primarily an elemental divergence in the educational atmosphere produced by social customs that looked with favor upon greater equality for women.

The Civil War had a disturbing effect on family relationships in both North and South. On the whole, it multiplied opportunities for women, especially along professional and political lines. The factory system which developed in the North influenced family life by drawing rural families to manufacturing centers, and by putting a premium upon child labor.

Various unorthodox ideas regarding marriage and family life have been advocated and to some extent practiced in the history of American family experience. One of the most striking and successful of these unconventional types was the plural marriage system of the Mormons which had the temporary advantage of a large territory to populate and a religious motive to lessen the dangers of polygamy. It was beginning to pass, however, when more adverse legislation was forced upon the Mormons by a national public opinion that was intolerant of such a radical departure from the accepted matrimonial status.

The World War not only had a disturbing and stimulating influence upon contemporary family conditions, it led many to marry carelessly and prematurely. A large proportion of these matrimonial alliances were not satisfactory, as was soon demonstrated by the increase in the divorce rate which reveals the abnormal situation of this period. The war opened up for women a still wider passageway into every phase of industrial and educational opportunity. The consequences of this are the greater respect for women which came from their more numerous employment in diversified lines of industry, and the heightening of ambition among women which caused some of them to turn away from the possibility of marriage in order to follow their chosen career. The war also accelerated the disappearance of the economic motive which in earlier times made mat-

rimony woman's chief occupation. To some extent the war weakened the former sex taboo and in some classes unsettled the code of conduct which had long been established among those who maintained high moral standards. The results of the war still persist and it is much too soon for the student of the family to state with certainty what its general effect will be upon family practices and upon the matrimonial code in this country.

#### WOMAN'S MOVEMENT AND THE FAMILY

In recent social trends nothing has more significance for the family than the increasing freedom of woman and her greater economic independence. Already her advancement in personal opportunity and vocational choice has profoundly influenced marriage and the family, but not yet has the whole force of these changing social conditions shown itself either in matrimony or in the home. Although woman has profited from these changes, they are not primarily a product of her agitation, since they represent an achievement of greater social intelligence and more just standards, products of an advancing culture. It is true that there have been individuals who have largely escaped the handicaps of being women and who on account of special opportunity or rare genius have obtained freedom and distinction usually possible only to men. Queen Elizabeth, even in the seventeenth century, took advantage of her position to reveal statesmanship equal to that of any of her masculine subjects. Indeed, so marked was her attainment that it has even been suggested that she was a man rather than a woman. A few exceptions, however, resulting from the achievements of individual women beyond the dreams of most of the handicapped sex, do not change the fact that woman's status was distinctly inferior to man's, in law, in opportunity, and most especially in the mores that govern behavior.

Of course, it is true that during the centuries of woman's economic dependence, a great mass of men also found little economic opportunity and only in comparison with the women of their class could they be thought of as fortunate. The conventional position of woman was such as to deny



her equal opportunities with men, thus maintaining in actual fact what was believed to be the inherent superiority of man. As we now look back upon the thinking that accompanied the inequality of the sexes we see that the theories and preachments that defended the subordination of women were rationalizations, in the attempt to find arguments to defend the prevailing convention. Woman's chief handicap was her lack of training. It would be untrue to affirm that she had no preparation for life, but such as she had was exclusively directed to her role of housekeeper and mother. No provision was ordinarily made for any other sort of vocation. The double standard of morals was an expression of man's greater freedom and also of his temptation to use his opportunity to exploit the subordinated woman. The double standard also emphasized the greater biological responsibility placed upon women in reproduction, a fact which still proves a handicap to women in any effort to achieve equality with men.

With the advancement of culture there was bound to come a time when protest would appear against the convention that hampered women, forcing them to accept economic dependence. As might have been expected, this attack on the prevailing complacency came from both men and women, although chiefly from the latter, and had associated with it considerable emotion. Thus was born the Woman's Movement, which among English-speaking people is generally accredited to Mary Wollstonecraft, author of *The Vindication of the Rights of Women*, published in 1772. This forceful book, written in the manner of the eighteenth century, was doubtless inspired by French thought with which the author had had previous contact, but it struck at the very heart of woman's inequality in England and America by attacking her meager opportunity for education and her lack of vocational freedom. As the movement spread, it offered from the first opportunity for the expression of feminine discontent and inferiority feeling. At times this even appeared as conscious antagonism to men, an emotional reaction not difficult to understand when one remembers the experiences of the ambitious girl who felt hampering convention on every side.



The Woman's Movement went forward chiefly along two different lines: an effort to increase educational opportunities for women, and a struggle for political rights. The first made the greater progress, and although the higher education of woman and her professional training met with stubborn opposition, her advance during the nineteenth century was unmistakable. The achievement of greater political rights came more slowly, but it followed necessarily the progress that was made along educational lines. The chief opposition met by the Woman's Movement came from the feeling that it was destructive of family life and would demoralize society. The arguments against the industrial employment of women and their participation in political government now sound absurd, but then they were the honest fears of those who could not tolerate the thought of change.

Although woman's achievement of greater equality and economic independence has not proved a cure-all for every sort of social evil, as was expected by some of the agitators for women's rights, we now know that no movement in the nineteenth century, not excluding the emancipation of the human slave, has had such an influence for social progress or has done so much to lift family life to a higher level. It is true that it has led to restlessness and intolerance of domestic exploitation, but this has chiefly been the consequence of higher standards in marriage and the home. As the artificial handicaps of woman are being pushed aside, there appears all the more clearly the problem she has to face because of her greater part in reproduction. Out of this has emerged what is so generally called the woman's problem, which is popularly expressed in the term, *marriage vs. career*. Genuine and serious as this is, it must not be forgotten that much of the handicap women still face in their social and vocational experiences comes from artificial social inequalities which still persist, as well as from the greater burden that nature has put on the woman as a factor in human survival.

## MARRIED WOMEN AND OUT-OF-THE-HOME EMPLOYMENT

The Industrial Revolution is generally credited with having made a marked change in woman's status. It is true that previously women had worked for wages and the departure was not something entirely new, but with machine industry more and more women were given opportunity to work outside the home. As factory employment developed, the outlet for woman's labor widened, at first on the lower economic levels, but little by little extending into every sort of employment.

According to the census of 1920 there were nearly two million married women in the United States working for wages outside their homes. The increase in the wage employment of women is most impressive. In 1890 there were less than five out of every hundred married women working outside their homes. In 1920 nine out of every hundred were being fully employed in some form of industry. In 1890 the actual number of women thus employed was 560,000. In 1920 there were 1,920,281. During this period women in domestic and personal service increased twelve per cent, while the increase of married women in trade was as great as eighty-eight per cent. The census of 1930, without doubt, will show a still greater increase in the wage employment of women. The World War everywhere affected woman's status, especially in opening new vocational opportunities. The influence of the War on the employment of American women is made clear by the table on page 476. Many studies have been made of the motives of these married women who undertake employment outside the home, and it has been found that economic necessity chiefly accounts for the wage-earning of married women. Although economic need is the primary reason why women leave the home for employment, it must be remembered that some women have a double motive for working, for in addition to the advantages of the wage itself is the desire for an occupation different from that presented by the continual housekeeping. This is not strange, for there is no instinct that either fits woman for homemaking or leads her to desire it. As a consequence, just as soon as custom

## HOW WAR AFFECTS EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

PROPORTION OF WOMEN ON LABOR FORCE OF LEADING WAR AGENT AND IMPLEMENT INDUSTRIES BEFORE, DURING, AND AFTER THE WAR\*

INDUSTRY†	Women per 1000 wage-earners				
	1914	1916	After First Draft‡	After Second Draft‡	1919‡
Iron and steel and their products..	29	33	61	95	94
Lumber and its remanufactures..	21	40	46	94	68
Cars, steam and electric railroads, and railroad repair shops.....	2	2	29	55	16
Stone, clay, and glass products....	39	59	115	155	154
Leather and its finished products..	277	304	307	330	263
Chemicals and allied products....	85	79	98	142	85
Metal and metal products, other than iron and steel.....	150	148	149	178	191
Automobiles, including bodies and parts.....	18	21	44	114	43
Electrical machinery, apparatus, and supplies.....	202	175	214	270	173
Rubber goods.....	205	187	277	354	116
Carriages, wagons, and materials..	15	15	22	45	2
Agricultural implements.....	10	18	15	43	37
Musical instruments.....	77	81	165	260	246
Shipbuilding, including boat- building.....	2	1	6	7	2
Optical goods.....	265	154	327	371	251
Motion picture and photographic apparatus and supplies.....	278	277	303	351	347
Instruments, scientific and pro- fessional.....	156	152	145	171	135
Motor cycles, bicycles, and parts..	20	77	66	98	91
Airplanes, seaplanes, and parts....	5	36	155	186	88
Total.....	65	77	106	139	100

\* *The New Position of Women in American Industry*, Bulletin of The Women's Bureau, No. 12, U. S. Department of Labor, p. 86.

† Industries are arranged in order of importance according to the Census of Manufactures, 1914.

‡ "After first draft" indicates a period of 7 to 8 months after the first draft in February-March, 1918; "after second draft" refers to a period 4 to 5 months after the second draft in October-November, 1918; and 1919 refers to August 1919, nine months after the signing of the armistice.

permitted work outside the home, it was found that many women, even though married, preferred a wage-earning occupation to housekeeping.

EMPLOYED WOMEN AND FAMILY SUPPORT\*  
(Survey of three cities)

City	<i>Ft. Wayne, Ind.</i>	<i>Bridgeport, Conn.</i>	<i>Richmond, Va.</i>
Gainfully employed women	29.6%	32.7%	38.8%
Age of women	28	28	30
Native white	95.1%	75.5%	58.7%
Women responsible for sole support of family	10.5%	10.3%	13.9%
Employed women homemakers responsible for sole support of family	10.2%	12.7%	14.1%
Employed homemakers whose household included children under 10 years of age	20.5%	24.4%	27.7%

\* Compiled from figures given in the pamphlet *Employed Women and Family Support*, published by the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, 1939.

There is also a smaller group of women who take outside employment chiefly because it releases them from the monotony of work they do not like or from the restlessness that comes from not having enough to do within the home. The "farming out" of household services, once the responsibility of the woman head of the house, leaves many women with insufficient responsibility. Some accept the situation and become parasites, practically free from obligations, while others see in the new situation an opportunity to go outside the family and do work that has for them a greater appeal. A portion of such women are ambitious to achieve professional success. From this originates the tension which comes to those who want both to be homemakers and mothers and to carry on careers. The difficulty of reconciling the two different lines of activities is for many a real problem, for which often there is no complete solution. The very fact



that conventions have broken to allow women entrance into every sort of profession has tended to lead to an over-valuing of social prestige and professional distinction among women, thus captivating some who might find their greater happiness by concentrating on motherhood and family life. Dr. Lorine Pruett has made an important contribution, emphasizing the value of part-time work for married women, which permits them to compromise outside careers with family responsibilities. Although this presents managerial difficulties, it already has proved a solution for a considerable number of women, particularly in the city. It is felt by some that the single woman, and even the man, unjustly suffer competition from the married woman who enters employment without economic necessity.

The employment of women as wage-earners has brought forth a multitude of vexing problems, some of them common to male workers and others characteristic only of women, but it is fortunate that as the drudgery of housekeeping has decreased and the task of child care has been partly distributed to schools and other out-of-the-home agencies, there has also been an outlet for the time and thought of the married woman in industry and trade, in an enlarged motherhood brought about by science, disclosing the deeper meanings of childhood, and through opportunities for social service of every conceivable form. No married woman is forced to accept the dilemma of concentration on the family or upon out-of-the-home employment, for she may also use a part of her leisure in helping to lift community standards along any line that seems to her interesting and important. The great value of women's clubs, child study classes, and organizations for personal and community improvement has been demonstrated by the social advances made during recent years.

#### PRESENT TRENDS OF FAMILY LIFE

The American people have become conscious of the disorganization of prevailing family life. It is, of course, possible to exaggerate the significance of this, since in part it is only the freer expression of faults that were concealed in

former times when custom forbade the public admission of family difficulties. It is most unreasonable, however, to suppose that our present situation is entirely due to the greater opportunity for the confession of unsatisfactory family relationships. It is necessary to look to society itself for an explanation of the current disturbances which are so easily seen by the observer of American family life. It is only fair to notice that family unrest exists in greater or less degree in other countries. Apparently, therefore, although the American situation influences the extent of our family disorganization, the experience itself is a worldwide phenomenon, a product of conditions that belong to the modern way of living.

A complete description of American family trends is related to most of the outstanding features of contemporary life. Family experience is increasingly democratic, the members of the home demanding greater self-expression. This is especially noticeable in the reactions of women and children within the family circle. The prolonging of education tends to delay marriage and apparently also to influence the birth rate. The popularizing of contraceptive measures is affecting the birth rate, though some authorities question the extent of their influence upon national reproduction. The evidence will soon be too overwhelming at this point to be longer questioned.

There is also an unmistakable trend, which is more characteristic of city life, toward a smaller amount of family experience. Accompanying this is the tendency of the community in private and public enterprise to take over more and more of the responsibilities for the care of children which once fell exclusively upon the parent. The pressure of tradition, which in the past made motherhood a duty no one disputed, is slightly lessening in some classes and in others has been replaced by the belief that motherhood should be voluntary and represent a mother's desire, rather than an obligation, either political or religious in significance.

Women as a whole are concentrating less upon housekeeping and depending more upon industry for the means of getting rid of unnecessary household functions. For ex-

ample, canning and preserving on a large scale in factories have almost put an end to the canning of vegetables and fruits by individual housekeepers. Most city people buy much of their food supply already prepared for eating at grocery and food shops. These changes increase the leisure of women, while, on the other hand, the greater demands of modern life, especially the universal desire for recreation, make the working day seem longer to most modern women than it did to their mothers who had to do many more household tasks.

Particularly in cities, households are adapting themselves to conditions that come from the working of married women outside the home. Their motives for doing this are various. Sometimes it is a purely economic matter, at other times the woman prefers to carry on the kind of work she finds in industry or a profession, rather than devote herself primarily to housekeeping. Her career before marriage may explain this preference. On the other hand, some women find the monotony of household work far less attractive than employment that brings them in contact with many people or has a large competitive element. In such homes the coming of a child often creates a problem that is difficult to solve unless the mother changes her attitude or by good fortune discovers some person or institution to undertake her motherly responsibilities.

Perhaps the most striking changes in family experience have to do with the children. Much of this is so recent that its fullness of meaning can be more clearly seen by the next generation than by the present. Parents give children greater opportunities for self-expression and the modern child usually separates himself from the family authority earlier and with less difficulty than in former times.

Children generally have more luxury than was common even a generation ago, and while still very young come under the influence of commercial recreation. Much less than in other generations do they depend upon their own resources for amusement and as a rule it can be said that they are more passive in their play than they used to be. As little children they are introduced to professional games and readily become spectators, as do their parents. The dangers

inherent in these changes that have come about would be far greater were it not for the timely coming of such organizations as the Boy and Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Big Brother movements, and others that place in the life of the child the teaching that stern necessity gave formerly by making him create his own forms of amusement.

These changes that are so apparent on the surface of present-day family life are intensified by the urbanizing of culture. The family of the past was more adapted to rural life than to the city. Indeed the function of the family necessarily decreased under urban conditions of life. This is especially true where congestion prevails, and explains why transportation has a decided effect upon the characteristics of family life. The city tends to reduce the extent of the family's function and to bring it into competition with schools and other organizations, which, although trying to assist the family, necessarily come to compete with it. The city also tends to separate family interests by permitting each member to have opportunity to develop his interests by himself so that the common fund of family experience is at a minimum.

Many family groups are found in the apartment areas of our cities, in which home is little more than a place for shelter, food-getting, and the bickerings of those who without intimate contact or sympathy are forced to contribute their earnings to the common enterprise. Adding to the confusion of present family life, a sordid materialism exists among many which smothers the greater values that come out of family experience.

#### PARENTS AND CHILDREN

New conditions confront parents. To be sure, our period is not the first when this has been true, but it is doubtful if ever before parents have faced such a rapid reforming of their relationships with their children. No progress can be made in dealing with problems of parenthood and marriage unless the practical significance of this new situation be regarded seriously. It is not true, however, as so often people seem to think, that the value of parental influence has



decreased, for there never was a time when the role parents must play if they are successful was more important than now. The possibilities of the parenthood relationship have been increased by the changing conditions of home and marriage.

The change has occurred because family interests are no longer self-sustained. This perhaps is a forward step in human development. Even two generations ago, the family influence perpetuated itself as a matter of course and there was little need of any deliberate attempt by parents to prepare their children either for marriage or for parenthood. The necessary training, at least such as seemed at that time adequate, was to a large extent in good family life a by-product of everyday experience. The common interests of parents and children gave to family life a unity and a sharing of experience which naturally perpetuated family traditions. So long as there existed a cultural routine which carried along with it an impulse toward marriage and a preparation for the responsibilities of parenthood, marriage became the goal toward which the adolescent directed his imagination. It is true that some married prematurely and that others were denied opportunity ever to reach the goal which had drawn forth fancy and determination.

Cultural régime, or the social force of the everyday manner of living, also safeguarded the obligations of parenthood. Public opinion frowned quickly upon the indifferent parent, for society clearly recognized in the untrained child a menace to the community. Thus social experience was like the slow-moving glacier which carries along with it great masses of rock. When the glacier begins to melt it no longer transports, and as the water flows away the masses of rock remain as a mark of its course. Something like this has happened with our present culture. It no longer automatically carries along marriage and parenthood interests.

The behavior of parents also was in the past largely standardized by common opinion. Children were trained essentially as animals are. The great problem of the parent was to teach obedience, using fear as a motive. Not only was the child to be seen and not heard; he was expected in

every way to keep in the background and observe the instructions of his elders.

All of these one-time well-established attitudes have slipped. Marriage is by no means the unrivaled goal of even adolescent daydreaming. The obligations of parenthood are neither universally accepted nor is parenthood itself regarded as the normal product of marriage. It is the pleasure-philosophy which modern science has done so much to establish that has disarranged the cultural routine just as the sunshine turns glacial ice into the mountain stream.

Obviously the changes are the natural consequence of the different way in which we live as compared with our fathers, and there cannot be any hope in attempting to turn back to the easier régime of cultural routine.

#### FAMILY LIFE AND MODERN PLEASURE-SEEKING

Marriage and the family are not alone in their present predicament; they are merely the last to succumb to a prevailing philosophy which is slowly changing every institution and has at last affected them. The luxuries made possible by science and machine production have encouraged a direct drive for happiness which is in our time a marked social characteristic. Neither marriage nor the home has been adjusted to this demand for predominant pleasure and they are suffering because of their close ties with former traditions. Many young people, despite their being impelled toward marriage as a general rule, looking at it against a background of the pleasurable experiences they constantly enjoy, express doubt, insist on experiment, show restlessness, and are quick to pronounce matrimony a failure. They demand much of marriage and easily feel disappointment if the pleasure yield is less than they had anticipated. If youths are demanding immediate returns in matrimony they are only logically extending the attitude of their elders into a new field where we who are older have continued, at variance with our general attitude, the traditions and routine which have protected family interests from the full competition of pleasurable undertakings.

Parenthood suffers the same difficulty as marriage. Many

times parent and child find it difficult to pull together. Irresponsibility on the part of fathers and mothers who are glad to escape all but a minimum of parental obligations, and an increase of incompatibility between even the most conscientious and affectionate parents and children bear witness to the hazards of parenthood.

The prevailing ideas of marriage and parenthood are outgrowths of social experience. At a time when pleasure holds so large a place in our thinking as it does today, marriage and parenthood must be as far as possible brought into accord with the current atmosphere of life. Parents still have the largest opportunity to bring this about. It is they, to a large extent, who have led their children to conceive life in such pleasurable terms. They have accomplished this not by intent but by example and unpremeditated suggestion. Our children have taken over our philosophy of life and are merely demanding that marriage and parenthood yield pleasure just as other experiences do.

So long as homes exist at all parents will continue to have the first and largest chance to influence personality. If they create home atmosphere which demonstrates that marriage and parenthood are supremely satisfying to human desires they will give to their children much the same attitude toward matrimony and child-bearing which by sense of duty and cultural routine came to the parents, but if family conditions are devoid of genuine satisfaction the children will be the first to detect the actual situation and will become hesitant to enter upon parenthood. Indeed if their code permits they may even sidestep conventional marriage in the endeavor to take its pleasures of intimacy without its limitations and obligations.

At present there is an unmistakable trend on the part of many parents to release themselves from the habits and routine which have so long been connected with family life. The ominous element in this is the confession it makes that home values are not appreciated, and that their worth diminishes for many as soon as they are brought in competition with pleasures and satisfactions that make the contrasts more apparent. In other words, the attack on the family is an outflow of our manner of living and only those

parents who can give their children everyday evidences of home satisfactions can do much to build up wholesome ideas of marriage and parenthood.

Since the family tradition no longer maintains itself and there is great need of educational effort outside the family to conserve the home, thoughtful parents or individuals who realize the social importance of family life must encourage the development of special training for marriage and for parenthood. Public opinion also needs to develop a more genuine interest in the family. Much of the attack on the home comes not from the pleasure-philosophy so much as from a misdirecting of its present trend.

#### THE COMPANIONATE

The companionate is a marriage based upon the deliberate intention of not having children.\* It has come about from the widespread confidence in the use of contraceptives as a means of controlling births. From a social point of view it is perhaps best described as an arrested family attempting to sidestep the obligations that were formerly taken for granted in marriage. Although present social conditions have much to do with the growth of this new attitude toward marriage, it is, of course, unreasonable to suppose that in former times there were no individuals who would have preferred the companionate form of marriage or who attempted to avoid the responsibilities attendant upon having children. Nevertheless the companionate illustrates the present trend and the change of emphasis which has made family experience of less significance to society and of more meaning to the individual who interprets it as a means of personal happiness rather than as a social or religious institution.

A companionate marriage is often merely a temporary program for couples expecting, as soon as economic circumstances become easier, to have children. In many instances this is what finally occurs although in others the companionate remains permanent and perhaps it may never

\* Recently the term has been inaccurately used as a synonym for trial marriage.



be known whether children could have been had in the first years of marriage or not. The companionate program does not always work out so well as the couple have theoretically assumed it would, for sometimes the family is switched to the orthodox form by the unexpected coming of children. Greater satisfactions frequently come from the new type of experience than were found possible in that which had been planned for, since with the coming of the child interests are awakened which change the entire philosophy of life.

At present in legislation affecting family life and in general discussion with reference to the home, no distinction is made between the orthodox and the companionate form of family association, although it is clear that from a social point of view the two types are radically different.

In all discussion of the home which remains childless it is necessary to keep in mind how much there is in our present manner of living that tends to encourage the less responsible type of family program. Children are expensive in both time and money, and seem to some, particularly to wives who have embarked upon a professional career, a handicap too risky to assume. The new conditions of life add to the problem of child-training and demand a superior type of parenthood equal to the present task, for society is increasingly awake to the social mischief that comes out of the home where parents are careless and inefficient, and growing public opinion insists that parents live up to their obligations. As a consequence many who do not desire to assume an undertaking which is likely to require so much of their time and thought either postpone or give up entirely the idea of having children.

On the other hand, there are persons who, were they not free to marry and remain childless, would feel that they had no moral right to enter matrimony, since it is their belief that because of a questionable family strain or some other personal situation they have not the right to bring children into the world. It is evident that the companionate has become the rival of orthodox marriage and that society will soon feel the necessity of doing everything possible to encourage more responsible types of family experience on the part of those qualified to have children.

The possibility of maintaining a companionate marriage provides the opportunity for an experimental union but the two types of mating have nothing else in common save their dependence upon successful use of contraceptive methods. It is, however, not strange that with the coming of the companionate there should be a revival of agitation for trial union. There is, however, in no relationship such inherent hostility to the idea of trial as in the emotions that lead toward mating. The very thought of regarding the union as an experiment to be tested is out of accord with normal sentiment. The most sophisticated and radical person in his code of behavior recognizes the distinction between promiscuity and marriage, and seldom does he take seriously an experimental union. The establishment of trial marriage requires more than the changing of our social code; the dispositions of men and women must also be altered. The difficulties involved in any form of experimental matrimony are discussed by one of the authors in his *Marriage Crisis*.

#### CAUSES OF DIVORCE

A statistical study of the grounds for divorce gives little insight into the actual causes. Grounds provided by legislation represent the means by which unsatisfactory marriage associations can be dissolved. Whatever the actual cause of the trouble, if relief is to be had, a legal cause must be found. This does not necessarily have any real connection with the source of difficulty. The actual causes of divorce can be determined only by analysis of the marriage careers of those who seek to be permanently separated from each other.

Every study of matrimonial unhappiness in an effort to get at the real basis of the trouble brings out clearly the fact that matrimony tests character and that its failures are primarily evidences of personal unfitness of one or both of the persons married. Tied up with divorce are all the social evils of the period, recklessness, selfishness, faults characteristic of personality, unfaithfulness, love of luxury, incompatibility of interests, and social irresponsibility.

In a situation so complex, where the consequences largely flow out from habits that express personality defects or from social conditions that disclose unwholesome trends in modern life, only slight advantage in dealing with divorce can come from legislation. To insist upon individuals living together, though fundamentally unhappy, seems to an increasing number of serious-minded men and women nothing less than immoral. On the other hand, easy divorce laws put a premium upon matrimonial recklessness and are used by some as a means of having a series of marriages, each of which represents primarily a satisfaction of physical passion and is not expected to become a permanent relationship.

#### CONSERVING THE HOME

It is encouraging to see a growth of public opinion which in its desire to protect the family is demanding higher standards of recreation, but this is only a step in the right direction. Business itself needs to be curbed when it shows indifference, as it frequently does, to the values of the home. Every worker is either a parent or a potential parent. Many there are who if they were not checked by public opinion, in their craze for wealth-getting, would willingly have a mass of efficient *robots* that could work and reproduce but would be destitute of the parenthood ambitions that produce a home.

When parents succeed in bringing their children into fellowship, this lessens the tension that so often now exists and leads the child to discount the joys possible to home life. To the parent also belongs the task of giving information that will later contribute in the life of the child to successful marriage and parenthood. Many a parent who considers it a disgrace to have the child unsuccessful in business or a failure in education takes lightly his son's or daughter's avoidance of responsibility in marriage, unwillingness to bear children, or inability to train children successfully. Matrimonial or parenthood disaster is the supreme failure: were it not that we are deceived by lesser values this would always be recognized.

NUMBER OF DIVORCES PER 1000 OF TOTAL POPULATION, AND NUMBER PER 100 MARRIAGES PERFORMED,  
BY SINGLE YEARS: 1887 TO 1935\*

Year	Divorces			Year	Population†	Divorces		
	Number	Per 1000 of Total Population	Per 100 Marriages Performed‡			Number	Per 1000 of Total Population	Per 100 Marriages Performed‡
1935.....	218,000 <sup>o</sup>	1.66	16.3	1910.....	92,267,080	83,045	0.90	8.8
1934.....	204,000	1.61	15.7	1909.....	90,601,354	79,671	0.88	8.9
1933.....	165,000	1.31	15.0	1908.....	89,073,360	76,852	0.86	9.0
1932.....	125,770,000	1.28	16.3	1907.....	87,455,366	76,571	0.88	8.2
1931.....	124,974,000	1.48	17.3	1906.....	83,941,510	72,062	0.86	8.2
1930.....	124,113,000	1.50	17.0	1905.....	82,574,695	67,976	0.82	8.2
1929.....	123,091,000	1.66	16.3	1904.....	81,261,856	66,199	0.81	8.2
1928.....	120,013,000	1.63	16.6	1903.....	79,900,389	64,925	0.81	8.0
1927.....	118,628,000	1.62	16.0	1902.....	78,376,436	61,480	0.78	8.0
1926.....	117,136,000	1.54	15.0	1901.....	77,274,967	60,984	0.79	8.2
1925.....	115,378,000	1.52	14.8	1900.....	75,994,575	55,751	0.73	7.9
1924.....	113,727,000	1.50	14.4	1899.....	74,680,889	51,437	0.69	7.7
1923.....	111,603,000	1.48	13.4	1898.....	73,385,203	47,849	0.65	7.4
1922.....	109,893,000	1.35	13.1	1897.....	72,080,517	44,699	0.62	7.0
1921.....	108,445,000	1.47	13.7	1896.....	70,775,831	42,937	0.61	6.8
1920.....	106,422,000	1.60	13.4	1895.....	69,471,145	40,387	0.58	6.5
1919.....	105,093,005	1.35	12.3	1894.....	68,166,458	37,568	0.55	6.4
1918.....	103,587,955	1.12	11.6	1893.....	66,861,772	37,468	0.56	6.2
1917.....	102,172,845	1.20	10.6	1892.....	65,557,086	36,579	0.56	6.1
1916.....	100,757,735	1.13	10.6	1891.....	64,252,400	35,540	0.55	6.0
1915.....	99,342,625	1.05	10.4	1890.....	62,947,714	33,461	0.53	5.9
1914.....	97,927,516	1.03	9.8	1889.....	61,375,603	31,735	0.52	5.7
1913.....	96,512,407	0.95	8.9	1888.....	60,128,957	28,669	0.48	5.4
1912.....	95,097,296	0.99	9.4	1887.....	58,882,310	27,919	0.47	5.5
1911.....	93,682,169	0.95	9.3					

\* Marriage and Divorce, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington.

† Estimated population as of July 1 of each year. For years prior to 1907 the population of those countries for which no divorce returns were received is omitted.

‡ For the years prior to 1907 the ratio of divorces to marriages is based on the respective rates per 1000 of the population rather than on the reported numbers of divorces and marriages, since the latter are not quite complete for these earlier years.

<sup>o</sup> Estimated.

§ Including estimate of divorces for 95 counties which failed to make returns for 1916.



## LEGISLATION

Legislation has an important influence on marriage, and, as one would expect, there has been considerable agitation for changes in laws relating to the family. For many years a favorite method of attacking the divorce problem has been agitation for more strict regulation. Some have sought a uniform divorce law, bringing all the states under one common system for the purpose of eliminating the uncertainty that now exists regarding matrimonial status when divorces granted in one state are not recognized as binding in another, while others have advocated federal legislation with the intention of making divorce more difficult to get in all the states.

Legislation affecting the family falls naturally into three groups. In one are the laws that attempt to define the family status and to lift the marriage level. Here are centered efforts to regulate more carefully the issuing of the marriage license, requiring a length of time between the announcement of the intention to marry and the issuance of the license, increasing the minimum age and making it necessary that minors receive the consent of parents, demanding the personal appearance of both candidates for matrimony when the license is issued, and raising the mental and physical qualifications for marriage. Here falls legislation attempting to prevent the marriage of those who have venereal disease, tuberculosis, mental unsoundness, previous pregnancy, and unchastity. Richmond and Hall have shown us that the problem of legislation is heightened by one of administration, that even such laws as we have are often laxly enforced and therefore fail of their purposes.\*

A second group of laws that vitally affect the family life and marriage consists of legislation that influences industry, health, and especially taxation. A great quantity of community irresponsibility and social exploitation emerges in the poverty, the low standards, the ignorance, and the childlessness that hamper normal standards of family life. For example, it is contended by some that the income tax as it operates upon the middle class influences the birth

\* Mary Richmond and S. S. Hall, *Marriage and the State*.

rate.\* The third group is made up of laws relating to divorce. In spite of aggressive efforts to tighten the divorce law, the general trend seems at present to be toward easier rather than more difficult divorce laws.

Although some reformers persist in thinking that lax legislation is the cause of our family disorganization, students of the problem are less and less inclined to look to law, except so far as it influences education and general social conditions favorable to happy marriage, as a means of solving our divorce problem. The great variation that now exists in the laws of the several states regarding divorce and in the decisions of the courts leads to complications that are both serious and absurd. But, on the other hand, the laws reflect great differences in the thinking of our population and reveal how difficult it would be to enact any national legislation that would do justice to the great differences in thought regarding divorce in various sections of our country.

Very recently a noticeable change has come into the attitude of persons who are anxious to prevent family disorganization. They are turning more and more to various sorts of educational efforts to improve family life and to reduce the hazards of matrimony and are less inclined to legislate against divorce. This is found in the churches as well as in the general population. It is a wiser attack, because divorce is less an evil in itself than an expression of social ills. The real difficulty is family disorganization. It may be true that laws making divorce easy lessen matrimonial tolerance but it is just as true that a stringent law forces concealment of family problems leading to most unwholesome family relationships. Roughly, the divorce rate measures the present hazards of matrimony and it challenges social statesmanship to provide the training, the guidance, and the thinking which will make a successful marriage easier to achieve.

#### FAMILY DISORGANIZATION

There is a general impression that social experience in this country at the present time is tending to make marriage

\* R. H. Johnson, "Motivation of Child-Bearing," *Eugenical News*, November, 1927.

success more difficult. This may well be true but it is unfair to compare the present with the past because never before was there opportunity for the unhappy individual to express his dissatisfaction without a loss of social status that discouraged his admission of infelicity. The very fact that modern life travels on a plane of complex experience would seem to justify the belief that marriage success is becoming more difficult than once it was.

It must be remembered that there has been very little deliberate attempt to conserve the family and that once society makes a serious endeavor to use its resources for family betterment we may find that progress can be made as readily here as it has been made in matters of health. Before there is any possibility of this there must be changes of attitude on the part of the public and the social meaning of marriage must have more consideration. If the state sees in the broken family the threatening dissolution of a legal status, he who looks at the difficulty from a social or personal viewpoint recognizes that it represents failure of adjustment. This harks back to the personalities involved and to environmental circumstances. A diagnosis is called for and an investigation of both the causes of trouble and the resources available for the reconstruction of family satisfaction. When a psychiatrist can take a family situation that has been publicly exploited in the press and the court for several years, becoming nothing less than a public scandal, and, in spite of all the bitterness engendered by long-continued litigation, bring the parties concerned to a reconciliation and new adjustment equal to the test of years of living together, a glimpse is given of the resources usually available in any marriage that has started honestly as a response to genuine attraction.

The analysis of a family difficulty is not like that connected with any other form of maladjustment. It involves not only uncovering the points of tension but getting behind them into the qualities of character of the various persons concerned. It is a study in a special form of social interaction. Although elements are involved different from those in any other conventional relationships, the essential forms of interaction remain the same. Divorce registers

the failure of social adjustment, because of either an improper choice of mate, or inability to meet the demands of matrimonial relationships, or both. The significance of stress from the outside must not be forgotten, since the marriage may fail under the strain of circumstances. Just as unemployment or ill health or the interference of relatives may lead one man to suicide, another to business failure, and a third to nervous breakdown, environmental situations may make a husband or a wife unable to meet matrimonial testing. Analysis of any family difficulty must include the community conditions and every other important source of influences that appear in the interactions of those within the family group.

#### EDUCATION FOR MARRIAGE

In dealing with divorce as an expression of matrimonial failure, we must have recourse to education as the one satisfactory method of doing what we can to conserve family relationships. It is fortunate that in so many quarters earnest effort is being made to get schools and colleges to undertake instruction regarding the obligations and privileges of marriage and parenthood. Thus far this movement has developed more with reference to the problems of educating the child in the home than of training the individual for marriage. There was a time when this latter type of educational preparation was less needed since the home in those days had so large an influence in building up attitudes that made for matrimonial success. It was also true that the greater economic function of the family in this earlier period lessened the risk of divorce and, to a smaller extent, of family unhappiness.

There is the greatest need of popularizing such information as proves advantageous to those who marry and become parents. At present we have magazines and newspapers, books, lectures and extension courses, and, most important of all, instruction under the authority of our higher institutions of learning, which attempt to make marriage and parenthood socially more efficient. It is not to be supposed that any means of instruction can eliminate the element of



necessary hazard which is inherent in the coming-together for life of two distinct personalities. Surely, however, much can be done to relieve the strain which is making family unhappiness one of the major social problems of contemporary American life.

Such instruction must not be conceived in narrow terms. It is not primarily sex information that children and youth need, useful as such help proves, but knowledge that prepares for the strain of everyday comradeship and aids in the establishment of just relationships between men and women. The young man needs this fully as much as the young woman, for in no small measure it is his misunderstanding of the new conditions of matrimonial happiness that leads to family difficulties and disappointments. The parent has the greatest opportunity to start this training early and by giving the boy and the girl the beginning of such teaching to lay a foundation upon which later instruction may be built.

At present we occasionally have experimental efforts to construct suitable programs for the teaching of those newly married or about to be married, and to find the best methods of giving useful information. Although the idea is new, there appears to be, especially in colleges, a great and growing interest in pre-marriage instruction. It is easier to see the need of such instruction and to stimulate an interest on the part of thoughtful youth than it is to know what to teach and how. It is at least clear that youth will not respond to discussion of family pathology. They seek affirmatives and are unwilling to listen to abstract treatment that does not come to close grips with the problems involved. They perhaps overestimate the significance of physical sex, but only because in the pleasure philosophy of the day sex looms so large.

Parenthood training is progressing more quickly than pre-marriage education. The material to be taught is better determined, the need of this training more widely appreciated. The rapid increase in the circulation of various magazines on child care, and the wide scale of popular handbooks for parents show how the idea of training for parent-

hood is spreading. A strategic place for both marriage and parenthood instruction is in our theological seminaries, since the clergyman who contributes his part to the conservation of family life must be well-grounded in science. No one has greater need of insight regarding marriage and family problems than the preacher. It is also imperative that the teacher and the school administrator, especially, have a more conscious knowledge of family needs, for the educator easily antagonizes the home when, in specializing, he forgets the wide human purpose of study and allows public instruction to neglect the interests of the family. If thoughtful parents see the importance of making the family influence felt, we shall soon see in both religious and secular education more attention given to instruction for marriage and parenthood.

#### FAMILY AND THE FUTURE

All students of the American family detect in its present situation a transition from former social conditions to those now prevailing in American life. Although contemporary conditions are confusing, there appears to be a rather general consensus as to the major trends in this changing of marriage and the home. The family is moving toward greater emphasis upon personal satisfactions and is becoming relatively less dependent upon economic pressure and social coercion for its existence than has recently been true. As marriage and family life are adjusting themselves to modern culture, opportunity is provided for the expression of personal attitudes and for experiment in achieving happiness by other ways than by conventional marriage. Much of this is of temporary character and is rather a substitute during the postponement of marriage than a genuine attempt to displace standard marriage. Freedom always brings variation, and in a period of transition we must expect some departure from what is generally considered normal family experience.

There is little that can be absolutely new since experience in the past has permitted every possible variation in mating but the effort to revive and re-adapt earlier forms of mar-

riage relationships has already convinced many experimenters that marriage is less a coercion than an achievement that has issued out of human need.

In spite of the great quantity of individual failure in matrimony, the form of marriage has not been disturbed by modern culture. Free love, trial marriage, polyandry, and polygyny are not becoming competitors of conventional marriage. On the other hand, changes are clearly appearing in the quality of family experience. The family does not undertake so many social obligations as in the past but instead the area exclusively belonging to the family is less and many former activities are being turned over to other social organizations. With this appears to go an increasing emphasis upon affection as the proper basis of the family. There is also an unmistakable trend toward giving those who enter family life adequate preparation for meeting their new responsibilities. This is in part the result of a greater recognition of the hazards ever present in any sort of mating on the human level. With the advancement of culture these hazards are increased, requiring, if a considerable degree of success is to be obtained, that there be opportunity for education for marriage. The need of providing this is being more and more recognized by our schools, colleges, and churches. Important as this will prove, it will not remove all the hazards of modern marriage but it will give the right-minded greater resources for successful matrimony. The first effort to give the family the benefits of modern culture appeared in the movement to improve the physical care of children. During the last decade interest in child training and education for parenthood developed, and now we are beginning to deal with the primary problem, marriage itself. Reconstruction of the family cannot be by any regression. The family of the past was good only in so far as it was in accord with the needs of former culture. The family of the future must prove itself equally by its adaptation. There is every reason to believe that the present trend is toward making personal satisfaction in familial experience the security of the home.

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## CHAPTER XXIV

### LEARNING AND EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE

Education must not be conceived as a modern invention. There is a sense in which we can say that education of some sort has always accompanied social life. In an elementary form instruction may be found among the higher animals. Although there is controversy among the naturalists as to whether this should be regarded as a low form of education, there is no doubt that the most primitive human society known to science has had education even though it has been of the most meager kind. If it were not for the fading-away of knowledge as we look back toward prehistoric society, doubtless we should be able to trace from its simplest human beginnings what now has become our complicated system of education.

We can go farther, however, in our emphasis of the social value of education than to emphasize the importance of formal instruction, for social contact is itself an educating process. We cannot come in relationship with others without at once receiving from them stimulations that modify our behavior and enter into our character. Consequently we now regard family influence as the starting point of the educational career. Even though parents make no deliberate effort to instruct their children, they cannot maintain contact or care for their young without imparting knowledge, building up habits, and putting their imprint upon the emotional life of their children.

As culture accumulates, society demands more than the haphazard instruction either of the family or of the larger contacts with persons in the ordinary affairs of life. Cultural values must be maintained and preparation becomes necessary for the satisfactory living together of the citizens of the state. As was pointed out by John Fiske, the greater the offspring's need of opportunity to acquire through environmental influences the necessary preparation for life, the longer the infancy period which permits richness of instruction. As it advances society soon arrives at the point

where it becomes conscious of its possessions and of the need of building up habits and attitudes that will enable the young to appreciate and maintain the culture of the time. In this way the school develops as the means of formal instruction.

The strongest testimony to the social significance of the school today is the desire of propagandists to obtain if possible an opportunity to use the schools to extend their purposes. It is evident to all who undertake to mould public opinion that the school is our chief culture-making institution, but we sometimes forget that the schools do not monopolize modern instruction. From the movies, the newspapers, and all sources of interest and contact come influences that operate as educational forces, but the schools are, in spite of their competition, preeminent.

#### DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION

It is easy for a simple type of society to be democratic. Although, as we have already noticed, all savage society is by no means democratic, among people of primitive culture we frequently find groups that are both democratic and socially successful. The people in their intimate contacts maintain pleasant relationships, a brotherhood strong in spite of its crudeness.

With the elaboration of culture, democracy is not easy to maintain. As the culture becomes complicated, developing artificial obstacles to equality and mutual understanding, so many interests are represented that a democratic civilization has to maintain itself by effort and necessarily depends primarily upon the schools. No democracy can remove the hereditary differences between people. In a complex society it is easy for these inherent differences to be exaggerated and for many other distinctions to be developed that hamper democracy. Even when the form of government is essentially democratic, as is true of our own, in its practical working undemocratic characteristics develop. Even legislation passed for the purpose of securing more democratic results often works contrary to expectation. The nomination of candidates for public office by primary election strik-



ingly illustrates a method devised to make government more democratic, which in actual practice often has the opposite result, because the cost of the primary election has proved so great that it is seldom possible for a man without wealth to run for office. This is so apparent in the test of experience that many are advocating a return to the former method which gave such power to party leaders but did permit a poor man to get his place on the ticket.

The American frontier has stamped our educational system with its fundamental characteristic. The free school, open to both sexes, is the product of a people who felt that education is an essential to preservation of democracy. This ideal is expressed in quotations from two founders of the Republic of Texas, which are used on the flyleaf of each official publication of the university of that state. These are :

The benefits of education and of useful knowledge, generally diffused through a community, are essential to the preservation of a free government.—Sam Houston.

Cultivated mind is the guardian genius of Democracy, and while guided and controlled by virtue, the noblest attribute of man. It is the only dictator that freemen acknowledge, and the only security which freemen desire.—Mirabeau B. Lamar.

Even after the growth of democracy following the World War, European nations commonly do not provide free education for all children. Particularly is university education considered a privilege to be exercised only by aristocracy. Children of commoners are expected to be content with trade or vocational education and ideas handed down from above.

The democratic nature of American education is also shown in the local control which is quite generally exercised over the school system. Within recent years there has been a growing tendency for standardization of curricula and standards of teaching throughout the nation, but control has remained very largely in the community with supervision on state lines. The American ideal that each child shall exercise a free choice of occupation has demanded a democratic school system and at the same time has resulted in a greatly enlarged curricula.

Successful democratic life must, under prevailing social conditions, rest upon intelligence and good will. The government based upon democratic principles escapes none of the vexing problems of political life; indeed it adds some that a despotism escapes. As a consequence, in so far as public opinion actually expresses itself, it must needs be intelligent or it forces the government to deal unwisely with the problems that it undertakes to handle. It is especially necessary that the citizenship be intelligent enough to discriminate between trustworthy and unwise leaders. Perhaps democracy runs more risk here than at any other place, because if it cannot make a good choice among those who seek power, it soon becomes the victim of the demagogue and the exploiter. Despotic government can get on even though a great part of its population is extremely ignorant, since the direction of its affairs is in the hands of a limited number who may be highly intelligent persons and who in any case ordinarily disregard the thinking of the mass of people. Thus education is the condition of democracy and in our country it is literally true that the foundation of our culture rests upon the public school system.

Intelligence is only one of the qualities needed to insure democracy. There must also be good will. In practice, good will largely depends upon closeness of contact and the understanding that comes from familiarity of person with person. Here again, schools play the most important part in influencing our democracy. The social value of the school as a means of teaching the young to get on together, to maintain the social code of fairness, is not at all less than its intellectual significance. An aristocratic system of education could provide educational training for the favored with less difficulty than we encounter in our attempt to educate all the people, but its great failure would appear in the building-up of class consciousness which would smother the appearance of superior qualities coming from those outside the group in control.

In so far as we fail to maintain a democratic culture our failure is probably due essentially to the defects in our educational system. Economic conditions operate more and more directly upon children as they grow older, often forc-

ing some whose natural gifts would take them far in an educational career to leave school early for work. On the other hand persons with lesser ability, because of the more favorable circumstances of their parents, are sometimes allowed to drag on an attempt to prolong education through college and even university.

It was this social need to insure education commensurate with ability that led Sumner to argue :

The one thing which justifies popular education for all children is the immense value of men of genius to the society. We have no means of discerning and recognizing, in their early childhood, the ones who have genius. If we could do so it would be a good bargain to pay great sums for them and to educate them at public expense. Our popular education may be justly regarded as a system of selecting them. The pupils retire from the schools when they think that "they do not want any more schooling." Of course thousands withdraw for one who keeps on. It is a very expensive system, and the expense all falls on the taxpayers. The beneficiaries are left entirely free to spend their lives wherever they please. If the system is sound and just it must be so by virtue of some common interest of all the people of the United States in the social services of men of talent and genius in any part of the United States.\*

The Sumnerian idea of education, it will be evident, is that of training a small, but selected, group of leaders who will be thereby equipped to control and direct society. If the potential possessors of genius could be separated from the masses, it would be foolish, he holds, to educate any but these. This, of course, is in direct antithesis of the popular notion that ability is more a matter of training than of innate abilities. This second philosophy found its greatest advocate in Lester F. Ward, a sociologist who grew up on the frontier and who expressed frontier ideals in most of his writing. Ward argued that education must be a matter of imparting information to the masses of people, so that they might all act intelligently. The difference between savages and civilized peoples, he held, is not a matter of capacity, but of accumulation and mastery of knowledge. When knowledge is universal, the conflict between the

\* W. G. Sumner, *Folkways*, p. 628. Quoted by permission of Ginn and Company.

learned and the ignorant will disappear, and the social order will be remade in the light of the knowledge existent. Needless to say, it is the idea of Ward, rather than that of Sumner, which has guided American educational policy.

The trend in our education is toward the equalizing of school opportunity. This motive is behind our child labor laws and compulsory attendance laws. Here also is the explanation of the origin of the state universities which Lester Ward pronounced the supreme achievement of social evolution. In some places, as, for example, in Providence, Rhode Island, the community has provided a special fund to be used for the education of gifted students, who otherwise would be obliged by economic pressure to go to work before they finish high school.

Not all of the educational system is comprised in the ordinary activities of the school. School facilities are used for a large number of evening classes for adults who did not secure adequate education as children or who desire vocational training. Similar classes are set up in many large cities for emigrants who take this means of becoming acquainted with American institutions and customs. There were approximately a million persons enrolled in such schools in 1930. Still other adults attended "short courses" or extension classes or pursued further education through correspondence courses offered by many colleges and universities. At the same time some 450 private correspondence schools offered instruction in the widest range of subjects. Until about 1920, the so-called business college found no dearth of students, but since that date, the number enrolling in such schools has drastically declined.

#### EDUCATION AMONG THE SAVAGES

A visitor to a savage tribe might often be led to the superficial conclusion that in a definite sense there is no formal instruction among savages. However, if he were permitted to visit an initiation he would soon discover that there is a very efficient and systematic method of training by which the older members of the tribe impart, usually to the boy and sometimes to the girl, information and traditions that are



necessary to perpetuate the culture of the group. Merely from the point of view of effective teaching, these initiation rites carried on by savage tribes are extremely interesting. In at least one tribe, the boys were not permitted to return to the village until they had all learned perfectly all the lessons that had been taught them.

In this ceremony we find what we would call moral and civic training, emphasis of patriotism, and the development of group consciousness by story-telling and hero worship.\*

It would be an error, however, to suppose that all the instruction of a formal character among savages takes place at the initiation of the boy or the girl at puberty. Parents also instruct their children and show them how to do the things they must learn if they are to play their part in the life of the people. They are also taught by religious ceremonies, and by the clubs and secret societies that often exist among savage people. The instruction not only provides training in doing the things that are necessary for the getting of food, fighting, making weapons and tools, and constructing houses; it often includes preparation for marriage and less often for parenthood.

#### EDUCATION AS SOCIAL INTERACTION

Education is organized and directed social interaction. Even in the more formal schools, where everything follows a cut-and-dried routine, the material which forms the content of instruction is a product of past social interaction, and the teaching is itself a process of social interaction which reflects the differing status of pupil and instructor. In the progressive schools the interaction is more spontaneous, offering to the children a measure of self-direction. The material taught is allied more closely to contemporary life and is so presented as to draw out individual judgment. The class exercise becomes not so much interaction between teacher and child as between child and child. This contact

\* G. Holdredge and K. Young, "Circumcision Rites among the Pajok," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 29, No. 4, p. 667. Quoted by permission of the American Anthropological Association.

stimulates interest, making the learning process highly productive without the sense of effort more formal instruction generates. The socialized recitation, as it is called, is both more democratic and more creative than the former lesson-testing class period.

In our better schools the idea of permitting the child to work with his fellows in unconstrained interaction has led to project teaching and various cooperative activities, especially in the lower grades. Unfortunately, the new teaching technic is not found to the same extent on the higher ranges of education. The progressive schools have developed a great many extra-curricular enterprises to give children the sense of reality once absent from the school. In England, especially, the traditions that have gathered about games have for many years provided constructive social interaction that has had a marked effect upon the educated Englishman.

#### THE SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

As we have seen, the increasing complexity of society soon brings it to a point where some special educational agency is necessary to carry on instruction. This training of the young becomes so important that it cannot be left to parents or to irresponsible, spasmodic teaching. School training in the more advanced society is often undertaken first for the benefit of a small number of children in favorable circumstances. Once the school starts, however, it slowly extends its function until in time in most modern countries all normal children, both male and female, are required to attend school during a part of their formative period.

The school as an educational agency represents economy and efficiency, as any parent willingly grants who has himself tried to train his child during the years he would ordinarily attend school. It is usually easier to train from ten to twenty children at once since their contact provides a source of stimuli and becomes a means of education. The modern school assumes a task so much more difficult than that belonging either to savage instruction or to an aristocratic system of education that efficiency grows more difficult to attain.

As the family has declined in importance, the school has been called upon to take over much of the training of children. Such things as morality, health habits, recreational patterns, citizenship, participation in social groupings of various sorts are now considered a fundamental and essential part of the instruction given the child by the public school. This change has been accompanied by variation in the manner of discipline of the school child. Corporal punishment is seldom resorted to in the modern school; expulsion almost never. Rather, an effort is made to discover why the child is not interested in school work and to give him instruction which will be interesting as well as valuable. He is much more often studied than switched.

It seems obvious, when we consider movements such as the visiting teacher movement and the behavior clinics developing in certain schools, along with the development of special classes and special forms of education, that the schools are broadening their functions to a marked degree. They are no longer merely for the scholars, they no longer emphasize merely the intellectual aspects of education. They have been faced with the problem of universal education and have recognized that the existence of vast individual differences in learning must make them unbend and devise different methods of meeting these different individuals, if the problem of universal education is to have any solution.

There has also grown up an appreciation of the fact that the schools must take over many of the functions which have previously been left to the family but which the family is finding itself increasingly unable to perform. These functions have often fallen to the clinic, the courts, and the institutions, but they, too, are looking to the schools as the logical place for the study and control of behavior problems.\*

The modern school is not merely a distributing place for culture. It originates culture itself and from it occasionally come elements that are incorporated in the life of the people. These results commonly arise from the planning of the expert who sees social needs farther ahead than the mass of the people. They sometimes originate from the spontaneous expression in the life of the children of the social conditions existing in the group. The most efficient schools would be

\* W. I. Thomas and Dorothy Swain Thomas, *The Child in America*, pp. 271-272. Quoted by permission of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

essentially an instrument of social control by which from time to time new adaptations required by culture would be introduced into the lives of the people by being made a part of the instruction of children. This is the goal toward which progressive education slowly moves. Increasingly our schools are not merely the guardian of past culture, but the medium through which social achievement is made possible.

In many schools we now find civic organizations that furnish opportunity for self-discipline and conscious co-operation of the children. Sometimes these are organized as city governments, and various officers are elected by popular vote, having real functions in the activities of the children. For instance, in the Winnetka school practically every child serves on some committee, having a definite responsibility. These committees undertake such tasks as the beautifying of the schoolground, the planning of the assembly program, and the regulating of traffic. In schools where children share responsibilities it is realized that discipline means something other than repression and that the sense of social responsibility must be built upon the impulses of the child and not imposed by outside authority as something alien to his nature.

From an academic policy of forced participation in the "mental discipline" of the classics, from a rigid control by "discipline of the will," the world of youth and learning has changed to one of individual adjustment in the social order and counsel and guidance in problems of behavior and conformity. Mass production of an academic stereotype is gradually giving way to an individual with equipment in learning, which will make his course in living with other people smoother and more satisfactory. Mutation of the academic folkways, like every change in these basic behavior patterns, has been slow and fraught with criticism and difficulty.

Playing no small part in the recognition of individual need and integrity has been not only a change in curriculum, making available to the student a wider range of academic activity, but also a change in attitude on the part of those entrusted with the task of giving content and understanding to him of his culture through education. While such changes



have been marked, there is a definite desire on the part of many educators to carry the individuation of the student to a still higher level prescribing for him in his academic work nothing other than a bare minimum of tool subjects and letting the remainder of his formal training go the way of his individual desires and interests.

#### EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Although it is impossible to trace from its beginning the making of a personality so as to give to the family or the school its proper credit for the part it has produced, everything points to the conclusion that education now has the greater influence upon social conditions. In the modern period the breaking down of aristocracy and the spread of democracy has come primarily from the increase of intelligence in the mass of people. The changes in our politics, laws, religion, and even our morals have come especially as a result of the extension of information and the increase of educational opportunities for the children of all the people. The United States itself was born in the sweep of a democratic trend which came from a rapid widening of culture. It was one of the first fruits of the intellectual enlightenment which led to the French Revolution and the political democracy of England. In the long run social dynamite is essentially composed of ideas. Fortunately it is also true that the bricks and mortar by which new culture is built up, without the violence of rapid and discordant change, are primarily made of ideas.

On the other hand, although it would be an exaggeration to charge to the failure of education every possible form of social defect, since some are at least in part results of circumstances over which at present man has no control, as for example, earthquake or pestilence, it is nevertheless fair to assume that at the very bottom of nearly every major social problem today we may find the failure of education to accomplish efficiently what society demands of it.

Education does not provide the quick returns often desired by the educator and the agitator, but it remains society's dependable method of making substantial progress.

We learn from sad experience that in a democratic society even legislation cannot go far ahead of the general intelligence. We discover also that the leadership, however high its motives, has to recognize the thinking and feeling of the mass of people. We also find, as society advances, how effective and well organized educational efforts become when they seriously minister to human needs. An example of this is the magnificent record of the east side of New York in the reduction of the mortality of infants. In spite of adverse environmental conditions, the death rate has been brought so low as actually to be less than that found in some of our rural sections. This has been the consequence of well-directed effort to teach mothers to care for their babies and to build up a knowledge on the part of the public of how best to protect the food of the children, especially milk, from infection.

#### THE CONSERVATIVE CHARACTER OF EDUCATION

In spite of the social benefits from education, it is necessary to notice the conservative trend that public education almost always discloses. It is perhaps unfair to go so far as to charge the schools with being always behind human needs, and forced forward only by the pressure put upon them by outside influence.\* According to this group of critics it is the school itself that is chiefly maladjusted. Out of culture come forces that push it into the current of social movement. Educational conservatism is explained by the large function of the school in preserving the culture already in existence. The conservatism of education is also a product of the size of its undertaking and its dependence upon a backward public opinion which is not entirely the result of the failure of formal school instruction. Adults are influenced by other things than merely the lessons they received at school. Even if their attitudes were entirely the outcome of former educational experience, it would be difficult for the school to teach its pupils so as to produce, in the next generation, a public opinion that would welcome the educational changes necessary.

\* A. J. Todd, *Theories of Social Progress*, p. 514.

Under the influence of conservative teachers and administrators schools have often busied themselves almost exclusively with imparting the current values and mores to their students, thereby setting their influence against change of any sort, progressive or not. Under such conditions there is always a "right" answer to any query, and the demand is made that the student learn and repeat that particular answer. Instruction resolves itself largely into passing on the current "stereotypes."

Fundamentally opposed to this notion is the idea that the function of the school is to encourage independent thinking and the habit of intelligent criticism. Such education demands, first of all, an acquaintance with the extant materials relevant to any problem under consideration; but it goes much farther and insists that these materials not only be known, but that they be subjected to the most rigorous examination in the light of present conditions to see how nearly they conform to reality. The test of education, say the followers of this philosophy, is how well it trains students to examine the claims and opinions advanced for acceptance. With such training, the student will wait until all available evidence is assembled before making up his mind; he will refuse to be stamped by oratory or overwhelmed by authority.

The two philosophies are diametrically opposed, of course, and find expression through the eternal fight revolving about "academic freedom." Institutions whose primary function is to preserve values of the past are likely to insist that the school system be operated in terms of the first ideal; while those who are dissatisfied with the present and desire change are insistent that the second is the only philosophy by which the school can be made a vehicle of progress. Usually some sort of compromise is arrived at so that the traditional ideas and values are transmitted and are, at the same time, subjected to some degree of critical examination.

In public education we find therefore both the cultural lag and the cultural push. The lag represents the conservative character of public education. The push appears when we notice that the leading educators are constantly emphasizing the need of innovations and in the end are remark-

ably successful in getting new ideas incorporated in the educational machinery. In concrete educational politics, as the school questions in any community demonstrate, an intermittent struggle goes on between those who are trying to lead the schools forward and those who desire to see them continue as they are. The situation is the same as that which always is found at the point where culture is made, but it comes out most clearly in the work of the school, because education is actually more sensitive to the demands of progress than is the church or the family or the state. Society always gives up its old culture reluctantly and a degree of pressure is usually found when changes are being rapidly made. It also must not be forgotten that social changes are not always advantageous. Even the history of education reveals that steps have been taken which did not lead as expected to greater success.

It is disconcerting to find how frequently educated people have taken the wrong side in social controversy. This has come about primarily because of the class character of educational experience. The difficulty of incorporating science as a part of the curriculum of the English universities is a case in point. The appearance of Gladstone's name among the signatures to a petition presented to Oxford authorities protesting against the attendance of students not members of the Established Church of England is indeed a shock until one reflects that it is merely evidence of the strength of the Tory conditions against which Gladstone in his later career labored. Professor William James, in a commencement address at Harvard, once startled his hearers by declaring that the alumni of that institution had been as often found on the wrong side of public questions as on the right. Wendell Phillips in his famous Phi Beta Kappa address at Harvard, with the eloquence for which he was famed, indicted educational leadership for its blindness to the needs of human progress.

Some of this criticism of education comes from an unreasonable expectation. The schools have so many things to do, they can hardly be expected to take over pioneering efforts, since their burden of social obligations has become excessive. As a rule when new courses of instruction have



been introduced there has not been a corresponding elimination of former undertakings. New studies are added to the curriculum without the removal of those that have ceased to be of value in meeting the needs of modern society. Likewise with reference to various kinds of services rendered by the school, new ones have been incorporated with very little decrease in those previously carried on. As the task of the school is overloaded, its success is hampered and there grows up in self-defense among the authorities responsible for the management of the school an unwillingness to take over new obligations unless they seem imperative.

#### TEACHING AND SOCIAL SELECTION

The teaching profession itself furnishes a special type of social vocation, and one that has in it conditions which may make it a selective process. The teacher is usually called upon to instruct inferiors. He also receives from his position the support of an authoritative system which gives him added power beyond that resulting from his greater maturity and superior attainment. To some extent also teaching provides a way of escape from the more competitive contacts of industrial and commercial occupations. These conditions that necessarily belong to the teaching vocation represent danger for some, since they provide opportunities for persons who crave power, but because of their feeling of inferiority do not desire to compete on equal terms with others. The social contribution of the school is not merely that which comes from things learned; the personality of the teacher himself contributes to the developing character of the child. In so far as the teacher, therefore, becomes a victim of inferiority feelings or a recluse from life, part of the social value of the school is vitiated by the weakness of the instructor.

A selective tendency is also presented by the school in reducing the work of the teacher to a routine and conventional expression. Both the inefficient and the highly original and courageous teachers are likely to get into trouble, the first because of lack of ability and the second by his variation from orthodox procedure. The more powerful

the personality of the second type, the more sure he is to attract attention, even sometimes creating jealousy in his colleagues.

That the school system itself is an instrument of social selection must be kept in mind when one criticizes the conservative character of the school. The teaching profession tends toward conservatism. In a somewhat different form the same tendency toward a conservative attitude shows in the administration of medical practice and even more in law. The creation of a complicated school system which has to carry on a multitude of enterprises leads to organization that, although necessary, somewhat curbs originality and spontaneity. Under such a régime the conforming type of person more easily works upward into leadership, so that it is often true that the administrators of colleges and public school systems are products of a selective influence which advances lovers of power and conforming types of persons. Excess conservatism in our schools is frequently not so much the fault of education as of the educational officials.

#### NEW DEPARTURES IN EDUCATION

The history of public school education in America is a record of a constant increasing of social responsibility. The program that was relatively simple at the beginning of the century has now become elaborate. There has been a steady multiplying of types of work. For example, manual training and domestic science came into the school after their utility had been demonstrated by experimental work in private institutions. Very recently the nursery school or pre-school education has assumed a task in the training of little children that would not have been dreamed of even a decade ago, and already we have agitation to incorporate this new departure in the public school system. Recent advances that have become part of a progressive school system are: special classes for children who deviate from the average; educational testing for the purpose of getting at the native intelligence of the child; and educational research that the school may discover its cost, its faults, and its achievements.

Nothing demonstrates diverse interests of a nation such as the United States better than the large number of subjects taught in the public schools and the differences in the requirements for graduation from schools in different states. Between 1890 and 1928, the number of subjects offered in the secondary schools increased from nine to forty-seven. Most of the new courses are in science, natural and social, and in vocational subjects. Newer subjects found in the secondary schools include economics, agriculture, home economics, manual training, music, shorthand, typewriting, commercial arithmetic, and similar courses. The number of students enrolled in the classics and mathematics, formerly the backbone of the educational system, has steadily declined. This tendency to displace the classical subjects has been slower in the more conservative portions of the nation. Latin and algebra, for example, have more students in the Southeastern states and the lowest percentage of pupils in the Far Western states. Conversely, of the five states with the lowest percentage of pupils enrolled in manual training classes, three are in the Southeast, the other two being Vermont and North Dakota.

A similar expansion in the number of courses and change in their nature is to be noted among the colleges and universities. During the first thirty years of this century, the number of courses offered at Harvard was approximately doubled; at Princeton, the number increased from 253 to 674; while at the University of Wisconsin, the change was from 434 to 1143. At the same time, university students seem to be choosing courses with promise of more immediate applicability. A study of the enrollment of students at the University of Chicago between 1900 and 1930 by subjects displays this trend. During that time the records of one hundred typical students show the following changes: In 1900, three of this group had credit for courses in art; in 1930, 106 had such credit. Other changes as between these two years are: economics, 107 to 217; education, 45 and 432; German, 306 and 65; Greek, 195 and 12; Latin, 351 and 23; mathematics, 253 and 131; sociology, 98 and 136.

In general, colleges and universities have given up the ideal of a highly intellectualistic education and have substi-

tuted for it a philosophy of meeting the varied needs of an extremely diverse student body. Many modern college students intend to enter business as soon as possible after leaving school and seek a course which they think will aid them in such careers. At the same time, many other students attend college with no definite goal in view but desire instruction which will enable them to fit more easily into the social order.

A considerable portion of the expansion of school facilities has been made necessary through the decline of child labor. As children have left factories and mills, they have entered schools. In those portions of the United States in which stringent child labor laws have been passed and enforced, this shift has been most pronounced. In the agrarian sections of the country, the lawmakers have taken the position that they cannot deprive parents of the work of children on the farms. Indeed, in some such states the school year is divided into two distinct parts so that the children may aid at the busy times of cultivation and harvesting the crop. On the whole, however, employment of children of school age has dropped drastically; whereas in 1910, 18.2 per cent of the children of the nation between the ages of ten and fifteen were reported as employed, this percentage had dropped to 4.7 in 1930.

Many of the innovations the public school has taken over were first tried out by private schools, specialized institutions organized for experiments. Many of these schools have been connected with universities and have been related to the departments of education. Private schools, on account of their financial resources, limited number of students, and freedom from the limitation of public support, have particularly contributed to pioneering educational efforts. The country day school, for example, embodies many of the most desirable elements in a socialized program of education; it is so different from the conventional school that it provides advantages which, when well tested, are likely in time to be taken over by ordinary schools. It is sometimes true, however, that the cost of progressive education prohibits an attempt to use some of its desirable but expensive methods. The cost of public education is always mount-



ing higher. This has already become a problem of serious character. Important as formal education is, no society can be asked to assume too great a financial burden in the effort to advance education. Even though educational expenditures are in the long run the most constructive appropriations of public funds, there are other obligations that have to be met. For example, the care of the insane involves a necessary expenditure and one which also is rapidly increasing.

#### EDUCATION AND OPPORTUNITY

Popular education is one of the dominant values of our culture. We believe that sufficient schooling, by some process not at all clear as to details, will enable any person to achieve almost anything upon which he sets his heart. We depend upon education to protect our morals and to raise our standards. When a problem is posed, the most usual answer as to its solution is an "educational campaign." Obviously it is possible to carry such a faith in education to an extreme; to invest the process with a "mystic potency" which it does not and cannot possess. It has been charged that Americans, particularly, are subject to such unfounded faith in education because of our subscription to the basic doctrine that individual differences are small and unimportant; that the training one receives is largely responsible for one's later success or failure. The Lynds comment on this educational faith in their study of "Middletown": "If adult Middletown sees its own hope for the immediate future as lying in hard work and making money, it has been wont to see in education the Open Sesame that will unlock the world for its children." \*

However, this faith in the efficacy of education seems to be on the wane since the influx of huge numbers of students to the colleges and universities of the nation during the 1920's. When these students graduated, they found to their discomfiture and the amazement of their parents that no jobs were waiting for them, and, further, that when they did

\* Robert S., and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, p. 204. Quoted by permission of Harcourt, Brace & Co., Inc.

find work they were given only a slight, if any, preference over the boy who had not gone to college. Parents began to wonder if their sacrifices had been in vain. The recent graduates were puzzled in many cases as to how they could fit their college training into their lives after leaving school. The idea that a college or university education was a sure road to success began to be looked at with suspicion. At the same time the greatly increased number of college graduates plus the fact that many of them were from families that had never made any social pretensions worked to decrease the prestige value of a degree, and, hence, its value as a means to a higher social status. There were too many bearers of this particular accolade in the communities for all of them to be given recognition; the air of superior attainment which was formerly attached to such education was dissipated.

Much of this effect was undoubtedly due to the depression and contracted condition of the social order at large. Expansion was stopped, retrenchment was the order of the day, and opportunities were not open in normal number. It was inevitable that many college graduates should find it impossible to fit themselves into such a situation. However, it will be interesting to note whether the prestige formerly awarded the college graduate will return if and when opportunities again expand and there is a demand for young men in the various social institutions.

#### THE SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

The emphasis we are now giving to what we call *social aspects* of human experience would necessarily show in education. A short time ago little conscious attention was given to education as a preparation for social contacts. Even yet the social purposes of education are more neglected than are some other lines. What we now have does not necessarily come under the name *social science*. In history, in English, and especially in civics we have in the high school and in lesser degree in the lower grades instruction along social lines that has the same purpose as the teaching of social science. In some of our high schools, especially in the West, sociology is taught as a definite subject. Even though

this has to be elemental and practical in form, it at least draws attention to the need of preparation for social life.

The sociologist recognizes that the best contribution the schools can make in the preparation for better living cannot in the public schools be primarily based upon instruction. The school itself is a special type of social experience and its practices are of marked value in the development of character. The value of social science in the public schools is greatest as an influence that shapes school policy and keeps in the foreground the life needs of the growing boy and girl.

Social science has contributed to educational theory and practice by its insistence that the human aspects of education shall not be neglected in the effort to arrive at definite intellectual goals. Sociology has also tried to stress in the preparation for the teaching profession the need of understanding the social background of the child and the building of a forward-looking attitude of mind. In the normal school and the teachers' college perhaps the study of social science as a part of the curriculum can be of greatest value in leading the schools to do justly by the social needs of the child. As we shall see, this interest has led the sociologists to develop a particular field of their science, known as *educational sociology*, which undertakes to study in a scientific manner social aspects of the educational process.

Although no sociologist discounts the social value of conserving the culture that exists, sociology necessarily looks forward and attempts to keep before the educator the need of using the school as an economical and rational way of making progress. Sociology as a science cannot sidestep its responsibilities in advancing human welfare. Necessarily it looks to the school as the effective means by which society can make superior adjustments. In order that the social problems met by human progress can to some extent be charted in advance, there is need of making social science a large factor in modern education, especially in the practices carried on by the schools.

Psychology has influenced the technic of teaching by revealing to the teacher the character of the pupil and the method of the learning process. It belongs to sociology as a science to do its part in keeping clearly before teacher and

administrator the aim of education, superior adjustment for the individual, and a more adequate social experience for the group.

#### INTEGRATION IS THE GOAL

Education is the best organized and the most effective of the influences that determine modern culture. It not only substitutes for instinct, as this functions in the life of the animals, but it goes far beyond the provision nature has made on its lower levels for adaptation through variation. Education performs its task through individuals. It transmits culture by building it into the growing life of the child. It changes social conditions by influence upon character. Even when the goal is social, the method is personality growth. Thus the immediate purpose of education becomes integration of a personality which functions in its adaptations to environment.

Adaptation can never be standardized nor can integration of individual personality come as a product of educational practices according to an unchanging formula. The goal may be defined in terms of universal objectives, but the passage of the individual through his educational career must always be, to obtain any measure of success, unique. The person educated also must achieve his integration in relation to the definite environment in which he has to live. This environment, thanks to the advances of physical science, gives no respite to man, for changing circumstances make a continuous demand for new adaptation. The desires also that motivate behavior take new form as a result of cultural changes. Man's resources for personal and social adjustment are constantly augmented by the new conquests of science. The social objectives that need to be achieved for security and satisfaction move with the onward sweep of civilization. For example, the present social and economic exigency requires that war be abolished as once the abolition of human slavery became a social and economic necessity. Cultural habits, however, are not merely carried on from the past. As they are continued they also have organized about them defenses, or rationalizations, drawn forth from pre-



vailing social experience. Thus war is not merely something of the past; it is reinforced in the present by influences contemporaneous with those that make it increasingly out of place in the modern world.

Integration, to be genuine, must be a continuing process, a growth which education stimulates and guides, but which the schools never completely dominate. If the individual exposed to the influences of organized education is to build up integration, he must have understanding of his social environment, experience in varied interaction with his fellows, and an increasing appreciation of how greatly his happiness is bound up with the welfare of others. However much he may acquire of information, skill, and taste, unless he is oriented in social understanding, activity, and sympathy, he remains, as a citizen of the modern world, essentially untrained.

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## CHAPTER XXV

### THE CHURCH AND RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

Students of primitive life agree upon the immense importance of religion as a form of social experience. When the question is asked: "How did religion start?" this agreement dissolves into various statements, none of which seems convincing as an explanation of the great differences in religious experience that ethnology has gathered from a detailed study of the practices of savages in all sections of the world. Since religion is found everywhere in some form by the student of savage life, it has been assumed that religion is instinctive in human nature. This explanation is almost universally rejected by psychologists, who see no grounds for believing in such an instinct.

Tyler and Spencer found the origin of religion in the savages' belief in spirits, as a result of dream experience. Religion, from this point of view, was a testimony on the part of primitive man that he felt himself in contact with two types of forces, visible and invisible. From the latter developed the idea of the ghost, and from the effort to propitiate it came religion. A large part of our information about savage society has caused this theory to be abandoned. Indeed there is more evidence that man started with a belief in plurality of spirit than that he derived the notion of the second self from dreams, shadows, and the echo.

Another theory that has been supported is that of naturalness. This was advanced by Max Muller, who believed that man's awe in the presence of natural phenomena, especially that which was unusual and terrifying, led to personification until nature gave expression to personalities which man interpreted as similar to himself. Frazer thinks that a correct understanding of the meaning of magic reveals the origin of religion. Sympathetic magic, carrying the conception that mutilating the image of an enemy would bring him disaster, was an elementary sort of science built upon the idea of causation and an unchanging order in nature. When magic as a means of controlling experience failed, entreaty was



resorted to and this effort to evoke help when magical processes failed brought forth religion. Frazer, to use his own words, says that religion comes as "propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life." Again he says, "Religion consists of two elements, a theoretical and a practical, namely, a belief in powers higher than man and an attempt to propitiate or please them."\* Even if the order of religious development is what Frazer suggests, religion always following magic and never preceding it, we would still have to answer the question as to the origin of this idea of a substitution for the ordinary processes of control by magic. As a matter of fact there is greater evidence that magic results from a belief in the supernatural than that it comes first.

Durkheim makes religion a distinction between ordinary and extraordinary experience in the life of the savage. Its earliest form was totemism. All life was divided into the sacred and the common, the former having relation to the totem. The god represented the clan personified, and religious rites were social experiences that led to social fusion in the manner of the modern crowd experience. In the gathering and festival the monotony of everyday experience was relieved by exaltation, and excitement was the essential element in the religious experience. This author, it is clear, minimizes the individualistic elements of religion by magnifying its social function. There are a host of minor theories advanced as to the beginnings of religion, none of them convincing to the anthropologist.

Authorities will differ in their attempts to isolate the common elements that make the devout Christian akin to the fear-tormented savage, but three elements, upon close analysis, may be seen to underlie the heterogeneity of religious forms. First is an undeniable faith; second, a belief in a supernatural or in the power of an external agent to influence the world of everyday experience; and third, an emotional thrill. These characterize in common the religious life of men, and these find expression in the religious complexes of all cultures.†

\* G. W. Cooke, *Social Evolution of Religion*, p. 338. Quoted by permission of the Stratford Co.

† Wilson D. Wallis and Malcolm M. Willey, *Readings in Sociology*, p. 432. Quoted by permission of F. S. Crofts & Co.

It is apparent that the religious experiences of savages yield no clear indication of the nature of their origin. Not only are the differences great as we pass from one religious system to another, but the beliefs of each individual people are inconsistent and confusing. Magic and religious worship have a social purpose and after a while become so inextricably mixed that logic has to force itself roughshod over the facts to obtain a simple and consistent theory.

#### THE SOCIAL IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION

However unsatisfactory theories of the origin of religion may be, we are on certain ground when we stress the enormous value religious experience had for the savage. Confronted with the perplexities of existence and with a meager fund of understanding of the processes of events of everyday living, religion was an indispensable expression of human need. It was for the savage a philosophy, an emotional satisfaction whose influence made for social solidarity and security, and an authority that prevented moral anarchy. To the savage these experiences that we lightly call *superstition* formed the reality of life. His needs as an individual, as an interpreter of nature, and as a social being craving the strengthening of sympathetic contact with others, were met by the mystical ideas and ceremonial practices that constituted his religion.

If we strip religion of its accoutrements, we see it to be simply a form of behavior born of a sense of insecurity, highly emotionalized, and socially stimulated, which seeks reinforcement from supernatural sources. . . . Confronted by factors in the social situation which inspire in him a potent fear of the unknown—natural phenomena of a startling nature, pestilence, life, death, the enigma of a future after death, defeat, and the like—the individual naturally wishes for a way of escape, assurance, inward peace. He searches his environment for an answer to his problem. Somehow he must become accommodated to an ideal order which for the present is beyond the verification of science.\*

In such a crisis situation, the person may have a "vision" which points out the way for him and which so becomes an

\* Carl A. Dawson and Warner E. Gettys, *An Introduction to Sociology*, p. 696. Quoted by permission of The Ronald Press Co.

intimate relationship with the unknown which is cherished throughout life. More often, however, the person finds relief through the existing religious organization of his time and place; that is, he accepts the religion of his group and finds peace within it. He has, of course, been in more or less close contact with this institution throughout his life, so that it is only to be expected that he will turn to it when he becomes perplexed or fearful.

It is the primary function of religion, then, to elevate the levels of human conduct by redefining and accommodating attitudes on a basis of ideals. That which inspires a devotion to a cause, a principle, an ideal, no matter whether these are immersed in the traditional lore of the past or projected into the realm of futuristic goals to be striven for, is religion in the broadest sense. It is the dynamic force which emerges from social interaction, becomes emotionalized in terms of an immediate felt need, and receives the united support of the group through the medium of an institutional pattern.\*

Dawson and Gettys see the most elemental religious activity as growing out of a group feeling of crisis or insecurity. In such a situation, they say, interaction results in unification of the hopes and fears of the group around some common objective which is symbolized by a person or other object, much as the focus of attention emerges from the excited action of a crowd. Ritual, legend, stories are added to give form and meaning to the symbols and program. Later doctrine and dogma emerge as more rational explanations of the religious organization and these gradually solidify into a creed which marks the fully institutionalized form of religion. New sects may split off from the main body of such an institution and repeat this natural history of the religious body.†

Religion was not so much an effort to meet individual needs as an expression of group necessity. Fears are shared by all the people. Taboos with their religious sanction are common to all. *Mana*, or sacred power in the man of magic, is acknowledged by all his followers. It is the group rather than the individual that feels, that thinks, and that demands

\* *Ibid.*, p. 697.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 108-109.

security. The crowd mind is in ascendancy. It grips the individual and reduces all tribal members to a common state of emotional stress, destroying personal reflection, initiative, and self-reliance, and even the religious leader gets his power from the confidence of his people in his possession of *mana*. Religion in such a situation is not personal experience, but social experience. It is the ever-present constituent appearing in the practices and beliefs of primitive people.

#### PRIMITIVE RELIGION AND EVERYDAY LIFE

Religion among the peoples of primitive culture extends into every detail of their life and becomes so interwoven with all their other experiences that it can be separated only by wrenching it apart from the rest and artificially giving it an independent existence. The religion of the Manobo of Eastern Mindanao may serve as an example. The native carries on his person a religious fetish. He does not build his house without consulting the oracles and omens. He cannot hunt nor fish without making a religious offering. Even the cooking of his food has to follow religious rules. He plants and gathers his rice under the favor of certain deities. His hunting dogs are protected also by special divinity. His bow and spear are given a magical test. He cannot go to fight until he has used magic and sacrifice to give him promise of victory. All the chief events of his life — marriage, the pregnancy and parturition of his wife, death, burial, war — are consecrated by religious rites often public and always formal.\*

The main features of the Manobo religion include :

1. Belief in anthropomorphic deities who will help if supplied with offerings but who, if neglected, will cause evil.
2. Belief in forest-spirits and sky-spirits who also must be propitiated.
3. Reliance on priests who are considered the favorites of one or more of the friendly divinities.

\* J. M. Garvan, "A Survey of the Material and Sociological Culture of the Manobo of Eastern Mindanao," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 29, No. 4, p. 590.



4. Fear of the dead who are supposed to be envious of the living.
5. Belief in omens, auguries, and oracles for the finding out of future events.
6. A rigid following of taboos based on either religious ideas or magic.
7. The frequent use of sympathetic magic.
8. The avoidance of any word or act disrespectful to brute creation.
9. Belief in two spirit-companions or souls that accompany each person from birth till death.
10. Belief that one of those spirit-companions may be captured by hostile spirits.
11. Belief in an after-world and the existence there of at least one spirit-companion.
12. Belief in dreams as being often prophecies of evil.
13. Belief in sacred methods that may bring harm to others.
14. Use of oaths and ordeals to enforce promises and discover guilt.
15. The deification of bravery as illustrated by the class of war-like deities.\*

The Malagasy thanksgiving ceremony at the time of the rice harvest reveals in a characteristic manner the intimate place religion holds among savage peoples in their effort to procure the means of sustenance. The family came together in the northeast corner of the house, sacred because it was there that the bodies of the dead had been laid out, causing their spirits to linger about, ever after. The father of the family acted the part of priest. Placing the heads of rice under the roof in the corner he prayed: "O Creator God, thou who has made us and art the source of our existence, we present ourselves before thee to offer thee these chosen heads of rice. But thou art not alone, Creator God. Our ancestors are with thee and have also become Gods. This offering is for all of you." When the prayer was ended all the family together cried, "Hahasoa! Hahasatva! May this bring good things and well-being!" Then followed two more prayers and finally the eating of rice and the Tabo fish.†

\* *Ibid.*, pp. 592-593. Quoted by permission of the American Anthropological Association.

† R. Linton, "Rice, A Malagasy Tradition," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 29, No. 4, pp. 659-660. Quoted by permission of the American Anthropological Association.

## THE RELIGION OF CHILDREN

At no point is the distance between primitive experience and present attainment greater than with reference to religion. It is true that superstition still lingers and a belief in magic shows in the practices of persons highly cultured. In spite of these fragmentary expressions it is clear that the characteristic religious attitudes of modern civilization are widely separated from the baffling, mystical interpretations that came out of savage life. Therefore the child of today travels rapidly in his religious development or from the first comes under the dominance of conceptions that have been matured by centuries of human experience.

In this development the atmosphere of the home is the essential power in formulating the type of religious experience which every child has to construct. The human need of unification, security, and motivation is such that the demand for religion is inexorable, and some type of religious experience every child is bound to have. The commanding position which each individual's religious attitude has upon his career, both as an individual and as a social unit, makes it imperative that the child's religious development have the greatest possible guidance of wisdom and sympathy. It is not difficult for anti-social or narrow social attitudes to become a part of the growing personality if the child has an unwholesome religious development. Religious sanction, when it supports prejudice and social exploitation of outgrown moral practices, burdens society as certainly as high ideals, social conscience, and enthusiasm for progress when allied with religion produce incomparable incentives for right living together.

The cultural lag shows markedly in the life of religious institutions. The consequences of lack of progress at this point as built into the growing personality of the child become an obstacle to social welfare in every department of life. Religion for some is a refuge from social responsibility, thus resembling, or perhaps, better, becoming a neurotic reaction. The selfishness and weakness of a withdrawal from life through religious experience must not conceal the dynamic motive force that mysticism in characters like J. F. D.

Maurice exerts for social reform, innovation, and efficient practices. The religion the child needs, if he is to contribute best socially, is one that faces outward and with optimism and sincerity engages in the affairs of life.

#### AMERICAN RELIGION AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS

The briefest sketch of the history of religion in the United States brings out clearly the influence of the social environment, and especially the significance of the frontier. It must be remembered that frontier conditions confronted the earliest churches that were planted in the colonial settlement. The churches of European origin that came with the settlers continued the national and class cleavages associated with their development on the other side of the Atlantic. Among these were the Church of England and the Church of the Puritan. Each was middle-class in its point of view, with a leadership that was essentially intellectual and aristocratic. Neither was in accord with frontier life, and as the frontier passed westward they clung to the seaboard towns.

The Quakers were among the first who through missionary zeal carried their faith into the frontier, especially in Western Pennsylvania, but although they gained converts, their peculiarities and high ethical standards limited their success. Later when the Presbyterian Church, brought to this country by the migration of the Scotch-Irish, went into the frontier, particularly in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina, it profited from this early effort of the Quakers, but it was also handicapped in adapting to the prevailing social conditions by its insistence upon an educated clergy and by its emphasis of Calvinistic dogma. The Baptist and Methodist churches, once they were established in the frontier, were successful from the start, for they brought the people a religious faith and organization well adapted to their needs.

From the New England frontier the Baptist Church spread primarily into the Southwest, while its chief rival, the Methodist Church, was stronger in the Northwest. The latter church was particularly adapted to frontier conditions. It

had in its bishops the advantage of a strong centralized leadership which the Baptist lacked, and it met equally well the emotional needs of the people. Both churches furnished preachers familiar with the social conditions of the people whom they served and skilled in putting Christian teaching in a form which won favorable response and made converts. The Methodist circuit rider was the ideal type of minister for the widely scattered and isolated communities.

Once the camp meeting form of religious service was started, Baptists and Methodists made full use of the opportunity it provided for the winning of converts and the growth of the church. The first camp meeting is said to have been held at a Methodist church in Lincoln County, North Carolina, in 1794. No form of religious activity could have been more in accord with frontier desire than the periodic camp meeting, which soon became an institution wherever Methodist and Baptist churches prospered. The Disciples of Christ, or the Campbellites, as they are frequently called, were an original development of the frontier, but their coming was at a later period, and did not have the emotional characteristics associated with religion during the earlier period of the frontier.

Through the history of all these faiths, and others as well, run two lines of influence, born of the economic and social situation. One came from the contrasted cultural development of the North and the South, and the other from the differences between the East and the West. As the Northern communities developed mercantile and finally industrial pursuits, the Southern ones became predominantly agricultural. Slavery entered to intensify the difference between the two sections, cutting across religious experience just as it did across political lines. Slavery became so closely linked with Southern churches, that once the abolition movement was launched in the North as a moral crusade, they were forced to idealize slavery and to justify it on scriptural grounds. This led to cleavage in the Methodist, the Baptist, the Presbyterian, and the Episcopal churches, although the latter escaped the rupture that broke the others into separate organizations.

Even more fundamental than the influences of the North



and the South were those of the East and the West. The importance of this political history of the United States has been emphasized by recent writers as the most significant cultural struggle in the life of the nation. The East represented the creditors and the West, the debtors. The East was the commercial section, desiring order and security and stressing in its religious leadership intellectual preparation. The West was individualistic, democratic, covetous of emotional experiences because of its monotony and isolation, hostile to rank, and quick to welcome the lay preacher who had religious fervor and the gift of winsome speech. It needed religion to give meaning to a life of hardship and struggle, and frequently the individual also welcomed the revival as an opportunity to reinstate earlier habits which he had recklessly put aside as he moved from the more conventional community of the East. Just as the frontier became decisive in the political struggle of the nation, so the religious life that harmonized with frontier conditions grew strongest and most powerful.

The Roman Catholic Church was introduced early in the frontier and the record of its missionary work is one of the most heroic in religious history. It did not, however, as the colonists pressed forward, find in the frontier its greatest opportunity. It was strongest in the cities having French and Spanish population, such as St. Louis and New Orleans, and maintained itself also, in spite of opposition, in the larger seaboard cities of the East. Once European immigration from Roman Catholic countries began to increase, this church grew rapidly and took over the great task of being a rallying center for the immigrant groups. Since it escaped the cleavage of class and section, it registered less than the others the influences of regional differences. However, it encountered attacks from time to time from people of other faiths. This was due less to differences of religious doctrine than was then realized, and more to the lower economic status of the newcomers and their foreign traits, the product of training in the lands of their birth. The most impressive of these attacks was the Know Nothing Movement, which for a short time had considerable political importance.

The influence of race appeared as a third line of cleavage

in Protestantism. Eventually this registered in the formation of the various Negro denominations, which ministered to their own people.

The forms taken by American religion have been in the main in accord with frontier and rural conditions. With the passing of the frontier and with the increasing dominance of urban culture, a new situation arises, furnishing an environment to which the Episcopal Church and the Roman Catholic Church are from their history best adapted. A significant evolution is taking place in the stronger Protestant denominations as a result of the passing of ascendancy from the rural to the urban culture. This appears in its most spectacular form in the struggle between Fundamentalism and Liberalism but it is present also in the decreasing importance of preaching and the greater stress that is being placed upon religious education, and to a lesser degree upon worship.

In spite of the popular impression to the contrary the churches of America seem to be holding their own. Membership has been increasing at approximately the same rate as the population has increased, and of the population thirteen years of age and over, about 55 per cent are members of some church. Attendance at services has also maintained its proportion of the membership. The make-up of the church membership is interesting, and enlightening, as showing the population elements which are affected by this institution. More women than men, in the ratio of five to four, are church members. Further, Negro women are more religious than white, while Negro men are less often church members than are white men. City dwellers have a slightly higher proportion of church members than do those who live in the open country and small villages, but in the larger cities the percentage falls somewhat. The percentage of church membership varies with the region, also. Utah boasts of the highest percentage of church members in its population, and is followed by the Carolinas and Alabama, where about 70 per cent of the adult population has such an affiliation. In general, the South has a higher percentage of church members, the proportion is less in the East and the Middle States, and lowest in the Far West. In Washington, Nevada and Mon-

tana, the percentage of church membership drops below thirty.

The amount of wealth represented by church property has increased at a much more rapid pace than has the national wealth during the past few decades. It is estimated that in 1930 the churches of America owned property valued at approximately \$7,000,000,000; which may be compared to the value of public school property, which was placed at \$4,677,000,000 at the same time. During the same period the number of churches did not increase as rapidly as did the population of the nation but did increase about five times as fast as did public school buildings. This means, of course, that the church memberships are becoming more concentrated, that the average church has more members and is able to supply more services. This is also indicated by the rapid increase in church expenditures.\*

#### THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE

As religious sentiment formed itself by natural growth into an institution, it became intolerant of differences. It was felt that departure from the accepted form of worship was an act of treason against the unity of the group. Consequently the church and state became partners in authority. Although the political power was used to enforce conformity to the prevailing religious experience, even among savages we often find constant conflict between the representatives of political power and those who have charge of the religious interests of the people. A glance into tribal life frequently discloses unending rivalry between priest and chief. So in later times even when religious worship was regulated by political power, the leaders of the two elements of the partnership were not always in accord.

Although it would be contrary to fact to make tolerance with reference to religious belief a modern discovery, since even under the Roman Empire absolute conformity in the field of religion was not attempted, it is true that dating

\* Information concerning changes in membership and financial operations of churches is taken largely from C. Luther Fry and Mary Frost Jessup, "Changes in Religious Organizations," *Recent Social Trends*, Chapter XX.

from the seventeenth century there has been a growing understanding of the impossibility of people's thinking and feeling alike in their religious experience and a gradual recognition of the advantage of not trying to force uniformity. This change of attitude appears in the principle that each man's religious life should be according to the dictates of his own conscience, a principle which had a fundamental influence on the American Constitution.

Apart from a brief recrudescence of intolerance following the World War, as epitomized in the new Ku Klux Klan, the position of the church as a whole has become more and more liberal during recent decades. The Fundamentalist movement with its insistence on the literal acceptance of the sacred literature, reached its height in the trial of an obscure school teacher in Tennessee in 1925 and seems to have declined steadily since. Trials by church bodies for heresy have greatly declined during the past half century in spite of increasingly liberal interpretation of the Bible by ministers. A study of the beliefs of ministers in service and of students in training for such service in the neighborhood of Chicago a few years ago revealed that only about 25 per cent of the students held to the belief that "Jesus was born of a virgin without a human father" and that only three per cent of these future religious leaders held such a belief to be necessary to a Christian. These figures are in contrast to those of the ministers in service, it should be noted. Of this group 71 per cent held to belief in the virgin birth, and 46 per cent thought such belief necessary to a Christian.\*

This same tendency is shown by the recent consolidations of denominations in this country, in Britain and in Canada. The merger of the various Methodist churches in this country, effected in 1939, was the last of a long list of such actions extending back for some years. Of greater importance as indicating growth of tolerance and elimination of emphasis on doctrinal differences was the merger of the National Council of the Congregational churches and the General Convention of the Christian church, a decade earlier. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America is a co-operative enterprise supported by various denominations.

\* George Betts, *The Beliefs of 700 Ministers*.



In Great Britain the Methodist denominations were united in 1928, and a year later the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church merged. In Canada there has been an apparently successful union of three distinct denominations.

The changing attitudes of the church are shown in the increased interest manifest in social problems through pronouncements, pastoral letters and similar means. The Social Creed of the Protestant churches demanded, as long ago as 1912, "protection of workers from the hardships of enforced unemployment" and a more equitable division of the products of industry. Other pronouncements from various religious bodies have endorsed participation of workers in industrial profits, minimum wage, social insurance and farm relief. The study of the steel strike of 1919 in the Pittsburgh region is accepted as a classic analysis of a labor conflict. Some of the churches have modified their position as regards remarriage of divorced persons, and all churches seem to have adopted a more liberal attitude toward the use of contraceptives as a method of family regulation. Although the position of the Roman Catholic Church on this matter has not been officially changed, the acceptance and, in some cases, advocacy of family limitation through the "free period" technique may be said to constitute a departure from the traditional policy of this church.

The experience of the United States in divorcing religious and political authority has led to an increased tolerance in regard to religious differences. The lesson that other men, who think differently in religious interpretations, can be equally honest and just as good citizens is still hard even for some Americans to realize, but the current of life is overwhelmingly against the growth of intolerance and under modern conditions, where world relationships are necessarily maintained and where natural differences openly show themselves in religious experience, intolerance, in whatsoever form it is expressed, becomes a social menace.

#### RELIGION AND MORALS

As we have seen, the influence of religion manifests itself in the conduct of the savage. The taboo, for example, has

a powerful control over behavior in the simplest societies. Ethical conduct among such people is, of course, rudimentary in form, but, such as it is, bears definite relationship to the prevailing religious teachings. With the evolution of culture, religious experience tends to follow diverse expressions. In one it is essentially ceremony, ritual, dogma, and belief while in the other its content is moral behavior. This splitting of religious experience cannot occur until both morality and institutional religion have reached a high development. The distinction suggests the extrovertive and introvertive tendencies that show themselves in the human personality. In spite of the fact that religious experience comes to have these two aspects and that considerable controversy originates in the excessive emphasis of one as compared with the other, as instanced by the conflicting priestly and prophetic trends in early Hebrew faith, religion usually, on the institutional side, enforces the prevailing ethics of the period even when conduct is considered secondary to faith and the acceptance of dogma.

Following the morality of the times, religion in the past emphasized the idea of penalty. In the Christian tradition, until recently, the conception of hell as a place of torment for the punishment of those who had not followed the religious convention was both generally accepted and efficacious. It is the decay of this belief that has added an essentially new element to modern religion. It is obvious that the fear of eternal punishment would meet with transitory success as a motive in enforcing religious experience when nothing else would. Although the idea of retribution still persists in the thinking of most men and women, it no longer forms itself in the concept of a place of eternal punishment. This change unquestionably removes a social force that has had great influence in regulating the conduct of many people during the Christian era.

The loss of vitality in the motive of fear places upon religion and morals the task of finding a higher type of motive. This, for many, is represented by the attitude of loyalty which replaces fear and also had a prominent place from the beginning in Christian tradition. Its superiority as an impelling force in the realm of ethics cannot be contradicted.

It requires, however, the bringing of the responsive personality to higher levels than were necessary when fear by itself could be made a satisfactory motive to regulate conduct. Although it is most unfair to interpret religion as a sort of social police system, it is equally unreasonable to deny either the extent to which fear has had control or the advantage this has been to social security when man travelled on lower cultural levels than the one characteristic of this period.

Both through its ability to conjure up visions of future torment and its appeal to the idealism in mankind, the church has been one of the most potent means of social control and of moulding personality that the world has known.

#### THE SOCIAL RESULTS OF RELIGION

Religion represents a fundamental need of human nature and necessarily one that shows itself in the other expressions of social life. Religion interprets existence, satisfies the human craving for security, and gives reality and substance to the values men must find in human experience in order to get satisfaction. Its social significance, however, as we have seen, was present from the first and in our time becomes increasingly prominent.

The members of religious organizations, especially in Occidental countries, have supported all sorts of social activities and philanthropic enterprises. They have done much by their influence to maintain ideals essential for social security and to establish them as standards of wholesome behavior. Social conditions interpreted by church officials as evils have been constantly preached against, but according to the critics these have been for the most part trivial attacks rather than a direct wrestling with the fundamental reconstruction of society. As a consequence, there has been antagonism toward religious organizations on the part of those who regard them as guardians of the existing social order and the present conditions of industry. Such critics insist that religion is necessarily conservative and therefore hostile to social progress. The churches in turn answer that they conserve values supremely important and cannot be betrayed into agitating

for the relatively trivial or turned into organizations for revolutionary propaganda.

The more important values for which the church contends are expressed, at least in Christianity, by four principles which constitute the Christian philosophy of religious experience. The first is the doctrine of the sacredness of personality. Every individual, child or adult, is a child of God. This follows from the fatherhood of God. No person must be made an instrument to further another's selfishness, but must have every opportunity to make full use of his resources. This principle demands protection of the individual's rights and freedom for his achievement. It is a hard doctrine to practice and is ever tempered by influences born of prevailing conditions and sentiment. The history of the Christian church shows that although it contains inherent support of democracy it can also be made a basis for benevolent guardianship which antagonizes cruelty and despotism more certainly than it establishes equality, even the equality of opportunity.

Second is the doctrine of universal brotherhood. This also is involved in the idea of the fatherhood of God. It in turn represents an ideal that has never been taken too literally. The influence of this doctrine has been to lessen injustice and to encourage cooperation within certain limits. Imagination falters except among the most advanced thinkers when brotherhood is extended to include all classes and all races as equal members of a universal brotherhood. The doctrine has not yet succeeded in eliminating war between nations, cut-throat competition between groups, or race prejudice, but it has mitigated hostilities and increasingly acted as a rebuke of national conflicts, race hatred, and indifference to social exploitation.

Third, the principle of self-sacrifice has perhaps been most out of accord with prevailing civilization of all the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, but it has afforded a welcome opportunity for religious satisfaction among those mystically inclined. It has been a favorite preachment because it requires no outward social reconstruction but stresses an achievement the individual may make within his own life.



Thus it has afforded a means of grace which required struggle, but only through an inner conflict, in no way disturbing the social order as would prove true of any effort at reform.

A fourth principle has been that of service. The Christian is expected to prove his calling by his social behavior. Much of modern benevolence and reform has issued from emphasis on service by the churches, even though it is universally recognized that there is, so far as any individual is concerned, no necessary correlation between zeal for public service and religious faith.

### THE CHURCH

Religious experience, which in its historical development assumed many forms, is now expressed through the church. Like-minded people, usually the product of the same religious training and tradition, join together to establish churches and to maintain the kind of religious experience with which they are familiar.

The church is an institution made up of individuals who find in its fellowship a spiritual satisfaction and a moral incentive. Thus the church brings together those who are in religious accord and stimulates them through their interrelations to assume their moral and social responsibilities. Increasingly the church organizations, in spite of great differences in other respects, tend to lay more emphasis upon the social side of religion. The churches also provide ethical leaders who take high rank in the effort to maintain the present standards of moral conduct. The church, as an institution, tends also to stimulate in the believers an idealism which inherently exerts a propelling push toward social progress. Although the church, on account of institutional interests and demands, is conservative in social attitudes, it contributes not a little to the idealism that in individuals, if not in the mass, drives human nature forward to greater achievement. Impatient reformers easily discount the social contribution of the church in furnishing the spiritual sanction which is constantly making social obligation a more important basic element in modern religion.

Like other institutions, the church has the task of supply-

ing answers to the problems of the group. Unlike other institutions, these answers may be in terms of another world and may thus avoid facing the immediate problem at all. It is this faith in and dependence upon forces not of this world which distinguishes religious from other forms of social behavior; all religions hold that the normal order of events may be interrupted on behalf of the believer. But, it should be emphasized, this reliance upon the supernatural is not the sole resource of the church. Religion is increasingly intellectualistic and rationalistic. More and more it interests itself in the social order of which it is a part and seeks to provide common action patterns which are embodiments of the ideals of the church and which also function in the ordinary, work-a-day world.

#### PRESENT RELIGIOUS TRENDS

So many things are happening in religious experience, as in other elements of life, that one's choice of fundamental trends is largely a matter of individual observation and disposition. The church does not represent a consistent movement like an advancing army, but movement more like the traffic on a modern thoroughfare. Some tendencies move toward one objective, while others are working toward the reverse.

In America at the present time we find among Protestants a greater appreciation of the unity of religious experience and an increased willingness to tolerate a variety of individual expressions of Christian faith. Among both Protestants and Roman Catholics there is a growing realization of common interests, a greater readiness to work together in social and community undertakings that advance human welfare. There is also a similar cooperation among Jews and Gentiles. The Roman Catholic Church, as is true of Protestants also, is emphasizing in a most effective way the social teachings of Jesus. The recent encyclical of Pope Pius XI on the Reconstruction of the Social Order, one of the most significant pronouncements in the history of Christendom, has impressed people of all faiths throughout the world. In this country the National Catholic Welfare Council, by stimulat-

ing and directing the social responsibilities of the church, has contributed to the growth of a sense of social justice and has added to the efficiency of the benevolence and social work of Catholic organizations.

Perhaps the most important element in modern religion is the increasing appreciation by church leaders that religion does not find in science an enemy, and that it is not the business of religion to coerce science by insisting that beliefs regarding matters falling within the domain of science, and which received religious sanction in former times, be maintained by religious authority. Although this trend, as one would expect, is not consistent, there seems to be overwhelming evidence that the idea of conflict between religion and science, which has been a disturbing element for a century or more, is swiftly passing and in its stead is coming general recognition that these two types of experience must make a division of labor and work together for the well-being of man. This necessarily means that religion, without any loss in its proper purpose, will retreat from territory it once occupied and organized into dogma, in order freely to allow science to make the greatest possible use of its resources in uncovering the causes that operate in nature and in man.

Since the church is inextricably related to other institutions, it is not surprising that it has changed greatly during recent decades. In general, it seems, these changes have been designed to maintain the place of the church in the life of the community by the addition of such services as seem to be in demand, are in accord with the humanitarian ideals of the church, and are not supplied by other established institutions. This has led to a secularization of the church functions to an extent that would have horrified religious leaders of a few generations ago. Modern urban churches offer such attractions as motion pictures, gymnasias and athletic teams, Boy Scout troops, picnics and other social affairs for young people, and counselling service on problems of courtship, marriage and family problems. At the same time the more emotional types of religious participation, reminiscent of the frontier revival, attract many persons.

## PROBLEM OF THE CITY CHURCH

In the city church today we find a program that emphasizes social organization and social activities which include both children and adults. In the Protestant denomination we have had an institutional church which has generally been supplanted because of the activities of organizations like the settlement, which did similar work without sectarian differences. The mobility of the city population and the competition of church activities with recreational and intellectual organizations hampered the character of the city church's social contribution, although successful effort is being made in many urban churches to maintain what is essentially a social center, providing for various sorts of activities of value to the community. On the whole the city church contributes most along social lines by maintaining in its clergyman and priest leaders who influence the thinking and feeling of a considerable group of the population.

In the city church primarily the liberalizing tendencies and progressive movements of each organization show most vitality. To the city church gravitate the outstanding personalities, with some exceptions, of each denomination or church group. Since they are apt to bring together the most influential congregations and have command of benevolence greater than that of the rural and town church, their prestige is increased so that, in spite of a floating clientele, they largely dominate the religious experience of their group.

The evolution of the Protestant churches in the United States reveals that the rural environment has had a profound influence upon their theology and their practices. This has been less true of the Episcopal Church than of the others, but they have all responded to influences that issue from the primary contacts in the experience of rural people. In recent years this has proved a handicap as the various denominations have attempted to minister to city life. Their difficulties have been more than merely those resulting from a less stable parish, for in addition to the mobility of the people there have been losses due to the secondary contact experiences of urban dwellers. Exhortation and doctrines which forcefully appealed to those living within the intima-



cies of familiar contacts appeared artificial and became ineffective in the city. Unquestionably, Protestantism has suffered in the transition of recent culture from rural to urban dominance.

#### PROBLEM OF THE COUNTRY CHURCH

In the rural environment religious problems take on a different aspect. Here is the costly mischief of sectarianism which provides more churches than a community needs and separates the people so that they cannot carry on to best advantage the social service required. Here narrowness and religious partisanship often flourish as products of the meager training and isolation of the leaders. Here also is frequently found an intense emotionalism which makes religious experience erratic and permits a complete divorcement between belief and moral practice. On the other hand, in the rural field social programs are often carried on with great efficiency by churches that minister to the social needs of the community; some of the workers prefer the rural environment and are especially trained for it; in some sections the federated or consolidated church flourishes, eliminating much of the waste that comes from sectarian division.

The cityward movement of rural population is tending to enforce consolidation, which promises much for the future rural church. Back in the theological seminary an increasing emphasis is being laid upon preparation for social work in the rural church and there is a disposition to lessen emphasis upon dogma and sectarianism. The rural clergyman has a decided advantage over his city brother in the close association and intimate knowledge of human nature which result from the primary contacts afforded by the rural environment. This frequently permits him to have a deeper understanding of human needs, a more practical sympathy and a greater familiarity with human behavior, than the city preacher can gain, however great his gifts in organization or oratorical appeal. Because of this the rural preacher often comes to closer grip with human needs and contributes more fruitfully to the life of the people to whom he ministers.

The two kinds of service are so different that each needs its own special technic, and in so far as the rural clergy is made up of young men who regard their work as temporary while they look cityward, or of older men who have lost their vigor for city pastorates and are returning to the country to spend their declining years more quietly, the country church is not given what it really needs or, because of its social importance, should justly demand. The prosperity of the rural church is intimately tied up with the group life of the farmers, and where poverty, bad farming, irresponsible tenancy, meager education, and low social standards are maintained, the work of the church is greatly hampered.

#### EDUCATION AND THE CHURCH

In line with the better knowledge of our time the church should place more emphasis upon education, especially of the young, than upon preachment. The student of human nature appreciates how difficult it is by appeal to change the habits and familiar reactions of any individual. This is as true of religion as of any part of life and the strategy of the church demands greater attention to the young and more emphasis upon what is essentially an educational program. Not only must the child be taught religion effectively but the content of the teaching must square with human needs and form a basis for moral development and social progress. The more church teaching faces backward, the less will be its success in helping to solve the difficult problems of adjustment that confront the child as he becomes an adult, and the greater the disturbance which comes from rapid change of religious attitudes during late adolescence.

There is need also of harmonizing the teaching of children with science and with social standards of living. It is of the highest importance that information be given that conserves health, deepens the aesthetic appreciation, and makes for matrimonial stability and richer life attitudes. This is especially true of the country church, which is under obligation to become an intellectual center as well as a social center

of the farmers' life. Information of importance to human welfare should be systematically distributed by the church in the rural environment. Failure to do this is one of the causes of the social backwardness of country people. If we are to have adult education on a large scale in the country, the church must accept a considerable responsibility, not only for encouraging continued study, but also for providing opportunity.

Especially difficult is it for the church to deal with vexing social problems when they are matters of financial or political interest to individuals connected with religious organizations. Nevertheless in the teaching of moral principles, especially to the young, the church must eventually fail to contribute adequately to the growing personality under its tutelage unless this task is undertaken with sympathy and tolerance and a keen sense of social justice.

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## CHAPTER XXVI

### PROPERTY AND ECONOMIC EXPERIENCE

Man's effort to maintain his physical existence and if possible to improve his manner of living by increasing his wealth belongs to the province of economics. Man's experience, in his attempt to satisfy his material wants, has a social significance, however, which interests the sociologist.

From the first the methods used to produce the physical necessities for the sustaining of life have had an important influence upon the social culture of the period. It is just as certain that culture has made its impression upon man's productive methods. For example, we see at once the large effect upon social life in a myriad of ways brought about by the transition from hunting to agriculture. On the other hand, only by the process of social transmission has knowledge gained in the use of tools been carried from former experience to become a social advantage for those who are able to employ the discoveries of a bygone period and to improve an invention already made.

Man's ability to produce is not merely a question of what tools he has to use, but also how he can organize his resources. Here again appears the influence of social experience. For example, the white man travelling among savages often complains of the irresponsibility of natives whom he hires to help him in some economic undertaking. Their lack of the social discipline with which he is familiar in his own country makes them unreliable. They may work today and not tomorrow merely because the habit of continuous work is not a virtue insisted upon by the traditions that influence their behavior.

In his economic effort man's successes also have a decided influence upon his social life. With the increase of wealth come leisure, class distinction, competition, and great variations in the wealth possessed by different individuals. These changes in turn influence the government, law, ethics, religion, family life, recreation, and every sort of social practice.

Society also influences economic activity by the prestige

that changes with the culture and stimulates one kind of economic experience rather than another. Social reputation, for example, among primitive people, may be enhanced by the skill of the hunter, or courage of the warrior, just as ability to get money gives in our time a popular prestige, or as the talent to create thought brought social standing in the Golden Age of Athens.

It is only within the past few centuries that the possession of great wealth has entailed high prestige and social position. Throughout most of man's history it would seem that the fighter has been placed above the trader in the social scale. The priest, usually though not always a poor man, has been given a high place in the social hierarchy in all societies. So, also has the ruler, who may or may not be a man of wealth. In China learning has been made of great social value; the scholar by tradition is given the highest place in the social order. Even in our society, marked as it is by pecuniary standards, the mere possession of wealth is not enough to assure one of prestige; as witness our sneers at the "nouveau riche." Wealth seems to be only one of the factors on which status is awarded.

#### SAVAGE ECONOMIC LIFE

Man's economic life, like other forms of primitive experience, is commonly described as an evolution. This is a useful description in so far as it is employed to interpret the trend of industrial progress, but in the past there has been a disposition to conceive man's industrial development with greater exactness than the facts justified. Evolution has been considered something so definite as to permit economic experience to be classified according to a set order of progression. As a consequence *a priori* logic rather than an impartial survey of the experiences of primitive man has determined the portrayal.

That the economic life of simple people is unlike that found in modern civilization is obvious even to the most superficial observer. When we use the term *primitive* in such connection, we admit that man's industry has moved from the simple to the more complex. But there is need

always to keep in mind that the earlier economic activity is simple only in a relative sense. In any case, science now realizes that the economic life of primitive people cannot be understood by some generalized system of orderly changes, but that each group requires its own individual interpretation. Because of this, the interest of the anthropologist has moved away from an effort to define the evolutionary stages, to investigation of different community types of economic experience. In these specific studies investigation is made of the form of economic activity and of the motives that prompt people to carry on their industry. The influence of the environment is ever present in these efforts to attain physical security and to produce material goods. When primitive man's economic life is examined closely, it is found that his activities are not prompted merely by self-interest but that they also reveal desire for social achievement, including the approval of the group, conformity to customs, distinction as a result of skill, and a love of workmanship. The economic activity, even though it can be considered by itself, belongs in the general social setting, for it is merely a special form of social behavior and one that cannot be isolated from the rest of the life of the people.

#### PROPERTY AMONG SAVAGE PEOPLES

The economic product of labor is property. The efforts of primitive man led to the production of property and the early recognition of property rights. It was once thought that savage peoples were all communistic with reference to property. According to this conception, as culture advanced, communism was gradually replaced by the right of the individual to hold property as his private possession.

We now know, through the accumulation of a vast amount of knowledge regarding the economic life of savages, that these people differ greatly in their attitudes toward property, but that as a rule three kinds of property are recognized: private, collective, and communistic ownership. Formerly the second was often misinterpreted as the third sort of ownership. The first refers to the possessions of a single person.



The second has to do with property rights held by families, clans, or other divisions of the community. The third, strictly defined, is restricted to such property as may be used or consumed by any member of the community. The definitions of these three kinds of ownership depend upon the traditions of a definite people. It is customary for the individual to have complete possession of the tools and weapons that he himself has produced, while frequently the ground over which he hunts is collective. Among pastoral people private ownership of animals is usual, with communistic control of the land on which they feed.

In the culture of the American Indian land used for hunting was a tribal, clan, or family property. The predominant type of land holdings was that of the family. Wissler tells us that nearly everywhere each year there was an allotment to family groups of the land belonging to the community.\* Thus, as was so often true among savages, property rights tended to emphasize and consolidate family interests.

We find also among savages hereditary rights to certain types of property, and the inheritance of personal possessions, and the right of the individual to the exclusive use of his possessions, brought about by traditions. For example, in a hunting expedition, the person who first saw the animal finally captured sometimes had, according to custom, an exclusive right to a certain portion of the body. The taboo also was used to establish personal property rights. The individual's mark upon a tree would in some localities give him unquestioned right to the use of the fruit at the time of harvest.

#### MONEY AMONG SAVAGES

With the development of property rights and the carrying-on of trade, some sort of money becomes necessary as a means of currency. The list of objects used as a medium of exchange is extensive. Stones, beads, glass, feathers, shells, and salt are a few of the articles that serve the savage in this way. Pastoral people naturally use their animals. Even the slave is utilized for this purpose. As soon as any article

\* Clark Wissler, *The American Indian*, p. 174.

becomes of value not merely because of its possible use but also as a medium of exchange, then we have the beginning of money. Among simple people as with us, the value of money grows out of social experience and reflects the cultural conditions of the definite locality and period.

#### CHILDREN AND MONEY

The very little child likes money as he likes buttons or bits of broken glass or anything else that is easy to pick up and interesting for him to look at and handle. He hears older children clamoring for "A penny! A penny!" and sees adults eagerly hunting for a dropped coin. In such ways he gets his first inkling of the value of money. Whatever older children want he wants, whether or not he has any idea what he will do with it after he gets it. What grown people seem to treasure he pays especial attention to, though often enough with a wide discrepancy between the results of his concern and theirs. Having begged a penny from one of his parents or having received one without making any effort to get it, the little child quickly loses it, as his attention passes on to something else.

The next step comes more or less quickly, according to the amount of contact he has with adult-patterned money practices. The farm child may see money exchanged for goods less often than does the town child. The child of well-to-do parents may less often see the passing of money from hand to hand than does the child of parents on a lower economic level, who are not in the habit of running charge accounts and paying for separate purchases by check. The child who often sees a piece of hard money slide over the counter in exchange for an ice cream cone or a lollipop that becomes his property quickly attaches to anything that looks to him like money a vivid, if indefinite, idea of its value as a medium of exchange. Distinctions between coins come later. For some time he calls nickels, dimes, and pennies indiscriminately "pennies." The dawning of the idea that different kinds of coins have different values he is likely to announce by preferring a nickel to a dime, on the ground of its greater size.

## TRADE RIVALRIES AND RESTRICTIONS

Savages are not free from economic rivalries. War as it is found among them is frequently the result of the clash of economic interests. Not only do they struggle for territory which the conflicting tribes both claim, but attacks are also made to obtain possession of property in the form of cattle, women, and children, and males to be used as slaves. Raiding parties are organized to capture males from a neighboring tribe in order to have the use of their labor as slaves. These acts of violence are often committed with no warning, and by the suddenness of the attack victory sometimes goes to the weaker party who go off with a quantity of plunder. Whenever adjacent tribes fail to carry on trade although one has in abundance what the other desperately needs, armed conflict is likely to result.

It is interesting to find that savages maintain boundaries and trade restrictions which are suggestive of the tariff regulations of the present.\* The Hudson's Bay Company in its operations in the great Northwest discovered that the Indians had very definite boundaries and trade regulations which the company attempted to set aside; its effort to maintain free trade led to much friction and at times to bloodshed.

In the history of the Five Nations appears an illuminating illustration of trade restriction which one tribe of the alliance tried to enforce against the advantage of another. About the middle of the seventeenth century the French-Canadians trading with the Onondaga shipped their merchandise around Lake Ontario instead of going through the valley of the Mohawk which would force them to cross the territory of the Mohawk tribe. This tribe at once protested, maintaining that only a thief attempts to enter a house some other way than by its proper door. In these trade rivalries of savage people it sometimes happens that one tribe is strong enough to disregard the right of a weaker neighbor to take goods over its territory, and then acts as middleman for the whole area. On the occasion of Captain Cook's visit to Sootka Sound native canoes came for trading purposes from

\* W. C. MacLeod, "Trade Restrictions in Early Society," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 29, No. 2.

the tribes along the coast, but the village chief who claimed ownership of the waters of the sound forbade their trading directly with Cook, and made them carry on all their business with his tribe acting as middleman.

The effect of such tolls on inter-tribal slave traffic increased the price of a slave as he passed through one territory after another on his way to the best market. A considerable part of the conflict between tribes, particularly during the Stone Age of North America, was the result of economic rivalry and the struggle to control hunting territory.

Within the group itself economic strife is prevented by the growth of regulations that function as law; these become a part of the customs of the people, keeping peace between the members of the group and governing them in their trade relations with other people. Among the Baganda, scattered through the territory and under the supervision of tribal officials, were market places where regular fees were charged for the privilege of selling commodities. He who tried to save these fees by selling his goods privately ran the risk of a heavy fine and the confiscation of everything he had to sell. Although the savage markets were often neutral territory on the border-land of a tribe, there was a general understanding suggesting international law, that hostilities must not be carried on at these points of trade either by warring tribes or personal enemies. All who violated this regulation met with immediate punishment.

#### SLAVERY

Slavery as a part of economic exploitation has great antiquity. Primitive man had no ethical scruples that checked his use of other men in the effort to satisfy his own desires. The enemy that fell into his clutches through war could be used for food or as an unpaid laborer. It may well be, as Lester Ward suggested, that the greater utility of the slave led to a general abandonment of cannibalism. The enemy, once he had been captured, could be used as a sacrifice or tortured for the amusement and vanity of his conqueror; he could be killed and his flesh perhaps devoured; but for



the tribes that had reached the level of agriculture, the unfortunate victim proved most profitable when made a slave.

Slavery, of course, could not appear before culture had reached the point in its development that made enforced labor profitable. When the time came that slave labor could be made an effective means of getting food supply, it offered the opportunity for culture to advance to a still higher level. The tribes that obtained their food by hunting could make little use of slaves. The slave could not safely be armed and carried on the hunt, neither could he be left in the village with the women while the male members of the tribe went on their expeditions. The slave was not much better adapted to the conditions of life maintained by pastoral people. It was the agricultural form of production that made slavery profitable. The slave could be driven to carry on the unattractive and toilsome tasks of clearing ground and planting seed, reaping, and gathering the harvest. Among agricultural people, slavery proved an effective way of getting work done.

Increased production was brought about by the discipline inherent in the slave status, and the contribution of slavery appears to have been indispensable in the development of primitive culture. It was easier for primitive man to capture an enemy and set him to cultivating the land than to force himself to stick to this uninteresting work. As man's social resources increased, and especially with the advent of machinery, slave labor was unable successfully to compete with that of the free laborer whose desires had been multiplied and made a more compelling motive for work than the fears and pain-pressure experienced by the slaves.

Primitive slavery was generally milder in form than that maintained by civilized men. Often the slave was essentially a household servant. Slavery as it existed in modern civilization produced a greater gap between master and worker, and the cruelty of this relationship burdened both the owner and the slave. On the one side it led to suppression of personality and denial of human rights; on the other it produced a tyranny inherent in the system itself, from which the most benevolent individual could not entirely escape. The development of culture finally rendered

slavery uneconomic as well as morally archaic, but this must not conceal its social value at an earlier period.

## CHILDREN AND PROPERTY

The child develops very early the idea of personal possession. Even before he walks or talks, by crying or clinging to a toy or dress or something else with which he is familiar as his own, he sometimes shows that he resents its being handled by anybody else. However, not until he runs about is this attitude more than rudimentary in form. By the age of five or six he has attained to a clear conception of the meaning of property and also by this time has learned the use of money and the advantages that come from having it. The child has a much keener sense of his own property rights than of those of others.

Particularly in early adolescence, most especially among boys, the gang spirit is frequently accompanied by an utter disregard for the property rights of other people and a disposition at any opportunity to steal or destroy what belongs to them. The leader of a group of boys, each from a cultured and religious home, had occasion to visit a small shop to buy some necessary articles for a Saturday afternoon hike. Becoming suspicious after they had left the store, he investigated, and found that practically every boy had "swiped" something. He found also when he tried to convince the boys that they should return what they had taken or pay for the article, that he had entered upon a most difficult task.

The gang seems to have the idea that any kind of property that can safely be stolen should be appropriated since sometime in the future, if not at present, it may be useful. It is a little difficult to understand what impulse leads the gang to destroy property it does not want, "just for the fun of it." How large a problem this is socially is revealed by the statistics concerning juvenile delinquency.

Travellers tell us that the savage, even when there is no theft within the group, cannot be trusted in the presence of outsiders' belongings which he can safely snatch and hide. It is evident that security of property rests upon social dis-

cipline not easily achieved by children. Indeed there are adults, as the careers of criminals disclose, who have only a faint sense of the meaning of property.

#### INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Our modern economic system is largely the product of a steadily enlarging market made possible by the Commercial and Industrial Revolution of the past five or six centuries. The expansion of the European world which began with the Crusades and was so greatly stimulated by the discovery of the Western hemisphere and the resumption of trade with the Far East has given to Europeans the greatest market any culture has ever enjoyed. Partly as a result of this expansion of trade the mechanical inventions commonly referred to as the Industrial Revolution came into being and made it possible for European traders to produce goods much more cheaply than they could be produced elsewhere. Aided by political domination, these factors have created a world market and the economic system known as capitalism.

The Industrial Revolution must not be considered the product of one line of development, such as perfection of a practical steam engine, but rather the culmination of many industrial and commercial changes which reconstructed industry by bringing about new methods in the production, distribution, and consumption of manufactured goods. Along mechanical lines inventions were numerous, each improvement stimulating the coming of another. The most outstanding of these inventions were those that utilized the energy of steam in manufacturing and transportation.

With the factory arose the need of advanced commercial methods, and corresponding changes appeared in ways of doing business, such as the opening up of new trade, establishment of means of credit, and perhaps most consequential of all from a social viewpoint, the coming of the capitalist, who, having the finances necessary to carry on the factory method of production, took over command of the industrial process. Those the capitalist hired were indeed hands who could furnish only labor and had to sell this, because it was their sole means of physical support, for such wages as indi-

vidual capitalists, competing with each other to keep the producing costs down to the lowest point, were able and willing to furnish.

In a period of such tense and rapid changes, social adjustment would necessarily be difficult and faulty. Old social attitudes and habits were continued in spite of the need of radical reconstruction. Difficulties were also magnified by the social thinking of the period. During the first part of the nineteenth century statesmen and men of business held the idea that industry was dominated by an iron law which forbade much relief from the sufferings that attended the sharp industrial changes.

An illustration of this was the general acceptance among thinkers of the teaching of Malthus, at least so far as it was an explanation of the prevailing poverty. According to this philosophy poverty was due to an increasing population and the manufacturer was a public philanthropist who made it possible for the mass of people to find the means of physical existence. Little heed was paid to Malthus' suggestion of prudential checks on population growth, but instead it was taken for granted that any effort to relieve those on the lowest levels of physical survival would merely encourage new births and enlarge the class of those who suffered. During the last part of the century, the idea of the struggle for existence which came into vogue through the theory of evolution as announced by Darwin reenforced the Malthusian philosophy as an explanation of the industrial maladjustment and suffering which was too obvious to go unheeded. Thus economics became the dismal science that interpreted the working of laws of competition which benevolence could not wisely attempt to set aside.

These thinkers argued, in brief, that the amount of wages paid had no effect on the standard of living of the working class in the long run. If wages were raised, they argued on the basis of the law of supply and demand, the workmen would feel more secure and beget more children, thereby flooding the labor market and causing a drop in the price of labor such that the excess of those seeking work would starve. When this had gone on long enough to diminish the supply of potential workers, the price of labor would again rise.



If wages were placed too low, not enough workmen would be born, the price would rise, more children would appear in the workingmen's families, and the price then would again fall. Hence, it was argued, the most benevolent thing possible is to set the wage rate at a point at which each workman will be induced to provide a grown son to replace him, that is, at the subsistence level. A change in either direction would only add to the misery of the working class as a whole. This theory was accepted by Marx and his socialist followers and forms one of their indictments against the capitalistic economic system. However, it is generally rejected by thinkers who support either capitalism or socialism, as the latter demonstrate by their efforts to improve the standard of living of the workers.

In discussing the Industrial Revolution many forget how hard was the lot of the workers before the period of change. The low standards of living, long hours of work, ill-paid labor of women and children, inadequate employment, unsanitary places of working, exploitation of every sort was to be found in the household form of industry which preceded 1760. The difference is that with the Industrial Revolution, existing evils were increased and new difficulties started.

The Industrial Revolution reduced the need of hand labor, leading to unemployment which meant for multitudes unimaginable suffering; it massed people together in manufacturing towns, resulting in slums that were both ugly and unsanitary; it speeded up work until the laborer was dominated by the machine rather than having, as did the handworker, control of the process he carried on. The most disrupting element in the experience was, perhaps, the new conditions of life which destroyed to a great extent the freedom of the worker and put him under the discipline of a system organized primarily for profit. The laborer was used to hard work and a meager living but previously he had enjoyed a degree of freedom and leisure, by being his own boss, having privileges even as a farm hand, which as a factory worker he lost at once.

The distressing consequences from the rapid industrial transition soon began to attract attention. Robert Owen, one of the first capitalists who gained immense wealth from

skill as a manufacturer, made an attack upon child labor and other evils of the new industrial situation.

Gradually a change for the better came about, due in part to pressure from the worker, in part to the humanity of the more favored classes and also as a result of the work of philanthropic statesmen like the Earl of Shaftesbury, who battled valiantly against the social evils that had developed in the progress of industry. No interpretation of this period is just which fails to notice that the worker gradually improved his status, attained a higher standard of living, and finally reached conditions of life that the worker of the preceding century would have regarded as luxury.

From a social point of view the greatest loss to the worker from the Industrial Revolution was the decrease of his mental status. Modern industry demands of the organizing and directing class a high degree of mentality, but the worker who is furnished with a machine and has his routine decided for him has little opportunity to use his mind and less need to do so. This division of labor which gives to one class skill and responsibility and to the other monotonous subserviency to a machine creates inevitable tendencies toward lack of initiative in most workers.

In fairness we must remember that this is exactly what at any period of society the powerful few in any population would have desired had it been made possible. Although democracy furnishes counteracting influences against what has been called *social decay*,\* yet the routine and mechanical character of modern industry, by lessening the need of mentality in the worker, produces both politically and socially a serious problem.

In addition to this change in the mental effort demanded of the worker, the Industrial Revolution by its redistribution of population and greater urbanizing of life, and especially by increasing wealth, eventually brought to the laborer a larger share in the comforts of life, more educational opportunities and higher standards of living. This realignment of social status did not come about quickly or without much struggle and bitter feeling. As a necessary consequence of changes in the industrial field social habits

\* R. A. Freeman, *Social Decay and Regeneration*.

were remoulded, criticism was stimulated, and a social restlessness was produced, which in our time has become characteristic and represents dynamic forces which for good or ill express themselves as a fundamental factor in American culture. Thus it is most necessary to realize that the Industrial Revolution has not yet spent its force and that new efforts at readjustment must still be expected.

#### WORLD INDUSTRY

Industry has developed to such an extent that it is no longer national in its scope. The entire world is knit together by trade; great manufacturing organizations distribute their products in every quarter of the globe. For example, the Standard Oil Company, the International Harvester Company, and the Ford Motor Company have worldwide organizations and ship their products everywhere. In industry national boundaries do not exist. The capitalist thinks internationally because his interests are worldwide. Rapid transportation has created a world market. Men everywhere, as far as their industrial relationships and interests are concerned, are forced into experiences that are no longer national. A change of fashion in America which, for example, decreased the use of silk would be a disaster to Japan, while any embargo on rubber exportations to America, would, for a time at least, stop an immense amount of manufacturing in this country. An international trade resting on a world economy is the final product of the Industrial Revolution and one which enhances the dangers of political and racial divisions.

#### INDUSTRIAL TRENDS

The size and complexity of industrial production in our period is raising problems that demand satisfactory adjustment, just as the factory system of production in the Industrial Revolution brought about new difficulties. The magnitude of manufacturing requires public regulation for which there was no occasion when production was on a smaller scale. This means changes in public policy leading

to greater regulation of hours of labor, conditions of factories and housing, protection against accidents, and the safeguarding of other public interests that cannot be left to the disposition of the employer or the desire or power of the workers. The principles of law have to be adjusted to the new status. Political government, both state and national, has added to its function as guardian of public welfare in the field of industry.

The growth of the machine industry in this country has been associated with accumulation of great sums of capital which are necessary for large plants devoted to mass production. This, in turn has led to the growth of large corporations, concentration of ownership and centralization of management, accomplished through displacement of small producing units. The net result has been an almost complete alteration of the relationships between employers and employees. The older personal relationship has tended to disappear, while at the same time the workmen have been placed in large groups and stimulated organization of labor unions. This trend has been furthered by the decrease in the number of agricultural workers in the past three decades, since the nature of their work has made it very difficult to secure closely-knit organizations among such workmen. Since 1880 the percentage of workers engaged in agriculture has decreased from about one in two to about one in four of all persons employed. At the same time, the proportions of workers engaged in industry, trade and transportation has increased from about one in three to more than one in two. This, of course, is only one way of saying that the output per laborer has greatly increased during this period. During the first quarter of the present century, output per worker increased in agriculture, 53 percent, in manufacture, 42.5 percent, in transportation 56 percent, and in mining, 99 percent.

Although reliable figures for the more recent years are not yet available and are subject to criticism because of the great industrial and commercial depression beginning in 1929, the trend seems to have been accelerated.\* The result has been

\* Cf. *Recent Social Trends* study, "Labor in the National Life," by Leo Wolman and Gustav Peck.



a steadily increasing amount of technological unemployment, or discharge of workmen because of the use of machines. Many of the displaced workers have found employment in other industries which were expanding rapidly, as those concerned with the automobile and radio; and the virtual elimination of immigration has also had its effect in decreasing the competition for jobs, but the presence of somewhere near 10,000,000 potential wage earners who were not working for the past several years indicates that the problem is one which probably will not be solved for some time to come.

The machine process as it has been applied to industry has affected the laborer in other important ways. Skill is not nearly so important as it formerly was; the emphasis is on agility and stamina. This means that the worker is more easily replaced, and, further, that it becomes profitable to replace older workmen with younger at a relatively early age. Studies of classification of industrial workers in recent years indicate that only about one fourth of the workers are now to be called skilled workmen. In the machine-producing industry this proportion falls to about one in ten.\* This replacement of skill-requiring operations by semi-automatic machines makes it much easier to maintain upper limits to the hiring age, so that it is not surprising that studies have disclosed the growing practice of refusing employment to men who have passed forty-five years. One such study found that of workmen displaced by shut-downs of plants, 71 percent of those under 45 were able to find employment within three months, while only 43 percent of those above that age were successful within that period in regaining employment.†

More and more it is felt that industrial power represents a public obligation. Business men organize to protect the indiscriminating from false advertising. The community regulates and inspects the production of milk. The national Government enforces a pure food law and requires those who use the mails to be free from the dishonesty that was once so extensively practiced by fraudulent investment

\* *Ibid.*, p. 806.

† *Ibid.*, p. 811.

enterprises. The profits of railroads, their rates, and even to a considerable extent their management, are regulated by federal and state law.

On every hand are indications of a growing demand that industry be not merely a means of making profits, but a means of contributing to the happiness and prosperity of society itself. It is true that in this matter of the public regulation of private industry, we are still in the experimental stage. The lines of development of present tendencies seem clear and promising. The value of capitalistic production is generally conceded. The advantages of private enterprise and initiative are clearly recognized.

The necessity for public control is not even denied by the captains of industry. The doctrine that economic activities are essentially social is not only making a deeper impression upon science, but has even become the belief of many of our most influential industrial leaders like John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and others. Experience alone can reveal methods, but the principle that business is not merely a private interest but, if conducted on a large scale, is at least a public utility is now firmly established in American thinking.

#### THE ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

With the advent of the modern form of industry, capitalism was the first to organize, but the gradual development of labor organizations followed.

One of the marked trends of modern industry is toward mass production. When the producer can manufacture products on a large scale he lessens the cost of making and distributing them to the consumer. This comes from the quantity of output which permits specialization of labor and of machinery. Within the plant, the division of labor makes for greater efficiency, while the quantity of production leads to the development of highly specialized machinery. The specialization and the organization that goes with it greatly lessen the cost of producing the individual unit of production, and this in turn, by lowering the cost to the consumer, extends the demand for the manufactured article. Thus mass production increases the number of consumers, while

the demand of more consumers permits the manufacturing to be carried on with all the advantages of quantity production.

As a means of fabricating material goods on a large scale, mass production is the last word in economic organization. But from the worker's point of view there are losses of great social significance. The laborer is denied not only craftsmanship, but even a skilled occupation. His work becomes extremely narrow and monotonous and is often carried on at a speed governed by the machine rather than by the worker himself. His employment is frequently precarious, because if production runs ahead of consumption a shut-down is inevitable in order to prevent rapid accumulation of a surplus of goods. The manufacturing is characterized by circumstances that reduce the interaction of employer and employee to the most impersonal relationship possible. Also, there is frequently such discrimination against workers above a certain age, often even as low as 45, that the occupation which once carried the assurance belonging to the skilled artisan becomes a blind-alley job, without advancement or even security after years of service.

In the Middle Ages there were industrial organizations known as guilds, but these protected the interests of masters rather than wage earners. As early as the eighteenth century and before the Industrial Revolution efforts were made to organize wage earners. What we know as trade unionism originated primarily from the restlessness that followed the Industrial Revolution. In England in 1800 Parliament, realizing that the labor union movement was making headway, passed a law making illegal "all agreements between journeymen and workmen for obtaining advances of wages, reduction of hours of labor, or any other changes in the condition of work." This law was not universally enforced, but it was always held in reserve to be made use of when occasion warranted. There was such need of concerted action by workmen to protect their standard of living, that in spite of the law cooperation among them proceeded, and in 1824 Parliament finally repealed this repressive legislation. A severe handicap hampered the growth of labor unions, for

they were still subject to legal prosecution. From time to time during the century new laws were passed which gave greater security to the labor union movement. In 1871 a law was enacted protecting the labor unions from prosecution on the basis that they were guilty of restraint of trade, and in 1906 peaceful picketing was legalized and the courts were forbidden to entertain action for damages against the trade union.

During the nineteenth century, beginning in a small way in New England, arose a movement toward labor unions. As early as 1795 there were in this country two labor organizations: the Typographical Society of New York City and the Federal Society of Journeyman Cord Wainers, but trade unionism had no importance until after the War of 1812 when the factory system began to develop, especially in New England. At first these organizations tended to be political in character, and because of this they soon passed without having made any lasting impression. As a consequence of this early history in America labor unionism in its later development tended to keep out of politics, and although from time to time it has effectively influenced legislation by putting pressure on the politician, at present there still exists a strong tradition against an American labor party. Not until after the Civil War did laborers begin to feel that they ran risk of losing the economic position they had attained, unless their organizations became of importance.

In 1868 came the formation of the Knights of Labor. This has been superseded by the American Federation of Labor, a more conservative organization, and one which represents the federation of local unions. This has a membership of several millions and is an important power in influencing public opinion and in controlling a large number of American workmen. Another powerful organization is that of the Railroad Brotherhoods which controls a vast number of workers engaged in railroad transportation. The American Federation of Labor has, from the beginning, resisted any attempt to make it a direct political party. It has, however, because of its industrial strength, influenced public policy, as was fully seen during the World War. More re-



cently the Congress of Industrial Organizations has challenged the dominant position of the American Federation of Labor.

Although the individual workman now has less opportunity to make his wishes known than was possible to his predecessor before the organization of great industries, he has, as a member of the labor union, the advantages of power vast beyond the dreams of those who preceded him. The labor unions have worked for better conditions in industry, shorter hours of labor, greater safety, steadier employment, higher wages, and more just treatment by those in authority.

Until recently the labor unions of the United States were usually organized along craft lines. That is, all workers who performed a particular sort of work were represented by a union which, in its turn, was loosely confederated with other unions. This type of union organization was effective so long as production units were fairly small and skill was highly important. But with the advent of increased mechanization and concentration, and the shift of industry from regions of high labor costs to those of lower, this type of union developed weaknesses. During the second decade of this century, while business in general was prosperous and employment steady, the unions lost membership and prestige. Indeed, the union membership became concentrated largely in the fields of transportation, public service, building, printing and publishing, and theaters. These industries had about 70 percent of the total union members in 1930.

Under the spur of governmental guarantees of the right of union membership and collective bargaining, shortly after this time the movement to organize workers into unions on the basis of industries rather than crafts was revived and made great headway especially in the steel and automotive industries. However, this movement provoked a bitter warfare between the older craft unions and the newer industrial ones, which, to date, has had the effect of weakening the position of labor in general in spite of the friendly attitude of the national government. The industrial unions have been charged with seeking to eliminate the employer and with holding that industrial conflict is not only inevitable

but a desirable means of attaining this end. This has thrown the employing class solidly against their efforts, and bitter conflict has ensued. Since the employers are acting in accordance with the traditional patterns, they have found it easy to label such groups as "Reds," "Communists," etc. The federal and state and municipal governments have permitted employers to hire and use large numbers of private "guards" who closely resemble troops in their actions, or even to pay the salaries and control the activities of officers holding commissions from elected peace officers.

It is of course unthinkable that the unions could have used similar forces with governmental sanction in any save a few communities in this country, so strong is the tradition that the police forces should "protect the property" of the employers; but they have retaliated by massed picketing in their efforts to prevent workmen from entering plants against which they were conducting strikes. The natural result has been a series of clashes which partook of much of the nature of pitched battles.\* Out of this situation has grown a public opinion which is demanding some workable method of settling industrial disputes be invoked by public authority. It is yet too early to predict the nature of such methods, but it seems clear that some public body such as the present National Labor Relations Board will, sooner or later, be given power to employ such recognized processes as arbitration, compromise, and participation in meeting these problems. It is becoming increasingly and painfully clear that the general public, including employer and employee along with the rest of the inhabitants of the area pay the costs of industrial unrest through higher prices for inferior products.

There has been some demand for greater self-expression for the worker in industry but the need of this has often been as keenly felt by the manufacturer and the merchant as by the labor leader. Various kinds of cooperative and profit-sharing enterprises have been started in business by those interested in a more democratic type of modern industry. Attempts have even been made to allow the worker a

\* Cf. *Report of the Committee on Education and Labor*, 76th Congress, 1st Session, for startling accounts of such activities within the past few years.

share of responsibility in the management of the business. The Dennison Factory in Framingham, Massachusetts, and Filene's Department Store in Boston are examples of this particular type of industrial experiment.

The labor union has used as its method to advance the interests of the worker: the closed shop, which forces all the workers of an industry to join a union; collective bargaining, which permits workers to cooperate rather than to compete with one another in establishing their wage; and the strike, the means of exerting pressure to enforce the employer to come to the workers' terms. The last two decades reveal a great amount of industrial conflict and many strikes, all of them costly to the general public, whatever may be their advantage to the worker as a class or to the employer of labor. The large labor organizations generally have advocated the practice of arbitration.

Since the Industrial Revolution, because of greater efficiency of economic production, resulting from improved organization, new discoveries and inventions, and the better use of resources, there has been an increase in the standards of living. This has come about in spite of the unprecedented increase in population during the same period. The higher standard of living has led to greater efficiency on the part of the worker, which in turn has increased his productivity. However, a very important influence that has tended to bring to the worker a part of the advantages of industrial development has been the protection which the labor union has provided for the workers. Collective bargaining has given them higher wages that otherwise would have gone to the producer as additional profit. As the laborer has achieved a higher standard of living, he has had greater ability to resist efforts to lower his wages. Meanwhile, modern industry has responded to this increase in consumption until in recent years it has been found that large-scale production in modern business can continue only when there is a rapid and wide distribution of material goods to consumers. Thus the higher standard of living which has resulted from modern industry has become in turn the condition of economic prosperity.

## SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY

In our time there exists a more general appreciation of the value of science and on the part of manufacturers and men of trade a willingness to invest money in research which advances scientific knowledge. The laboratory has become related to industrial processes. This is bringing greater economy and efficiency into industry.

Fortunately science is not merely devoted to the material aspect of industry. A growing demand is being made that science take over problems involving the human element. In addition to the scientific effort that has been given to the increasing of efficiency and the decreasing of wasted effort, as represented by the Taylor system, a still more human emphasis is exerted by psychology, sociology, and mental hygiene. The psychologist has been invited to study the processes of labor and the characteristics of the worker so as to minimize, by suitable vocational placement, strain and failure. The sociologist has been called in to become a mediator between employer and laborer, that greater co-operation may be maintained, while the mental hygienist has made great advance in detecting the psychopathic traits revealed in industry that become troublesome for business and a source of suffering to the afflicted person. Industrial mental hygiene is one of the most vigorous expressions of the effort to conserve, improve, and make more happy modern life by the use of science.

## EDUCATION AND INDUSTRY

Education, like science, is coming to have an ever-increasing importance for industry. Not only do our colleges and universities give courses in the various fields of business, but we also have specialized institutions, like Colleges of Commerce and Schools of Mines and of Engineering that train for managerial positions in particular industries or for commercial responsibilities. Education of this kind tends to lift the standards of industry and to emphasize the social responsibilities of the manufacturer and the merchant. More attention is also given to preparation for trades by special



schools such as the Massachusetts Textile School or the Continuation Schools which in the cities permit pupils who have to leave school early to go on with their general education on a part-time basis. Certain industries have developed this through schools. Examples of this are the work carried on by Henry Ford at Dearborn, Michigan,\* and that of the General Electric Company at Lynn, Massachusetts.

Another educational contribution to industry comes from vocational guidance the purpose of which is to direct the boy or the girl into the profession or occupation most likely to bring success and satisfaction. In many of our large cities this assistance has come to be a definite part of the educational function of the schools. Vocational guidance is also given by college experts and representatives of different kinds of business who meet youth interested in entering the fields with which the speakers are familiar. This method of having the man of special experience give advice has been developed by the Y.M.C.A. in many cities.

A most interesting and promising contribution of education to economic life is coming from adult education, which flourishes in cities. This type of education not only offers opportunity to the individual to use his leisure in a way that benefits both him and his community, but it also tends to lift standards and to furnish an antidote for monotony in the daily occupation. Most of those who elect such courses are employed day by day in their regular means of livelihood but their earnestness and practical motives offset the fatigue resulting from their day's work and make this form of education especially advantageous in present-day instruction.

One of the most significant developments in modern industry has been the use of science in furthering the individual adjustment of the worker. To this movement psychology, psychiatry, and sociology have contributed. Experience has demonstrated that the personal element cannot be safely left out of industry. Men and women are not mere machines, and from the most selfish point of view of profit their human needs require recognition. Much of this effort to apply the sciences dealing with personality to the problems of industry

\* Jerome Davis, "Henry Ford, Educator," *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 139, No. 6, pp. 803-808.

and trade represents what is known as *mental hygiene in industry*. This application of science has resulted in part from a desire to increase the efficiency of the worker, to reduce the cost of labor turnover, and to add to the content and stability of the men and women who labor. To some extent it has also come from outside of industry from doctors, psychiatrists, and social workers who in their professional service have become sensitive to conditions that militate against mental health and antagonize the happiness of the individual.

It has been found a great advantage to discover means of testing the fitness of candidates for employment, and since the days of Hugo Münsterberg, who was a pioneer in developing means of vocational tests, there has been an extensive development of methods which at present no large industry ignores. Experience has proved that it is not sufficient merely to weed out the unfit candidates from those who seek work ; there is need also of giving each individual vocational guidance within the industry, that he may find a place where he can work most efficiently and happily. This has required in turn a study of the activities enforced upon the worker, and much effort has been made to eliminate wasteful movements and conditions that add unnecessary tension and fatigue to the worker's task.

The psychiatrist has especially contributed to an understanding of the personality problems of workers, and of the significance of psychopathic behavior, whether in the manager, the overseer, or the individual laborer. Whatever the motive that has led to the introduction of mental hygiene into any particular form of industry, the trend of the movement has been toward humanizing industry. It has necessarily stressed the social aspect of economic activities and has served somewhat as an antidote to the loss of the former personal relationships which existed when businesses were small and contact of employer and employees constant and familiar. Although recent in its development, mental hygiene promises to become a necessary part of efficient and humanized industry.

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## CHAPTER XXVII

### THE STATE AND POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

We can only theorize regarding the beginning of government since it started too far back in human development for us now to be certain of its origin. Even were it possible to retrace the steps by which government appeared, there would be differences of opinion as to when political experience began, because at the first its forms would be so simple they would be hard to recognize.

It is not reasonable to suppose that government resulted from one social necessity but rather that it grew out of various demands that required a basis for authority and a means of keeping order. There has been a disposition to emphasize war as a means of bringing government, because of the supposition that the war expedition, which came into existence to protect the people, had to enforce order or fail to function. This point of view over-emphasizes the significance of warfare in primitive society. Social control was also necessary for physical survival in the conflict of man with nature in the effort to obtain the physical necessities of life.

Neither the forms nor the functions of government can be understood without continuous reference to the basic social factors in their development. Foreign trade and investment have extended our governmental interests and activities to remote and opposite parts of the globe. The automobile has overturned the ancient landmarks and boundaries between towns, counties, and even states, bringing capitals almost as near as county seats. Progress in sanitary science has brought about a revolution in public health. Urban industrial influences on the family have thrust forward the question of preventive measures against delinquency, the organization and activities of the gang, the construction of the juvenile court and a new procedure. The inflation and deflation of business and agriculture have obliged the government to undertake new activities in both fields. The shortening of the working day has precipitated a new and large problem of the use of leisure time and the relation of government to recreation. The emergence of defiant social and economic groups has upset the basis of economic and public life,

while modern methods of propaganda and publicity have profoundly affected the conduct of public relations.\*

From the point of view of the savage it was also necessary that the behavior of the individual should be so regulated as to prevent his risking the security of the people by an infringement of customs regarding the spiritual existences that, to his mind, were ever about him. For success in the hunt also it was frequently necessary that order be maintained. Without question all the social interests that required discipline of the individual for the sake of the group had to do with the coming of government.

#### PRIMITIVE POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

The political unit of savages is small, especially among those who get their food by hunting, fishing, or the more simple types of agriculture. The number of people who form a community runs from twenty to two or three hundred. The political experience of such a group is correspondingly simple. Sometimes the organization is based on family ties and the village conforms to the household.

These local units are largely self-dependent with an intense group feeling. In the sense of formal government they may be said to have little or no political life. For the purposes of social control and effective cooperation the ties of personal relationship between those on the lower levels of economic experience prove highly successful. The people protect each other from danger of animals and attack by enemies. They distribute the tasks necessary for their support. The people intermarry and carry on together the religious practices to which they are accustomed. As a group they often maintain an alliance with other similar communities. Their political experience suggests the unorganized life of the rural community as found in a district where for a considerable time there has been intermarriage and close family contact.

In the larger and more advanced groups frequently there

\* C. E. Merriam, "Government and Society" in *Recent Social Trends*, p. 1489. Quoted by permission of McGraw-Hill Book Company.

are councils made up of the older men and the chiefs. The power and the function of these chiefs vary greatly. A Roro clan in New Guinea had a head chief and a second inferior official who substituted when the first was away or ill. The head sat on the right of the platform at the clan club-house during ceremonies and the other on the left. The chief's business was primarily to stop quarreling and fighting, to establish taboos, and to take the lead in the ceremonial performances.\*

There are savage societies that have two heads, the chief, and the priest or medicine man. In such cases there may or may not be personal rivalry between the two officials, but when there is competition for power, the struggle does not go to the extent of destroying the unity of the group. Often the question of dominance is determined by superior strength of personality. In some places the chief has sacerdotal authority and is likely to be chosen from among the medicine men.

In the council of elders leadership naturally gravitates to the man who, by the tests of war or management, has proved himself equal to the responsibility of authority. War provides the best opportunity for the potential leader to reveal himself. The hunt also offers the means by which able and resourceful individuals can win prestige and climb to a position of distinction.

The weakness of central authority, noticeable especially among the North American Indians, does not lead, as one might expect, to political influence of commanding personalities, since the power of custom and public opinion take the place of administrative power. Even when there is a powerful chief at the helm of government, tradition and public opinion restrict his authority and tend to protect the individual subject from despotism.

#### FORMS OF SAVAGE GOVERNMENT

As in the case of other human institutions, government does not appear to have followed any clear evolutionary line

\* R. W. Williamson, *The Ways of the South Sea Savage*, p. 114.



of development. Nor is there any form of government which is always associated with other forms of the basic institutions.

Instead, political control among savages takes many forms and follows diverse lines of development. In North America, for instance, the trend was toward democracy, with the authority in the hands of the elders or a council elected by the people. Africa, in contrast, shows the opposite trend toward monarchy. Australia, by means of the secret society, which was under the control of the elders, was largely governed by old men. New Guinea and Polynesia held the idea of a sacred class of rulers, taboo to common people to such an extent that even the war parties had to be led by a secondary class of chiefs, since the more sacred leaders could not mingle with the common people.

In the confederation of the Iroquois Indians, which was in existence at least by 1603, we find the highest level of primitive government. It was both democratic and representative and extremely successful. As is generally known, it directly influenced the construction of the American Confederation of States, organized at the close of the Revolutionary War, which, in turn, influenced the American Constitution.

This confederation at first was composed of five tribes; later there were six. The federation was made possible by a common council consisting of a fixed number of delegates from each tribe. Each delegate was elected but the choice was made by members of a hereditary group. This election had to be approved by the tribe and also by the common council. The latter had no head and its actions usually demanded unanimous consent. The meeting of the council was made impressive by the ceremonies that accompanied it. As a result of this union of strength, the confederation, in spite of the looseness of its organization, developed traditions of political wisdom for conserving the successes of warfare, and the influence of the allied tribes became greater than their numerical strength. This is not the only confederation found among primitive people, for something similar existed also among the Maoris, but it was a rare development in savage society.

The political state among savages was not an appendix added to social experience, the original creation of some individual or genius, but a gradual development brought about by social necessity. When associations form, authority of some sort becomes imperative. The germ of government starts from the necessity of having regulation and an effective method of working together. The state, like the family, is not an adjunct grafted on human nature, but something which came to answer human need. When men join forces they must organize and accept a procedure and a leader or they cannot get the advantage of their collective strength and resources. This establishment of order and system represents even in the most simple savage communities elementary government.

This does not indicate that primitive men thought out their need and, moved by rational motives, agreed to establish order and authority. It was rather that associations became expedient and those who united with others in their struggle to survive obtained favorable conditions. The union of effort became a variation that, developing through contact, provided the means of a superior adjustment. Experience went ahead; thinking followed after.

Five forms of political organization commonly exist.

(1) *Kinship group*. This is similar to a large family made up of persons tracing their descent from a common ancestor. Usually the kinship is traced through only one line, that of the mother or that of the father. Sometimes this descent is mythical.

(2) *Locality group*. This represents a group of people gathered about an able leader. It is like a family with the exception that it contains persons who have chosen to join their forces with the particular group.

Wissler\* describes locality groups as found among the North American Indians in the bison area. They were small parties that settled in valleys during the winter, and, after planting their crops, came together in the springtime to live in villages for hunting bison. Then they returned to their localities to reap the harvest, coming together again for the fall hunting and then later returning to the valleys for the

\* *The American Indian*, p. 138.

winter. Thus they were seasonable organizations gathered about a natural leader. While they were not a family, the idea of relationship developed, although this was often merely figurative. Locality groups have been found in Africa and other sections of the world as well as among the North American Indians. Indeed, there seems to be a disposition among hunting and fishing people to form themselves into locality groups.

(3) *Clan and gens*. These two terms represent groupings within the tribe. The clan designates the group composed of those who carry the group name, transmitted through the mother's line, and the gens refers to those who trace their family name through the father's line. These divisions are very common among savage peoples and were highly developed among the North American Indians, especially on the northwest coast. The clan and gens relationship has much to do with marriage, since the union of persons with the same clan or gentile name is usually forbidden. Thus the clan and the gens constitute the means of enforcing exogamy. Often we find among primitive people a high sense of clan responsibility for the action of the individual and a strong feeling of solidarity. The clan or the gens is frequently associated with a totemic origin which adds to the strength of the clan feeling.

(4) *Moieties*. Occasionally we find tribes divided into two sections, not necessarily equal in number. These two sections are known as *moiety*s. There is uncertainty whether the moiety resulted from a combination of clans or whether the clan came from the breaking into smaller units of the moiety, although the former seems more in accord with the development of primitive political experience.

(5) *Tribe*. The tribe is the most highly developed political unit, if we exclude the confederacy, achieved by savages. It is, however, political only in the simplest sense. The people who compose it share common purposes, especially those of war, and speak a common dialect, and recognize no external authority except in the rare cases in which they belong to a confederacy, and even then, although the responsibilities of the alliance are accepted, tribal integrity is maintained. While tribal organization usually exists among

savages, it is sometimes difficult to find definite tribes, for among some peoples, especially the Melanesians, the vague political unity of the people in different localities rests upon personal, clan, and family relationships with no clearly defined center of authority, while in other very advanced savage societies we find tribal organizations that are essentially simple states.

#### LOWIE'S THEORY OF THE STATE

In his *Origin of the State* Robert H. Lowie, one of the most influential of American anthropologists, discusses with his characteristic clearness the problem of primitive government and the establishment of sovereignty. He calls attention to the fact that modern ethnology does not accept the idea of the unilinear evolution of the state, which would require that all societies under the impulse of some mystic *vis politica* pass through corresponding stages of development on their way to a common goal. In the social coercion which may best be thought of as public opinion Professor Lowie finds the elemental expression of the modern state.

Earlier students in their analysis of savage political experience were impressed by the great differences between primitive and civilized government and stressed kinship as the factor that led to political solidarity. Lowie believes that the former writers overlooked the more subtle public opinion which functioned as law. When this public opinion which expressed the social code was violated the reaction was quick and severe. Everywhere some deeds are thought of as crimes and their commission followed by punishment. The nature of crime differs from tribe to tribe, but in all savage societies we find its existence.

In this coercive power of public opinion, which is in its essence sovereignty, lies the chief influence in bringing about the territorial unity which in the modern state has become the characteristic feature. A coercive force, whether in the hands of a group or a person, acts to bring to consciousness the elemental sense of relationship and fellow-feeling which is found in all human societies. From this



seed develops that loyalty which in our civilization is felt for the political sovereign or the national flag.\*

#### THE RULE OF CHILDREN

It is interesting to watch the spontaneous development of social control among children. Such an organization as the George Junior Republic is manifestly largely an imitation of adult life and although it throws light upon childhood nature, it does not reveal the normal methods, during this age-period, of obtaining social order. The experience of children in their undertakings shows two distinct types of expression. The first is the spontaneous following of some child with initiative or with the prestige that comes from a definite accomplishment. This temporary fixing of authority appears on the playground, where the children follow the leader of the moment, or accept the best player of the game or the most skilled debater, for example, as the leader in baseball or in the literary club.

A different sort of government, more exacting and more self-conscious, is that of the gang which flourishes during the adolescent period, although among boys more than girls. The boys' gang is more frequently mischievous, therefore attracts greater attention than that of the other sex. The common secret societies of girls from eight to fourteen are more concerned with their own activities and plans than with seeking outside conflict, and perhaps a heavier parental hand, reenforced by a less lenient public opinion, allows them shorter rein than their brothers. The popularity of the Girl Scouts, the Camp Fire Girls, and similar organizations opens the question whether or not the tendency of girls to organize has in the past been discouraged by custom. However that may be, the boys' gang which arises without adult encouragement is, at present, our best known example of the origin of rudimentary government in the development of youth.

In the formation of the gang both proximity and the common interests of the members play their part. The activities the group carries on are largely the result of the personality

\* R. H. Lowie, *The Origin of the State*, pp. 112-117.

that leads. Here the influence of suggestion and environmental experience is easily seen. Whether small or large in number the group has a strong feeling of loyalty and, usually, firm discipline. At times the society is predatory but more often its interests are in sport. The names adopted are suggestive although fortunately the gangs do not always act in accord with the designation they have chosen.

Gangs sometimes dissolve by the mere growing-up of their members; occasionally they continue until the membership is scattered and the old familiarity passes. The fact that the gang is so often charged with lawless conduct must not blind the adult to its social significance. Its government may be rude and incompatible with the standards of grown-ups, but for the boy it represents self-chosen authority and ideals. It is because the gang by its appeal captures the child's imagination and sense of loyalty that it has the power of leading him into theft, lying, and various forms of vice.

Not only is there a strong resemblance between the gang of adolescents and the political organization of adults, but the one often develops directly into the other. Often an astute political leader will become a sort of patron for a boy's gang. He will supply them with a meeting place, perhaps, or may speak a "good word" to the policemen in the neighborhood for them. Often he takes them on a picnic or other outing. In return the boys distribute handbills, attend political rallies sponsored by their "friend" and lead the applause at the proper moments, or may serve to intimidate voters of the opposition and keep them away from the polls. Such organizations often become political clubs when the boys have become old enough to vote.

In contrast with this self-constituted form of government stands that of the parent, the school, and the community, which so often to the child seems external and coercive authority whose dominance he secretly condemns. As a consequence, as we know from a study of juvenile crime, any happening in home, school, or community which injures the self-respect of the child or hurts him to the quick creates a spirit of rebellion which is easily, by suggestion, turned into anti-social conduct and becomes the motive force that leads the personality to crime.

## THE MEANING OF THE STATE

The child exhibits the first trace of the idea of a legal system in his protest when some other child has not observed the rules of a game or through desire to tease or pure maliciousness breaks up the play and spoils the fun. In such cases it is not unusual for the whole group to attack the offending member and ostracize him from their play. Often the offender is an invader from outside who trusts to his legs for protection and immediately attempts to interfere with the amusement of another group of children. His behavior not uncommonly is at heart a protest against being left outside and evidences the beginning of anti-social conduct which a little later becomes troublesome to adults and brings him under the heavy hand of the law. Although children are greatly influenced by the attitude of adults in their reaction to the pressure of public opinion and legal authority, they all develop from the necessities of their own experience some understanding of the meaning of group authority. Even the criminal gang has its own code and its own rules of conduct which it rigorously enforces.

Although children learn from their association with others the value of rules of conduct, this by no means establishes in them regard for the regulations imposed by public authority. On the contrary, they frequently seem lawless in their attitudes, especially with the approach of adolescence. Part of this comes from thoughtlessness and lack of imagination. They are less hostile than indifferent to the regulations and the proprieties. This merely means that they have not had the experience necessary to discover the values which the customs or regulations attempt to protect.

About the time of adolescence, on the other hand, it is also true that many begin to show a rebellious attitude. The onset of adolescence leads to increased aggressiveness and this in turn frequently involves conflict, not only between the child and his parents but in the inner life of the child, between his desire to do as he pleases and his wish to conform to the exhortations of his father and mother. Where there has been strict regulation of the child by a family policy that leads the parent to follow every detail of

his behavior, the adolescent usually feels irritation and is led into hostility toward any kind of outside control. Those experienced in problems of juvenile delinquency have discovered that here appears a common cause of youthful crime. Adults who are skilled in dealing with young people are careful not to seem willful or trivial in their discipline, but instead give those under their charge freedom to learn from personal experience the advantages of rules of conduct and methods of procedure as the means of giving each individual a just chance in his play or work with others, and the value of team play as a method of protecting against anarchistic confusion.

#### EVOLUTION OF THE STATE

The state registers in form and function the social conditions that constitute the background of the group. The influence of the family and the idea of kinship appear early in the history of the state and have so large a place that authorities have described the early state as a mere enlargement of the family.

Geographical conditions also operate upon the political life of a people. For instance, the mountainous character of Switzerland enables it to maintain its existence although surrounded by stronger political states. Even in the World War its neutrality was respected by the warring nations. On the other hand, Belgium, weak in natural defense, and pressed between Germany and France, has been, as its history shows, the cock-pit of Europe. The tribal organization of the Arabs reveals a political adaptation to the requirements of nomad existence. Geographic isolation is another example, since it tends to hold back political experience in the same way that it checks the development of other aspects of social life.

Industrial conditions also influence the state, as is easily seen in the effect the rise of property rights had in extending the domain of the law and increasing the authority of savage governments as instruments for the preserving of peace. In our own time capitalistic combination has changed to an appreciable extent the practices of our Federal Government and even legal theory. As great organizations,



through their power, became a danger to the citizens new legislation had to be passed and regulating boards such as the Interstate Commerce Commission instituted.

Religion makes its impression upon political authority, as is strikingly portrayed by the Puritan settlements in New England and the government instituted by Calvin at Geneva. Calvin created a government that extended the jurisdiction of the church over the individual until even details of conduct became subject to ecclesiastical control. In harmony with the ideas of the time, doctrines were prescribed and in 1553 Servetus was burned at the stake for his unorthodox beliefs. The Puritan colony was an oligarchy, or, as some have called it, a theocracy. John Winthrop, the governor, expressed its spirit when he affirmed the folly of referring important matters "to the body of the people, because the best part is always the least and of that best part, the wiser part is always the lesser." \* The intolerance of the Massachusetts oligarchy was the natural consequence of the concentration of religious and political authority in the hands of the same close corporation.

During the period when kings flourished in Europe their position was buttressed by the teaching of the church. Everywhere bishops and priests stood high, as chancellors of the state, and with few exceptions the church officials were intense in their support of the crown. The person and the position of the monarchs were given the protection of a halo of sanctity. In oriental countries the kingship was still more allied to religion, the monarch of the state being also the head of the church. This alliance of church and state tended toward intolerance, for it became the duty of the political authorities to protect the doctrines of the church. Until church and state separated and ecclesiastical interests could not invoke the power of the state to enforce their teaching, little intellectual freedom was possible.

Conquest is a common method by which governments have developed. Although this has been the usual method by which states have increased in size, they also grow by purchase of territory and alliance. From Aristotle's time

\* R. V. Harlow, *Growth of the United States*, p. 47. Quoted by permission of Henry Holt & Company.

many have attempted to formulate a definite order of procedure to describe the development of political experience. A recent statement of this procedure is from kinship to autocratic authority, which in turn gives way to a democratic citizenship.\*

It is more in accord with the facts of human experience along political lines to think of an irregular development which permits diverse forms of the state to be contemporaneous and which requires that a particular government be understood, not as a point in an evolutionary scale, but as a specific construction, the product of many social influences.

#### FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE

The primary function of the state is to protect its citizens and maintain order. Internally this means preventing lawless persons from inflicting physical injury or in any way damaging the interests of others. To carry out this function law has to be made, codes created to interpret and administer it, police organized to guard property and apprehend the criminal, and prisons established as a means of holding in custody those who have done harm or endangered the peace and security of other people. The state is responsible for maintaining the security of its people from the attack of other states or from foreign individuals who unlawfully enter its territory. The state is bound to protect its citizens from these external dangers, and for this purpose has had to maintain a military system. War has been the chief danger of the citizens, and military protection the primary function of the state.

The secondary functions of modern government have become so numerous and complex that their description covers the entire social experience of modern people. One of the foremost responsibilities of the modern state is the regulation of industry and transportation in such ways as to build up conditions that are fair and for the general welfare, instead of permitting selfish power to hurt the citizens. An example of this sort of undertaking is the American Pure Food Law, which, for the purpose of protecting the health

\* J. J. Findlay, *Introduction to Sociology*, p. 151.

of the people, forbids adulteration of food material. The modern state has considerable responsibility in health regulation, illustrated by the quarantine inspection given travellers who seek to enter American territory. Educational regulation also becomes a prominent part of modern state administration, although in the United States this is under the jurisdiction of the separate states of the union, rather than federal authority. The care of dependent and defective, the establishment of patent rights and copyrights, the maintenance of systems of taxation, the administration of the postal service also illustrate the breadth of function that characterizes modern government.

As civilization has become more mature the tendency has been toward an enlargement of these secondary functions. In the ordinary experiences of social contact the citizen now thinks of his government as the power that protects his legal interests and makes possible the orderly procedure of the complicated activities of modern life rather than as an instrument that protects him from the violence of his fellows or the attacks of belligerent nations. Through these complicated undertakings the theory of the state, to some extent, and the political practices, to a great extent, are constantly changing as the government is forced by the complexity of modern society to assume new duties and carry on new activities.

Along with industrial and commercial organizations, the governmental units have called experts in increasing numbers into their service. The presence and influence of these men is felt in such functions as public health, budgetary control, personnel selection and direction, welfare work, engineering. At the same time there has been an increasing dependence of governmental bodies on the findings of commissions and of research organizations at the various universities. Together these factors make for planned governmental activity in contrast to the "muddling through" too often characteristic of the past.

This development has been, in large part, the result of the greatly increased governmental activity of the past few decades in line with the growing conviction that government is an agency to be used by the people as a whole rather than



an umpire to settle disputes between individuals and the public at large. Governmental attempts at control of business through such legislation as that affecting employer-employee relationships or the anti-trust legislation ; extension of welfare activities such as education, relief for the distressed poor, recreation, and health ; services to business and agriculture, as through market reporting ; extension and supervision of the transportation and communications systems of the nation ; and attempts to regulate vice, as through anti-narcotic laws, control of the sale of alcoholic beverages, censorship of the use of the mails—all of these have created a demand for persons with specialized knowledge in the various fields concerned. At the same time, they indicate a fundamental change in our governmental philosophy.

Emergence of pressure groups and their assumption of much of the power supposedly exercised by the elected representatives is one of the most striking features of the recent political picture of the nation. Representing the widest variety of geographic and occupational interests, lobbyists have used the new methods of propaganda and of direct pressure to secure the passage of legislation designed to serve their particular interests. This, of course, is no new thing in government ; it has been present always. But their activity seems to be more strenuous, more open, and more effective than in the past. Through organized pressure, they often succeed in making legislators on all levels of government believe that their chances of holding their positions are dependent upon doing the will of some such group. Nor is this unlikely to be true, since such groups often succeed in deciding elections. They also write proposed laws for presentation by legislators, create public sentiment in favor of their causes, and by such means as deluges of telegrams stampede legislatures into passing the bills they favor. This in spite of the fact that they have no public position and hence no public responsibility. Much of the power of such lobbyists comes from the fact that they represent powerful corporations or blocs of votes. Thus there are several corporations in the United States who employ more persons and have higher revenues than any governmental agency other than the Federal Government. There are other organiza-



tions with memberships including hundreds of thousands of voters. Office holders find it easy to believe that such powerful groups express the will of the majority.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

The Greeks were the first to study political problems seriously. Their interest was mainly philosophic with the exception of Aristotle, who, given by Alexander the Great, his former student, the means for collecting a quantity of political data, used the method of comparison in his treatment of politics. The Romans, basing their theories largely on the work of the Greeks, turned their attention to the practical problems of government and law.

During the mediæval period attention was fixed on the contest between church and state. In some writers, for example Machiavelli, we find the beginning of an escape from the legal and theological theories of the time. Had this departure been equal to the task of turning political thought away from the philosophic, political science might have appeared sooner than it did.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the natural law speculation dominated political thinking. This philosophy rested on the notion of a state of nature, a period of time when the traits of man were revealed in the deliberate construction of the state. Although this idea of a previous state of nature was mere fancy, it contributed to man's political progress by leading him to examine the basis of government, freed from theological entanglements, and this in turn stimulated the revolutionary and democratic movements of the period.

Among the most influential of these thinkers was Thomas Hobbes, whose *Leviathan*, in the seventeenth century, is credited with having founded the modern school of political theory. The chief contributions of this famous book were the doctrine of sovereignty and the theory of social contract. The first established the idea that in any government it is necessary to find a central authority to which all other powers of the state are subject. The possession of this power is sovereignty, and the person or body in which it resides is

the sovereign. It was in the effort to defend the reasonableness of this final political authority that Hobbes constructed his imaginary covenant to which all were supposed to have subscribed through their representatives at the time of the origin of the political state. According to Hobbes, government came about through the effort of the people to rid themselves of the natural anarchy which existed when there was no sovereign authority, and which had made the life of each person "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short."

This speculation as to the origin of government was more than an attempt by the author to rid himself of personal feelings of insecurity in the tumultuous period of his public life. It was even more an expression of the need widely felt for a rational basis of government and law. In his chief successors, Locke, Rousseau, Burke, and Bentham, was seen the same striving to construct a rational defense of the function of government. Political speculation came to the end of its vogue in the logic of John Stuart Mill, a commanding figure, who attempted to bring politics under the laws of reasoning.

During the eighteenth century the theories of law and government registered the force of the growing democratic trend of Europe and America, a movement which brought forth the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the English Reformation, and the discussions centered about the rights of man rather than the rational basis of government. The American Declaration of Independence brought these speculations regarding liberty and the right of self-government into the realm of practical politics.

Later, in the formulation of the American Constitution, reaction to this democratic trend appeared, coming primarily from the moneyed and the official classes and leading to compromises in an effort to construct the stable and workable national government which social conditions made imperative. With the adoption of this program of government, the Democratic movement ushered in by Jefferson turned into an effort to control the power of the Federal Government for the interest of the rank and file of the citizenship, and in this struggle the influence of the western frontier was decisively and almost invariably on the side of democracy.

The Civil War is increasingly interpreted as the culmination of resistance to this democratic trend. Jefferson made American democracy politically powerful, Jackson gave it form as a government of the people and for the people, and Lincoln brought it through its greatest crisis.

Merriam gives the following as the chief lines of development in recent political thinking :

Down to 1850—the *a priori* and deductive method.

1850 to 1900—the historical and comparative method.

From 1900—observation, the survey and measurement.

Most recently—a psychological trend in political discussions.\*

#### THE MEANING OF LAW

Among savage peoples, we do not find a clear understanding of law or a detailed enactment of legal principles. What we do find is custom maintained by public opinion which, although it is not enforced by a specially organized body like our police, is nevertheless generally observed. In the savage situation we see the power of primary contact, especially when in addition to the social pressure of other persons' reactions there is also the idea of religious penalty for disobedience of the prevailing regulations. The savage, even more than modern man, fears ridicule. Custom and the mores represent the early expression of law.

The savage is largely influenced in his development of criminal law by the dangers that personal vengeance brings to the security of the tribe or clan. The general principle of a life for a life appears in the early criminal customs of primitive people. The advantage of having a customary means of settlement of trouble between families rather than the perpetuation of a blood feud leads to the development of the modern idea of damages or paying of fines. Much of the legal procedure of simple people is spontaneous. It does not suggest a judicial organization but a discussion rather than a trial. The elementary legal thinking of primitive people over-emphasizes the idea of joint liability even to the extent of sometimes making the oldest brother responsible with his life for a murder inflicted by his younger

\* E. C. Hayes, ed., *Recent Developments in the Social Sciences*, p. 321.

brother. Here the idea is not so much that injury has been done by an individual as that a family or clan has done damage.

#### RECENT CHANGES IN AMERICAN LAW

Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, one of the ablest of American jurists, has said that the life of law is not logic but experience. In primitive society we find the beginning of law as a means of securing peace by avoiding the conflict of personal contention. Law emerges as a better method of settling disputes than that of leaving to the individuals the necessity of fighting it out among themselves.

Because law at the beginning is primarily settlement of difficulties, it gradually developed into a system of protection against wrong. The individual looks to the state for help when his rights are invaded. In more developed society, law even protects the individual from the tyranny of persons of power and officials of the government. Thus law comes to mean protection of personal rights, and in the history of American law this has led to the stressing of the rights of property. From the colonial period until at least the end of the Civil War, this has been a marked feature of American law. It is largely explained by the character of American society from the period of colonization until the time of rapid development of industry and capitalism. During this period free land and lack of emphasis upon class distinction gave each individual a chance to rise with as little handicap as social conditions have ever presented. Under such a situation it was natural for public opinion to register the belief that what one achieved, one deserved; that whatever property he acquired, the state should sacredly protect.

With the end of the Civil War came a second period in the development of American law with a tendency away from emphasis upon property rights and greater insistence upon social justice. It has been felt that the worker, for example, needed protection beyond that which he could obtain by his theoretic right of freedom to labor and to make contracts, a right which in actual experience proved a



handicap rather than an advantage. A great quantity of social legislation has been enacted during this period. Much of it has been for the purpose of moral protection, an example of which is the Mann Act. There have also been efforts to protect women, children, and the worker, especially on the lower economic level, from conditions from which the individual has no adequate means of guarding himself.

During this second period, as is commonly recognized, there has been growing dissatisfaction with litigation as a means of settling difficulties, and a suspicion of legal decision. Criminal law has been even more criticized than civil, and has proved itself imperfectly adapted to present needs. Of late, much effort has been made to reform the criminal law, and not without success. The greatest difficulties, aside from corruption, are the getting of a competent jury to try cases, the throwing-out of indictment upon trivialities, the emotional oratory of lawyers during the trial, and the opportunity for appeals to a higher court with all the delay that this permits.

Professor Pound says that there have been during the last generation eight notable trends in the legal system of the United States :

(1) There has been more and more limitation of the rights of property for the purpose of preventing anti-social use of the power that possession of wealth brings.

(2) The power of contract has been limited so as to guard those subjected to economic pressure from being obliged to act contrary to their best interests.

(3) The power to dispose of property has been limited, as, for example, by laws that require the wife's agreement before the husband can sell the homestead.

(4) The creditor's power to obtain damages has been limited, as when the creditor may not take away the tools of the artisan, because by doing this he might reduce the debtor to beggary.

(5) There has been insistence upon liability without fault, so that the injured person in a hazardous occupation need not prove negligence on the part of the employer in order to obtain protection from injuries.

(6) There is a tendency to emphasize the social value of national resources and to prohibit the injury or destruction by property owners of what are regarded as assets of society, as in regulations of running water.

(7) There is an increasing tendency to hold public funds responsible for injuries to individuals by public agencies.

(8) There has been a change in legislation and judicial decision regarding the old attitude of the law toward the rights of parents. No longer do the courts make decisions based upon the natural rights of parents, but instead we are beginning to have emphasis upon the rights of children and the responsibilities of parents.\*

These eight trends in recent American law reflect the changing circumstances of a society becoming more industrialized and less rural. During the first period, discussion centered about political rights, and now it is concerned with questions of social justice. Law is not immediately responsive to changes in social experience, but even when its adjustments are made slowly, it is truly reflective of cultural conditions and human needs.

#### THE GROWTH OF LAW

One of the characteristic elements of American culture is the exaggerated confidence in law and in the multiplicity of regulations as a means of social control. It has been stated, for example, that the average city citizen in his ordinary occupations is surrounded by thousands of regulations most of which he does not know and many of which are not consistently enforced.

In the oldest sections of the country there are still outworn laws that have not been repealed although they are contrary to general practices and are merely ignored by the police. Each session of Congress and of the state legislature adds heavily to the quantity of laws that are passed to regulate social behavior. Much of this is due to an increase of activities, the conduct of which for the general good cannot be left to personal decision. Nevertheless there is too great a disposition to attempt to bring about by legal enactment what had better be left to public opinion or to personal ethics. As a result many laws are passed that have trivial motives and by their nature are bound to fail of enforce-

\* R. Pound, *The Spirit of the Common Law*, pp. 185-189. Adapted by permission of Marshall Jones Co.

ment. In practice it is difficult to distinguish between the law that is imperative because of a new situation which demands public control and the eagerness that leads a legislative body to attempt to hasten the social good by premature or trivial regulation.

Although the trend in this country within the past few decades has undoubtedly been in the direction of so-called "social legislation," the peculiar position of the Supreme Court has been of paramount importance. As recent students of the problem have pointed out, all such legislation involves limitations on the right of individual persons and corporations to the use of their property, or their freedom of action. The courts, and the Supreme Court in the final appeal, are called upon to decide whether such limitations are within the existing legal provisions, or whether they are just and reasonable. To these questions "the answer depends upon the opinions, beliefs and even the prejudices of judges, their knowledge of the basic conditions involved, their view of the proper scope of governmental activity, their willingness to let legislatures experiment with a social and economic theory with which they are not sympathetic. The personal elements involved destroy the clear force of precedents and render prediction impossible." \*

In spite of this uncertainty, the general trend seems to be clearly toward more social control of business and industry. This trend is revealed in legislation fixing prices and services to be rendered by public utilities and transportation agencies; an encouraging attitude on the part of law-making and enforcing bodies toward the use of farmer's cooperatives; increasingly strict regulation and higher taxation of chain store corporations; enactment and enforcement of "blue sky" laws designed to prevent the fleecing of ignorant investors; a multitude of laws attempting to regulate employer-employee relationships, including wages and hours laws and more stringent provisions for compensation for injury; provision for the public support of aged and other dependents; extension of community functions, as in zoning laws, regulation of the

\* Charles E. Clark and William O. Douglas, "Law and Legal Institutions," in *Recent Social Trends*, p. 1431. Quoted by permission of McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc.

right to drive an automobile or airplane. All of these movements together form a tendency on the part of legislators and the courts away from the older *laissez-faire*, individualistic philosophy. They reflect a growing conviction that the person is dependent upon society and is unable to protect himself when acting alone. This has meant, of course, that the older concepts of rights and of property have been subject to limitation.

An interesting and important development in the administration of law within the last few decades has been the increasing number of commissions with fact-finding and judicial powers. This movement is represented by the Interstate Commerce Commission, the National Labor Relations Board, and a host of other similar bodies. These bodies seem to have grown up from a feeling that experts are required to pass on matters coming before such bodies and the desire to escape the minute regulations with which ordinary court procedure is hedged about. However, such administrative boards and commissions have not yet attained the power or prestige of the courts, the older form through which such problems were handled. In general their purpose seems to be that of regulation so as to prevent suffering rather than the older idea of the sufferer being free to sue for damages already inflicted.

#### INTERNATIONAL LAW

Although we have flexible practices and rules that have been accepted by the leading states of the world there is no international law in the sense that it can be enforced as law within the states is enforced. Many of our attempts to regulate international affairs are by special treaty. The difficulty, obviously, with international regulation is that there is no central authority which has the power to interpret and to enforce regulations, and at this point occurs one of the most vexing problems created by the modern state. As has been said with reference to industry, many of the interests of greatest importance to social welfare are international in scope and bring the modern states into contact, yet there is no satisfactory means of arbitration of difficulties or the ad-



justment of damages that may have originated within a foreign state.

It must not be forgotten that public opinion, although easily exploited and awkward in its means of expression, has, even in international matters, considerable and increasing influence. Unquestionably public opinion was a significant force during the World War. The effort of both belligerent parties to win its favor reveals how forcefully it is felt as an instrument of control by modern statesmen in the European War beginning in 1939.

#### EDUCATION AND POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

The relation between political experience and education is reciprocal. Not only have there been industrial gains but also moral and social advances through legislation. Law and its enforcement are necessarily one element in the educational influences that mould character.

When we turn to education itself as the formal system of public instruction we discover still more vividly the inherent relationship between government, law, and education. Education contributes to the spirit of law and order. It makes possible general intelligence, which alone establishes actual democracy. It encourages the spirit of cooperation and fair play with greater success than can law, which operates to maintain just conduct between citizens. It assumes reasonable responsibility along social lines, and it brings to the attention of youth the existence of social problems that menace happiness, while revealing the resources in the hands of the citizens for the solution of difficulties.

The history of political government discloses the risk of holding to tradition or refusing to make adjustment because of new social conditions. The school above everything else, if it is to contribute seriously to social welfare, must encourage freedom of investigation and make critical appraisal of what is being done to meet present needs lest the dead hand of the past menace political development.

Competition, to a large extent, insures progress along industrial lines, but education is primarily our only hope in encouraging the political advance that can keep government

in good adjustment with public needs. Rarely does the state move beyond the general maturity of its citizenship. Fortunately, in recent years not only has the social motive received emphasis in public school education, but the educational experience of the child has to a considerable extent become itself a social training. Since social thinking can be done only through practice, these new departures for the purpose of providing a more adequate social education are advances of direct sociological interest.

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## CHAPTER XXVIII

### SOCIAL AREAS

#### THE COMMUNITY AND THE REGION

Not only is society organized in terms of folkways, mores, and institutions of various sorts, but also on the basis of area. Every social event takes place *somewhere*. Particular institutions serve definite areas which may be delimited on maps. Folkways and mores vary from one place to another. The elements of culture become woven into patterns which are characteristic of areas on the face of the earth. They form configurations which are unique and which distinguish each area from all others. It is this totality to which the person responds and which moulds his personality. While it is essential that the elements of the social order be discussed separately for purposes of analysis it is equally necessary that they be recombined into the sorts of units in which persons and groups actually live if they are to be understood as they function in our lives. Such clusters of culture traits, material and immaterial, and the complexes they form, may be seen in the community, the culture area, the region, and the nation. In these units we see not a series of separate folkways, mores, institutions, nor even culture complexes, which may be taken up and examined at leisure, one by one, but a living culture, functioning as a whole, in which the traits are interrelated so that one is dependent upon the others and in which a change affecting one part must affect all others. Instead of examining the trees, we view the forest. Instead of analysis we have integration.

The smallest social unit within which is to be observed an integration of the fundamental institutions, or their services, is known as the *community*. In each established community area are to be found the family, economic arrangements, some provision for teaching the young, a formal or informal but well recognized means of selecting leaders and representatives of the group as a whole, and some organized

means of religious expression. On the frontier fringe these institutions emerge and take definite shape as the incipient community gains stability and permanence. Until they have been organized, the settlement is more a camp than a community; the residents adopt the attitudes of sojourners who wish to secure as much wealth as rapidly as possible and then go "back home" to the comforts and restraints of familiar institutions. Dwellers in such places form social groups, but they do not form societies, even in miniature.

Even more basic to the community than the presence of institutions is the feeling of "belonging" to the place, a consciousness of kind, an awareness of sharing a common fate. Communication and interaction within the community limits are more efficient and more intimate than between communities. There is more than a coincidental resemblance between the terms "community," "communication," and "communion."

The community is best understood if interest is centered on what it does, rather than on what it is from the point of view of structure. First of all, it is a social grouping in which the fundamental interests of persons find expression; a configuration of interrelated institutions, mores and folkways, through which persons express themselves and by which they are controlled. Thus the community process is one of "interaction giving rise to interdependence, cooperation, collaboration, unification"\* with the result that the persons living in the community come to possess a feeling of fellowship or at least of mutual dependence.

For our purposes, the community is simply a particular type of spatial group plus its culture, an activity circle which embraces the inhabitants of an area and functions in a specific manner. More concretely defined, a community is a population aggregate, inhabiting a contiguous territory, integrated through common experience, possessing a number of basic service institutions, conscious of its local unity, and able to act in a corporate capacity.†

\* E. C. Lindeman, article on "Community" in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. IV, pp. 102-105. Quoted by permission of The Macmillan Company.

† Lloyd Allen Cook, *Community Backgrounds of Education*, p. 27. Quoted by permission of McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc.

Structurally, the community consists of a geographic area, a complement of institutions, and the persons who participate in those institutions. Formerly the term community was commonly used to refer to a political subdivision and was more or less synonymous with such terms as hamlet, town, or city. However, it is evident that the community is not to be bound by political considerations alone. It performs many other functions, some of which are quite unlikely to fit into the same area as the political subdivision. To define it in terms of any one of its functions is to neglect others which also are essential. Some functions are of more importance than others, it is true; but the relative importance of functions performed by the community will vary widely with the point of view of the student. And in all cases the community is a complex of relationships, a social unit.

This is more apparent in savage than in civilized society since in the former the communities are smaller and usually coincide with the social groups. Hence, it is not surprising that Wissler defined a community as "a group of people camping together, or living in one locality, regarding themselves as a unit and operating as such."\* This sense of belonging is somewhat weakened in our society because of the great number of social groups which may be found in our great communities. But it is essential to the community spirit. Unless it is present between the persons and their groups forming a large city, it is doubtful whether such an area should be described as a community or as a mere aggregation of persons and groups. Large cities are communities in the sense that they correlate and unify the activities of the persons living within them, but the sense of unity of interest is often weak or lacking.

#### SAVAGE COMMUNITIES

This sense of unity is strongest in the villages of the uncivilized. Here the community is coterminous with the social group. Every person living within the community takes part, in some capacity, in all of the enterprises and

\* *Introduction to Social Anthropology*, p. 15. Quoted by permission of Henry Holt & Co.

activities. Each person is well acquainted with most of the culture traits used by the various functionaries, whether he has ever used them himself or not. The institutionalized patterns of behavior are implicit and informal rather than explicit and formalized. Rules and regulations are carried in the minds of persons rather than printed in booklets. Situations are met by custom; discussion is invoked only in case of crisis. There is, of course, division of labor, but this is largely on the basis of sex and both men and women are careful not to invade the realm of the other sex. Beyond this there are the more specialized functions of the chief and shaman, but in most cases their functions are well understood by the entire community. The family, considered by most sociologists as the elemental social unit, tends to lose its importance where a person may attach himself to another family at will and where there is little or no family privacy. The community, rather than the institution, is the social unit in such society, and much of the activity of the person is participation in community activity.

. . . we see the community as a group of individuals, male and female, children and adults, young and old, following standardized procedures, not necessarily doing the same thing at the same time, but different things more or less according to rule, so synchronized as to feed, clothe, house, control and entertain the members of the group. Members of the group can act individually, in pairs, etc., but also as a unit. Those familiar with primitive life have noted how, as a team, the community will concentrate upon certain specific tasks.\*

It is this effect of synchronized activity on the part of the community which has led anthropologists to select the community as the basic social unit. This same function is also performed by the modern, large community, but the complexity of the process and the huge number of persons and groups involved make it more difficult to recognize.

This intense homogeneity of the savage community is partly due to the small number of persons. Savage villages seldom contained as many as 500 persons, and ranged downward to below 100 of all ages and both sexes. This was in part a result of the savage economy. Where a community is

\* *Ibid.*, p. 25.



totally self-sufficient, as were most savage communities, for the everyday needs of life, and where all supplies must be transported on the backs of men and women, the area exploited will not be larger than a man can walk across in one day. The amount of game to be found in such an area, or the tillable land, under agricultural techniques of savages, will not support a large population.

On the other hand, a certain minimum number is required to support the essential institutions so that there will be, in general, a tendency for those living within an area to cluster together in a community rather than maintain separate homesteads. However, the state of culture used by the people will also affect the size of the community. In California, the Indians had the most dense population in North America, using only one-half to one square mile per person. These people possessed what is generally considered the most primitive of all the American cultures. They knew nothing of agriculture and much of their food consisted of insects and roots, with an occasional small animal. Under such conditions, the tribes in this territory seem to have averaged between 200 and 300 inhabitants.

The spirit of fellowship existing in the savage community is also partly a result of the almost total isolation of such groupings. His own community is often the only world the savage knows. He is aware that there are other communities, but with almost no contact there is only a negligible influence of one on the other to be observed.

Both the size of the community and the feeling of nearness among the inhabitants would seem to vary directly with the efficiency of communication and transportation devices in use. As new ideas and new products are introduced, the dependence upon the immediate community is lessened and the sense of loyalty to local institutions and folkways gives way to an identification with larger areas and more generalized institutions.

This may be demonstrated, as Dawson and Gettys have,\* by a description of communities arranged along a scale running from the most remote savage ones to the modern metropolis. The agricultural village in a semi-savage society,

\* *Introduction to Sociology*, Part I.

where there is some connection with the outside world in marketing a surplus of farm produce but where production is primarily for use, will display a somewhat more conscious organization and more formalized institutions. The manorial or plantation village will form a part of a larger social pattern, but local institutional units will predominate, as they will also in the isolated agricultural community of independent farmers who practice a diversified agriculture and consume much of their produce. In the modern commercial agricultural or industrial economy, on the other hand, the community participates in a world market, communication is developed to a high degree of efficiency, and the residents feel themselves a part of a wider unit. Institutions tend to become local branches rather than self-contained units having no connection with and owing no allegiance to those in other communities and regions.

Communities tend to become arranged in a hierarchical pattern, each dependent upon the next higher until the metropolis is reached. In the great city the sense of common destiny of all the inhabitants may be almost entirely lost and be replaced by a vague feeling of pride in being a resident of a metropolitan center which dominates a great area without any clear idea of how this domination is exercised or the part the person plays in the organization of the dominant metropolis.

The number and type of institutions found in any given community will vary with the place of that community in the hierarchical pyramid. The number is at a minimum in the savage village, where they may not even be clearly differentiated. The chief and the priest, the government and the church, are often served by the same persons as functionaries and differ only slightly from each other. Indeed this overlapping of function extends into such civilizations as those of ancient Greece and Rome, where the gods were consulted as a matter of course before military expeditions were dispatched or other serious political undertakings were begun. Shadows of such practices may be observed in the European war which broke out in the fall of 1939.

In the small modern community, the institutions are few in number and intimately related to each other. The school

teacher is often expected, as a matter of course, to take part in church activities. The "leading men" of the community are to be observed enacting the prominent roles in one after another of the basic institutions supported by the village. Indeed, this is so common that it is often said of a particularly prominent person in a village that "He runs this town."

In the larger communities the division of labor between persons and institutions is more pronounced. The institutions tend to be entrusted to professional functionaries who devote their entire attention to their work and who use the prominent leaders more because of the prestige they lend the organization than for their active or actual direction. Such persons are placed on boards of directors, but the executive secretary, or his equivalent, does the actual planning and administration.

Institutions tend to multiply with division of labor and increase with the size of the community, partly because of the greater preoccupation of occupational groups with their specialties and partly because more persons may be found who will support a service which appeals to only a small percentage of the population. Medical societies or trade unions are possible only where there are considerable numbers of potential members and also only where such persons feel themselves somewhat detached from the general community organization. Grand opera and art museums attract only a small percentage of the inhabitants of any city and are expensive to establish and maintain ; hence, a large number of users must be concentrated within a short distance of such institutions. The same is true of hospitals and libraries, of chambers of commerce and Kiwanis Clubs, of manufacturers associations and of community chests. In the large metropolis only are to be found associations of actuaries or clubs of railway presidents. Thus each community will have a varying number of institutions, roughly in proportion to its population, but also affected by the peculiar interests and occupations to be found there.

However, it is not to be assumed that the smaller communities are wholly denied the services of such institutions. Residents of the smaller communities may participate in these cultural elements either by visiting the larger city, or

the cultural element may be brought, at least in part, to the smaller community regularly or at infrequent intervals.

Many hamlets have given up their local schools and send their children of school age to other communities within a distance of twenty miles or so. Persons living in villages without hospitals and libraries may make use of these facilities by visiting the cities in which they are located; indeed, such service institutions are commonly designed to serve not only the population of the immediate city, but also that of the surrounding area, or hinterland. The metropolitan newspaper is published primarily for the residents of the big city, but it is also circulated daily through the smaller cities, towns, hamlets and along the country roads for many miles beyond the political boundaries of its place of publication.

Further, the services of such highly specialized institutions as the society of actuaries comes to the small village through a change in insurance rates announced by the local agent of a company with headquarters perhaps thousands of miles away. In like manner the local banker will vary his policy in conformity with that of bankers in the metropolitan centers; the buyer of farm produce will offer a price derived from his morning newspaper or telegraphic reports as to the state of the market in one of a few centers; the school teacher will change her lecture to include materials gathered during a summer at the state university; the local parson will take into account utterances from a city pulpit in his preparation of his next sermon. Thus, not only is the community a system of interrelated institutions, it also is inextricably tied up with other communities. In our society, communities, no less than persons, find it impossible to live alone.

Community organization of the future must adjust itself to changing conditions, which involves the conception of a wider and more flexible unit interrelated with surrounding areas. The new interest in regional studies indicates a changing point of view which may ultimately bring about a conception of community organization which will be adapted to an era of great mobility and rapid transportation.\*

\* Jesse F. Steiner, article on "Community Organization" in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. IV, pp. 106-108. Quoted by permission of The Macmillan Company.



But it is equally evident that there is a limit beyond which this influence does not extend, or, more properly, is so attenuated that it is negligible. Although the whole world is in interaction, and what happens anywhere on its surface has some effect everywhere, this effect may be of the order of the movement upward of the earth to meet the pebble tossed into the air by a child. The social philosophy of the Kaffirs is of very slight importance so far as changing the opinions of the Tarahumara Indians of Mexico is concerned. That is, communities enter forms of interrelationships which have fairly definite limits, and which may be marked out on a map with a high degree of accuracy. Such areas are called *regions*.

Within such areas relationships arise and shape themselves into patterns of thought and action, of ways of doing things and of looking at things. People cluster together and form institutions of various sorts which reach out into surrounding areas for part of their support. Cities and towns form a hierarchy of points of influence; the metropolis dominating the city, the city the town, the town the hamlet, and the hamlet the countryside. The big city is the hothouse of cultural change, since it is there that new ideas and new customs most frequently come into contact with each other, and it is from such points that new beliefs and practices are spread through the area. However, the influence is not all one-sided. The rural districts also affect the city, acting as a conservative force and slowing down the processes of change as well as giving the city new ideas which have originated on the farms and in the small centers. Through this mutual influencing the area about a large city takes on a characteristic tone and thus forms a region.

#### THE CULTURE AREA

However, it is not only in the constellations of communities as displayed in our society that the region emerges. Indeed, the same basic idea, under the name of the "culture area," has been used by the anthropologists for some decades.

Beginning with the study of the customs and tools with which men have surrounded themselves, the anthropologists have

gradually evolved theories of the regional distribution of man and his ways of living. In the concept of the culture area, they have reached a position which they are being asked to share with the geographer, the sociologist, and with nearly all other social scientists who seek a systematic explanation of man's activities. Approaching from different angles, many social thinkers are coming to believe that spatial relationships are a necessary part of such an explanation.\*

The idea of the culture area literally forced itself into the consciousness of the anthropologists. In museums, when it was attempted to assort material culture traits according to resemblances, it was discovered that those most alike nearly always came from contiguous territory and that the material traits differed greatly from one region to another. Among North American Indians the house form varied from the wigwam in the eastern portion of the country to the tipi of the plains area, the stone houses of masonry in the southwestern arid sections and the great wooden houses along the northwest coast. Nor is such conformity limited to material aspects of culture. "When we turn to other aspects of tribal life, social organization, ceremonial procedure, etc., in the pursuit of which many wish to believe the spirit of man free to do its will, there is also a large degree of regional uniformity."† The Eskimos have a distinctive art and complement of ceremonies. The same is true of the bison-hunting Indians of the Great Plains region.

Much of this similarity undoubtedly grows out of the conditions of life. The bison-hunters would seldom, if ever, leave the plains area. There they would observe and fraternize with other bison-hunting tribes. Since their activities were much the same it was but natural that they should borrow from each other and thus build a generalized, common regional culture.

This, it must be noted is not equivalent to saying that the

\* Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore, *American Regionalism*, p. 303. Quoted by permission of Henry Holt and Company. Most of the following discussion of the culture area and the region will be taken from this work, and from a pamphlet, *What Is Regionalism* (University of North Carolina Press), by the latter, often in verbatim form, by permission of the authors and publishers. The student is referred to these sources for a fuller discussion of regional theory and practice.

† Clark Wissler, *The American Indian*, p. 325. Quoted by permission of Oxford University Press.

geographic conditions of the plains area, which made it possible for the bison to thrive there, dictated the culture of the inhabitants. Geographic conditions aid in the formation of such regional cultures through making contact of the various tribes easy. But savage tribes, like civilized peoples, seldom if ever utilize all of the potentialities of the area they occupy. What they do utilize is largely a matter of their culture. Hence, it is possible that the same geographic area may support a succession of widely different cultures, or may even do so at one and the same time.

The Hopi and Navajo occupy the same sort of territory in the Southwest. The Hopi are agriculturists and build stone houses of rectangular shape. They are quiet and controlled in their behavior patterns. The Navajo, in contrast, are pastoralists, live in conical earth-covered huts and have ceremonials and habit patterns expressive of intense emotional reactions. Each tribe selects from the same geographic environment those elements which makes it possible to carry on its traditional mode of life. That is, again, geography limits, but does not direct.

Such culture areas are not sharply divided from each other. The traits, material and immaterial, considered most typical of the region, will be found most thickly represented by some tribe living well within the regional limits, unless, indeed, there is a practically impassable barrier of some sort along one side of the region. As one proceeds from this relatively small area in any direction, the characteristic traits will diminish in number and those still to be found may be used in differing ways until it becomes evident that the culture as a whole has changed in nature. When this has happened it is likely that the investigator has passed from one culture area into another. Boundaries, therefore, cannot be marked upon the map as sharp, thin lines, but must be considered as broad zones in most cases.

This graduation of culture also tends to fix attention upon the culture center since what usually occurs is that the traits become more typical in some one small area, and thus indicate a center, or in some cases, centers. From such centers, it is assumed that the traits have been diffused over the surrounding territory, following closely the lines of communi-

cation as they have been set up in accordance with ease of travel and friendly relationships between tribes. This means, of course, that no two tribes will have identical cultures, but it does not mean that no two tribes will have enough similarity of culture to allow the ethnologist to separate them from surrounding tribes. Hence, as Wissler says, "A culture area is delineated by listing the tribes with similar cultures and plotting their habitats on a map." \*

The idea of the culture area is largely confined to American anthropologists and undoubtedly arose because of the lack of historical materials by which the Indian culture of the continent could be explained. This, in turn, led to a view of the culture of a tribe as a whole, a functioning unit, rather than an attempt to break it into particular traits, the origin of which might have been traced historically. Further, the ethnological approach emphasizes regional differences in culture, since specialization is usually in the study of a regional group. This gives the investigator a dynamic, functional point of view which seeks to explain and to interpret a culture which is continually adding new cultural traits or variants of older ones. The emphasis in such a study is shifted from description of what is done, or believed, by a cultural group to how what is done, or believed, functions in their lives, to its significance for them. Culture, from this point of view, becomes nearly synonymous with the "spirit" or "genius" of a people, but also contains concrete material manifestations which may be neatly arranged in statistical tables, or even in museum showcases, as Edward Sapir has said.†

This sort of study of culture and of the peoples who use it does not neglect to catalog the traits of all sorts to be found within a region, but it goes one step further and insists that the ways in which they are interrelated must be made the subject of study also. Here we find a concept of the culture area removed as far as may be from the narrow limits of geography within which Wissler is accused of confining the idea; finding its existence in the minds of men and con-

\* *Ibid.*, p. 346.

† "Culture, Genuine and Spurious," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 405-406.



nected with the earth only as men, by their specific gravity, are forced to remain on or near the surface of the earth and there construct their tools and their thoughts.

#### THE REGION

There seems to be no reason why the culture area concept should be confined to anthropology; why it should not be an efficient tool with which to pry into the secrets of modern social organization. And, indeed, this has been done in various of the social sciences, although geography and sociology are the only disciplines with well recognized divisions devoted to the study of regional phenomena. A review of the literature of economics, of history, of political science, and of ecology shows a surprising amount of discussion of phenomena which are of a regional nature without being so labelled. But in geography and in sociology the regional approach has been stressed by various scholars within fairly recent years. Although Sumner and Ward both used the idea that regional differences were of importance and built some of their studies on such a framework, it is to Giddings that we look for the first clear delineation of the notion. In his idea of the sustentation field which feeds us, stimulates and constrains us by holding groups of persons together and thereby encouraging them to form social organizations, he very clearly foreshadows regionalism as it has been developed by Howard W. Odum and his associates at the University of North Carolina. However, this is not the only source from which the idea has come. Radhakamal Mukerjee has a book \* on the subject which has stimulated a great deal of thinking. The studies of city areas at the University of Chicago seem to be expanding to the entire area serviced and dominated by that city. From France, the idea of Frederic LePlay that the nature of the place determines the sort of economic activity which will be carried on, and that the economic activity, in its turn, will set the social pattern to be found, has been influential. The LePlay formula of Place, Work, Folk, was adopted in England by Patrick Geddes and Victor Branford and used as the basis for numerous regional studies by them.

\* *Regional Sociology*.

C. A. Dawson and Lewis Mumford, disciples of Geddes, have done much to popularize the regional approach among American thinkers. The second edition of the sociological text on which Dawson collaborated\* makes use of the regional frame of reference. From the efforts of these, and other men, has come a very considerable body of regional literature.

A survey of these writings fails to reveal general agreement as to meaning of either the term "region" or "regionalism." Perhaps a working idea of the notion might be stated in some such terms as these: A region is an area large enough to display most social factors, distinctive enough to make recognition fairly easy, and possessed of a characteristic mode of life based on a unique configuration of culture traits and complexes. Regionalism, then, would be the theory that there are important distinctions between fairly large-sized areas and that these distinctions arise from the unique cultural configuration to be found there and must be taken into account in any successful attempt to understand or to direct the life of such areas.

Regional characteristics may be due to factors having almost no connection with geographic conditions, but the idea of regionalism was born of geographic study and still retains some geographic elements. Regionalism always has to do with space, for instance. The very mudsill of the idea is that social phenomena may be understood best when the area in which they occur is used as a frame of reference. Some consideration of the distribution of people and social organization over the face of the earth is either essential or highly desirable in any attempt to understand them.

Regions, themselves, need not be highly homogeneous nor self-sufficient. As the nation is composed of differing regions, so the region may be composed of differing sub-regions. The forces of competition and adjustment work within the region as well as between regions. "The South" is certainly an entity, but within that region there is a "Tidewater South," an area of "Southern Mountaineers," a bustling "Piedmont South," the "South" of cotton, of tobacco, of lumbering, of sugar cane, and so on. Yet all these come to

\* C. A. Dawson and Warner E. Gettys, *An Introduction to Sociology*.

gether, influencing each other and forming the general pattern we recognize as "The South."

In the past American regionalism has been more commonly identified with metropolitan regionalism than with any other of its phases, with the possible exceptions of "sectionalism" and literary regionalism. Here we find two diverse ideas: that of the sub-divisions of the city and that of the city as the center of dominance for an area extending for a greater or lesser distance beyond its political boundaries. However, even when the "metropolitan region" has been extended beyond the city limits, it has often been thought of in terms of department store delivery zones or other similar measures. Planning for metropolitan areas has been undertaken in terms of such narrow limits. The St. Louis Regional Planning Commission has set up an area, for example, with a radius of twenty miles from the downtown business area and including 840 square miles. The metropolitan-regional plan for New York City is confined to twenty-two counties in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut. Obviously if the metropolitan region is to include the territory affected by these two cities, the areas as described are wholly inadequate.

The regional importance of the city lies in the fact that it and the surrounding country have always been one in fact if not in feeling. The growth of the city has depended upon the hinterland—upon the farms and villages with their raw materials from field and mine and forest and home. These products the city has received and traded for the needs of the hinterland, thus making itself necessary to the region as a whole, forming its center and focus.\* This tendency has been accentuated by the tendency of regions to specialize in certain products—in wheat, or iron, or fruit, for instance—thereby increasing its dependence on other regions for other necessities. Transportation facilities radiate from these centers; communication agencies are there concentrated. The cultural surplus of the area tends to be gathered there in the form of schools, hospitals, entertainment facilities, etc.†

\* Kimball Young, *An Introductory Sociology*.

† J. M. Gillette, "Urban Influence and Selection," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXIII, 1-14.

The result has been that the city has come to represent its surrounding territory. The city is born of the transportation system provided by the culture.\* It follows, then, that a change in the technique of transportation has, and will, result in a change in the location and the sphere of the city. In the United States the railway has been the dominant form of transportation for almost a century. And American cities are the products of the rail system. We have reorganized our national life since the spread of the rail net.

If the railway has been one of the dominant factors in the emergence and organization of the metropolitan region in the past, the motor vehicle seems to supply the key to understanding what has happened during the last twenty years and what is likely to happen in the near future. The inflexibility of the rail system gave the city and its region a rigid, compacted form in which the city differed greatly from the surrounding areas. The elasticity of the automobile and motor truck are changing this to one of loosely nucleated, highly specialized and therefore interdependent, communities. This specialization seems to be mostly functional, some of the services vital to the region being concentrated within the city even more than in the past, while others are being placed in locations with particular advantages or are even being dispersed throughout the region in branches which keep close contact with their central directing agency at their focus of dominance. This has also given rise to the satellite city, which may be of considerable size but which depends upon the central metropolis and on other specialized centers for its existence. From this point of view the region becomes a constellation of communities, arranged in hierarchical pattern with the metropolis at the apex. This idea has been expressed well by Louis Wirth :

The city has come to be recognized as the center of culture. Innovations in social life and in ideas gravitate from the city to the country. Through its newspapers, theaters, schools, and museums, through its traveling salesmen and mail-order houses, through its representation in the legislatures, and through many other points of contact with the inhabitants of the rural periph-

\* C. H. Cooley, "The Theory of Transportation," *Publications of the American Economic Association*, Vol. IX, pp. 40-42.



ery about it, the city diffuses its culture over a large area. The city is in this respect an important civilizing agent. . . . With the advent of modern methods of communication the whole world has been transformed into a single mechanism of which a country or a city is merely an integral part. . . . The city has become a highly sensitive unit in this complex mechanism, and in turn acts as a transmitter of such stimulation as it receives to a local area. This is as true of economic and political as it is of social and intellectual life.\*

The city has always been the focus of social change, the hothouse of cultural mutation, because it has gathered ideas from a wider and wider region, synthesized them, and, after stamping them with its peculiarities, passed them on to the residents of the hinterland. Thereby the trademark of the metropolitan aggregation has more often than not become the brand of the region. It is on this assumption that it is claimed that the study of the city becomes applicable in its main outlines to the whole regional culture of which it is the center. But it must be emphasized that the metropolis is composed largely of persons who have migrated from small towns and open country. So long as this is true it would seem inevitable that the city bear more than a tinge of the culture indigenous to the surrounding hinterland. This culture the metropolis synthesizes and transmutes, combining it with culture coming to the city from other regions. The city becomes the center of mobility, vertical and horizontal, and thereby becomes the dynamic, organizing force in the regional organization.

It seems certain that the city cannot be too strictly limited in any sociological interpretation; that the city and its hinterland form a unit in our society, the parts of which may be separated for study, as is done in urban and rural sociology, but that when and if the mutual interdependence of these parts is forgotten or left out of consideration the whole picture loses its essential perspective. Granted that the city is the dominant factor in the ecological organization of our life, it is necessary merely to point out that dominance necessarily implies subordination, the two combining to form a whole.

\* "A Bibliography of the Urban Community," in *The City* (edited by Robert E. Park, E. W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie), pp. 182-186. Quoted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

Historically this close relationship finds ample confirmation—in the dependence of Athens and Rome on colonies and other districts of the Mediterranean Region, or in the plight of Constantinople during past centuries when cut off from its hinterland by Arabian conquest, of the rise of great cities in this country through the construction of transportation and communication lines—by which regions are bound together, literally, by bands of steel.

It is through the means of transportation and communication that these interrelationships are set up and maintained. In this country, the railway has been the most important means of long-distance transportation. Every school boy has been taught to talk glibly of the rise and dominance of certain cities as results of changes in trade routes and means; of how New York, for instance, rose to its present high position partly as a result of ease of access to the western regions through low mountain passes and the construction of the Erie Canal—which, as an eminent New Orleans editor remarked, made the Mississippi River run uphill. It is to be observed, also, that not only are regions thus outlined by natural lines of communication, but communication lines are often forced to fit social patterns already existing. That is, rail lines and highways are at once both cause and effect of the set of interrelationships which serve to distinguish regions. In the older portion of the nation rail lines followed stage routes. In the western states the location of a rail line often meant the difference between life and death for an infant metropolis.

If transportation facilities serve to consolidate regions, it must also be observed that freight rates are to regions and to cities what tariffs are to nations. They form a part of the cost of connections with other regions and may be manipulated to the advantage or disadvantage of a given area in almost exactly the same way as may be tariffs. What has been said of railways applies equally to other forms of transportation. Hence transportation regulation has in the past and will in the future favor attention to regional factors. Transportation consolidations, unifications, eliminations, rates, and general policies are all matters affecting the manner in which regions fit into the national whole. Transpor-

tation complexes indicate economic regions with fair nicety, but economics is not wholly a matter of transportation and distribution of goods. Indeed, economic behavior is not at all exclusively a matter of "dollars and cents" considerations. Philosophy, religion, politics and the general outlook on life of a people have vital consequences for their economic activities and organization. The South, for example, grows cotton because it has found that it can exist as a cotton-growing region; but also because there has grown up a whole social complex about the cotton industry to which the people of the region are adapted. Natural resources in the sense of what is found in the earth are resources only in so far as techniques and customs make possible their use.

By this time, nature and culture have become so intertwined that little can be gained from an attempt to isolate the natural resources. Cultural and natural resources are inseparable and can only be considered together. . . We must know what kind of a society we want to see develop in this Southland before we can appraise its resources; for resources are the environment, natural and cultural, appraised as to its capacity to fulfill social objectives no less than to satisfy individual desires. . . Resource and culture patterns and economic systems together form the basis of human existence.\*

These relationships between natural and cultural resources work out so that some regions are economically dominant while others are dependent. Because of a complex of factors, the South has always been a dependent, or colonial, region. This has meant that the function of the South has been to extract materials from mine or soil for fabrication or use in other regions. This has resulted in a set of relationships which makes any talk of economic autonomy a somewhat ridiculous, no matter how beautiful, dream. The region actually forms an integral part of an economic and cultural whole, and would continue to do so even if entire political separation were possible. In fact, political autonomy would strengthen economic, and, probably, cultural, dependence, since the autonomous region would thereby be

\* E. W. Zimmermann, "The Resources of the South," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 214-215. Quoted by permission of the Duke University Press.

cut off from the measure of political influence it now exerts as part of the whole. Conversely, it follows that the welfare of the nation is inseparably tied up with the welfare of the various regions. It seems impossible to have a prosperous nation comprising poverty-stricken regions.

Economic differences in the structure of regions are paralleled by political differences. The tariff, traditional distinction between the two major parties, has almost always been a reflection of sectional strivings, to be carefully distinguished from regional action. The shift of industry from the northeast into the southeast and middle states within the last two or three decades has been accompanied by changes in the political complexion of these areas. The states to break the "Solid South" in recent presidential elections have been the leaders in industrial development.

Facts such as these have led to agitation for a change in our form of government so as to give recognition to regional divergencies. Since the Civil War the states have steadily declined in power and, further, state lines do not often coincide with natural social divisions. In the field of commerce, trade currents and transportation lines have cut across state lines, as our prohibition of interstate tariffs was designed to insure. The westward migration advanced along broad fronts, leaving swaths of tradition, religious conviction, and political loyalties which refuse to be fit into state boundary lines.

Our states, of course, were not laid out with any reference to natural regions; rather they are shaped in accordance with expediency in a struggle settled almost a century ago. But our political structure is designed to divide powers between one federal and forty-eight state governments. Exploitation of natural resources, problems of river valley control and development of hydro-electric power, are neither state nor national in their scope. Neither is the "Dust Bowl" of the Great Plains, where hardy agriculturists who pushed their way onto the semi-arid plains in accordance with one of our most cherished national traditions found their farms literally disappearing from beneath their feet. Such a situation gives dramatic point to the arguments of those who



insist upon a regional policy of land utilization. No less do the eroded fields of the Southeast and the irrigated projects of the Far West.

Action regarding such areas may be either regional or sectional in nature. The distinction between the two terms is of importance, since they are often confused. Sectionalism sees the nation from the point of view of the differing areas; regionalism sees the differing areas from the point of view of the nation. The sectionalist fosters differences in the hope that his own area will profit at the expense of the others; the regionalist fosters differences that the contribution of his area to the whole, including his own region, may be the greater. The regionalist believes that in diversity there is strength, provided the diverse elements are properly correlated and coordinated.

In political action our regions are realities, but we have often refused to recognize them under the spell of the shibboleths of "States' Rights" and "The Union Forever." Regional political arrangements such as those proposed by C. E. Merriam or W. Y. Elliott might serve as a buffer between these two antagonistic patterns of reaction. This has been done in several foreign nations. For example the first World War convinced France that her highly centralized government could not be made to function efficiently in a time of supreme crisis, so that in the midst of that struggle regional councils were formed for various functions. During the interim of peace this movement was considerably extended.

But regionalism need not take political action. In this country indeed, much of the regional discussion has been in terms of literature and other aesthetic pursuits. Novels, historical studies, folk drama, genre painting have often reflected regional interest and have used regional materials. These artistic workers insist that the only true source of art lies in an understanding of the folk and the native culture of some area.

This emphasis on the folk who occupy a region and their non-rationalized, extra-organized, and extra-technological, "natural" behavior patterns forms an important element in regional theory. Such "folk" are to be found everywhere, it is to be noted, no less around the board of directors' table in

a metropolitan bank than singing hill-billy songs in lonely mountain glens. It is the customary manner of approaching problems and of carrying on everyday activities which characterizes folk culture more than the form of social organization; what a people believes in and acts upon is often of greater importance than what they profess and the rationalizations they advance. Differing folk place differing interpretations upon the same facts and use the same forms in different ways. Such an organization as an interracial commission may draw the fire of New England as weak-kneed temporizing with a problem which should be dealt with in stern fashion, while at the same time the South may resent it as a creation of "Nigger Lovers" who would destroy sacred values.

The ways of the folk are largely determinative in any society. In the folkways and mores and differing ways of interpreting facts lies the *ethos*, or distinctive character of a people. In the psychological sense, regionalism is the identification of such societies with large areas of territory.

The region as the hypothesis for special study is at once an extension and subdivision of the folk society, characterized by the point indexes of geography and culture and deriving its definitive traits through action and behavior processes rather than through technological functions or areas. For the purpose of this discussion "region" is not an entirely separate concept but an extension and an attribute of the "folk."\*

The number and size of the regions one may delimit in the study of a great nation such as the United States will vary with the purpose the student has in mind. But in whatever factor of culture he is interested he is certain to find regional divergencies in the national pattern. There are geographic regions marked by differences in topography, geology, rainfall, temperature, soil composition, or natural vegetation and animal life. There are the regions formed by major river valleys or drainage zones. The metropolis plus its hinterland form regions which may be marked out on a map by charting newspaper circulation, banking services, wholesale territories, or other functions. But there are also regions

\* Howard W. Odum, "Folk and Regional Conflict as a Field of Sociological Study," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XXV, No. 2, p. 9, and note. Quoted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

which are marked by their rural characteristics ; in which the large cities are few and have less influence over the outlying portions of the region, as the Southeast and the Northwest. There are regions in which distinctive literary styles and materials are used ; the West of the cowboy tale and of Indian lore, or the South of Erskine Caldwell's characters, or the New England which has been portrayed by so many writers. Governmental services are organized on regional bases of varying size and character to the extent that over a hundred such divisions of the nation have been set up by administrative officers. Commercial, religious, educational and other social organizations covering the nation have done likewise. The large mail-order houses issue not one but a whole series of catalogs, each differing from the other in few or many aspects designed to make it more attractive to the region in which it will circulate. Learned scholars form regional societies to discuss their problems and the subject matter they teach, even when it is as far removed from influences of time and place as is mathematics.

Illustrations of American Regionalism are abundant. There are regions of newer administrative functions. There are regions of convenience and of necessity. There are regions of government and regions of commerce. There are regions of literary achievement and regions of agricultural adjustment. There are regions of land and of water, of forests and of minerals, of flora and of crops. There are regions of educational institutions and football arrangements ; regions within regions, subregions and districts. Within and among all these and many other manifestations, regionalism becomes a realistic frame of reference for research and study and a practical framework for planning and for adjustment in such areas as population development and policy, standards of living and work, the increase of wealth and well-being, the changing status of race and minority groups, the equalization of opportunity, the development and mastery of new "social frontiers." \*

These varied sorts of organizations have concluded, in the face of their experiences, that there is strength in diversity ; that the whole is better adapted when the parts have some freedom of movement to meet local and regional differences.

\* Howard W. Odum, *American Social Problems*, p. 134. Quoted by permission of Henry Holt and Company.

Economy, efficiency, good will are all served by such divisions, they report.

From this point of view the nation is divided into an almost infinite number of regions. But there is a noticeable clustering of regional boundaries along certain lines. New England is often made a unit in such divisions. So are the traditional South and the states along the Pacific Coast. North of the Ohio River and lying along the banks of the Mississippi is another region which displays such cohesiveness that it is commonly used as a unit. The more arid lands to the west have long been known for their distinctive culture ; as W. P. Webb has so conclusively demonstrated in his *The Great Plains*. The Southwest with its amalgam of Latin and Anglo-American culture is unlike any other portion of the nation. Hence, it seems that the multitude of separate regions of convenience of administrators are synthesized and merged in the thinking of most Americans. The South, the Far West, the Northeast, are social realities because the people of the nation think in terms of these regional units.

Exhaustive analysis of hundreds of indices reveals that this popular impression is sound ; that there are differences which can be measured as well as felt. By the use of some seven hundred such criteria, Odum has divided the nation into six major regions, the Northeast and the Southeast, the Northwest and the Southwest, the Middle States and the Far West. The Northeast is an enlarged New England, including the commercial-industrial area as far south as West Virginia, Maryland and Delaware. The Southeast is approximately the "Old South," including those states south of the Ohio River and extending west of the Mississippi to take in Louisiana and Arkansas as part of the cotton kingdom. The Southwest comprises the four states just west of the Southeast, i. e., Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico and Arizona, which differ from the South as well as from the Far West or the Northwest. The mixture of Latin and North European culture is perhaps their most distinctive characteristic, although there are others. The Middle States region includes the area long known as the Middle West, embracing the tier of states north of the Ohio and just west of the Mississippi as far south as Missouri. The Northwest is the area often referred



to as the Mountain States. The Far West is composed of the three states bordering on the Pacific, plus Nevada which looks more to California than to the eastward.

Characterization of these various regions, forming a united, but not entirely unified, nation, has been attempted in *American Regionalism*. Here only the barest outlines of these qualities may be mentioned. The Northeast is characterized by high industrialization and commercialization. The population is more mixed than in any other major portion of the nation. In politics it has displayed the temper of a well-established "home" region drawing tribute from other and more "colonial" areas, lending capital and talent of various sorts to the remainder of the nation. The Southeast is the traditional agrarian region with small farms surrounding the few remaining plantations, high birth rates supplying much of the increase in the national population. The population is more nearly "pure American" than is to be found anywhere else. The politics of the area is traditional loyalty to the Democratic Party. The economy is largely "colonial," much of the capital is borrowed; the resources are commonly exploited by corporations and individuals from other regions. In most of the accepted criteria of "high" cultural attainments, the states composing the region will rank close to the bottom of a national list. In historical influence on the national destiny, the region is perhaps second only to the Northeast.

The Northwest and the Southwest are also agrarian in occupation, but not in the same way as is the Southeast, or as each other. In the Northwest are to be found huge ranches and farms alongside tiny patches of irrigated lands. The crops and the methods of cultivation are both different. Wheat replaces cotton; the tractor is found instead of the walking plow. But perhaps the outstanding characteristic of the region is its philosophy of freedom and of breadth of outlook. Here in the Northwest is the last remnant of the American Frontier and its spirit is still strong in the land. The economy is colonial, but this status is accepted only with considerable chafing. In politics the region is distinctly "progressive." The population is sparse, and the institutional complement correspondingly small. Tenancy is al-

most unknown, as is manufacturing other than in service industries for local consumption. Mining plays an important part in the regional economy.

In the Southwest we find two great cultures have met and clashed and fused and are still in process of clashing and fusing. If Anglo-American culture is new to the region, Latin-American culture has been established there for centuries. And we of the United States are likely to forget that the first printing press on this side of the Atlantic was set up in City of Mexico. It is in the Southwest that a culture most truly "American," in the sense that it may represent the two American continents, has most promise of emerging. Although the population is diverse, the diversity is largely limited to the three elements of native white, Negro and Latin-American. Although the region is agrarian, there are rapidly growing cities with large industrial factors behind their rise. Like the Southeast, cotton is an important factor in the economy, but oil gives the regional economy a distinctive color. Most of the owners of the corporations, those engaged in commerce on a region-wide scale as well as those exploiting the oil and sulphur, are residents of the more northern and eastern regions so that the economy is distinctly colonial, perhaps more so than that of any other region. In politics the area is mildly Democratic, although any of the states might refuse to vote the ticket "straight" in any election.

In the Middle States the picture changes again. Here is a region which shares many of the characteristics of the Northeast with others of an agrarian origin, combining the two into a configuration that is more distinctly "American" than is to be found anywhere else in the nation. The population is mixed, but not to the extent found in the Northeast and the old American strains are dominant in most of the rural areas. The economy is largely industrial-commercial, but the tall corn of Iowa and Illinois is the basis of an agricultural tinge of pronounced influence. Much capital has been accumulated within the region, but there is still a great deal of borrowing. Politically, the region is doubtful as between the two major parties, with the Republicans winning more often than not over the past decades. Chicago,

the metropolis of the area, is the epitome of the "up and coming" philosophy of America. Long a land of farms operated by their owners, tenancy is becoming more and more prevalent.

Along the Pacific Coast we have a region which sprang up almost in isolation from the remainder of the country. The great stretches of the Northwest and the Southwest were jumped over by the hordes of settlers panting for the gold of California streams or the fields along the rivers of Oregon and Washington. Later the frontier pushed eastward from this region to meet its counterpart advancing from the older regions. The result was, and still is, that the people along the western coast feel a sort of detachment from the remainder of the nation. At the same time they bring the characteristics of other American regions into sharper focus through exaggeration. Where else could exotic religious cults flourish as they do in this land of sunshine; where else would the responsibility of caring for the aged and dependent find expression in an EPIC movement, or be fought with motion picture propaganda so presented as to be mistaken often for news? Where else can be found a telescope with a mirror large enough to serve as a foundation for a two-car garage, or a huge city turning out to welcome a retiring student of mathematics? The Far West is the land of superlatives and exclamation points, from the splendors of Nob Hill overlooking the longest bridge in the world to the miserable roadside camps of the wandering agricultural workers drifting from prune field to lettuce harvest. The population contains strong Oriental elements as well as having a Latin-American flavor. Further, there are fewer children and more adults than anywhere else in the nation. The economy is provincial, rather than colonial, in that much of the capital is derived from within the region and is used in enterprises of a regional character. At the same time the industries are tied into world trade closely through international shipments of grains, of fruits and of lumber. Politically, the region shares the honors of introducing new and "radical" ideas with its neighbor the Northwest. It was here that the IWW found its greatest strength; and it was here that Oregon passed laws designed to control the activities of labor unions



almost before the echoes of the quarrel between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations had become more than a murmur in the Southeast and Southwest.

Thus, as we glance over the nation we are met with a picture of diversity: "Six Americas in Search of a Faith" as Sir William Beveridge phrased it after a tour of the country. But to place too much emphasis upon the divergencies would be to paint the picture in false perspective. Overlying the differences is to be discerned a pride in America and, in some respects, a national pattern of behavior as to fundamentals. Such national likenesses are vague and tend to disappear when they are analyzed closely, but when the "American way" is contrasted with the Mexican, or European, pattern, it stands out in fairly clear relief. The regions are not separate; they are interconnected and interdependent; together they form a nation. Each makes its distinctive contribution to the national pattern; each retains much of its own character of uniqueness. And through the interplay between regional cultures, techniques, ideas, ideals, we have the possibility for experimentation and synthesis out of which we may be able to direct our lives more nearly into the channels we would like them to follow.

The above discussion seems to lead naturally to the concept of the region as a *gestalt* of cultural conditioning in which the various factors find their meaning through their relationship to other factors; a complex of interrelationships. Within any given region the elements of society will arrange themselves into a pattern, a configuration, which is peculiar to the region and which gives it a character of uniqueness. This distinctive character is produced in part by the presence or absence of various elements of social organization, but in greater part by the pattern those elements which are present form through their interrelationships and through the particular interpretation given them by the folk occupying the particular region under study.

This view of the total situation is very similar to the basic theory of *gestalt* psychology. The concept borrowed is that of the mutual dependence of the field and figure, the insistence that form and relationship are as important as content,



and give much of their meaning to the individual bits composing the whole; that the meaning of a line in a drawing, a note in a musical composition, or any other bit of sensory evidence depends in a large part on associated sensory perceptions; for example, the remainder of the drawing or tune. This is tantamount to saying that all the factors are mutually conditioning, at once cause and effect. In still other words, regionalism points to cultural determinism in that the tools by which man has surrounded himself, and by which he seeks his well-being, direct and affect his responses to the physical area in which he finds himself.

This idea was stated by Howard W. Odum and Katharine Jocher in their *Introduction to Social Research*:

In the first place, the regional approach views a given society as a whole, and enables all of the social sciences to contribute. In the second place, it offers a concrete laboratory through which practically all of the present trends in social research may be applied. At the same time it provides for adequate delimitation of areas and scope and extends the range for quantitative effort to discover *new* facts. . . It must be clear, however, that one of the merits of this approach is that it may be applied to any other region, and that the tests of its validity and the expertness of the social science specialist will lie in the task of attacking, changing and reworking to fit other areas. If the regional plan is not worked out in accordance with standard values, methods, and applications, it is not an effective illustration.\*

Such a view of regionalism takes it out of the province of any one field of thought and demands the coordination of all lines of approach. And it is just this correlating and coordinating of various factors which gives the regional approach its greatest value. It demands that the planner or the investigator see the region as a whole. It is the interrelationships of the various factors in the regional configuration which gives to the region its distinctive character, its way of life. Environmental and cultural factors hunt in packs, as has been remarked, the phenomena which mark a region are not simply assorted, they are also associated; they exist in interrelationships. The region is a distinctive area whose uniqueness may come either from the particular forces

\* *Op. cit.*, pp. 81-82. Quoted by permission of Henry Holt and Company.

present or the particular way in which those forces are interwoven. The pattern is as important as the fibre in the resulting fabric. But we have been so busy describing the fibres that we have largely overlooked the pattern.

Regionalism is a natural phenomenon, grown up as a result of man's efforts to live together and to supply common needs. It offers an escape from standardization and regimentation which would lead to dead-level mediocrity. At the same time it opposes the forces of disruption which would deny the necessity for peace and cooperation with our neighbors. It provides ample security for local and individual initiative, but seeks to add the additional value of wide coordination. As one scholar has summed up the theory: Regionalism promotes union, but not unity.

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## CHAPTER XXIX

### SOCIAL ADEQUACY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Progress is one of the most used words in popular discussions of the social order and, particularly, of social change. Hence it is a concept that demands consideration by the sociologist. At the same time it is one of the most indefinite and muddled ideas imaginable. A clear definition of what people have in mind when they speak of progress is very difficult, if not impossible, to formulate in concrete terms. This is evident from the variety of programs offered for the salvation of the world. If we were all agreed as to the meaning of progress, we might all agree as to the fundamental means of making progress. So long as our goals and desires differ, it is evident that we have no common idea of which way is progressive and which is retrogressive.

However, it is possible to generalize the idea somewhat and to find common elements in the ideas of most of those who have thought and written on the subject. Progress is obviously more than social change. The latter may be aimless, or various changes may counteract each other. Or change may be retrogression, the opposite of progress. It is evident that the notion of progress involves a consideration of the direction of change. If the change appears to make for a better adjustment to our environment, or to promote human happiness, or to move us closer to a goal upon which we have agreed, or to make possible greater or more effective control of the forces of nature, or to enhance or to increase the means by which we may participate pleasurably in the activities around us, or increase the activities which may give us pleasure, we may label the change progress. That is, progress is movement toward a desired end in terms of accepted values; or the multiplication of the potentialities for increasing happiness. In the latter case, progress depends also upon our control of such potentialities so that they are realized.

Even the most cursory survey of the notion of progress reveals its shifting meaning in terms of the person attempting



to set up a definition. As Howard W. Odum has said, "For the social biologist and eugenicist it is evolution through the laws of organic process; for the political philosopher it is Utopia; for the religious man it is the City of New Jerusalem; for the poet it is 'that far-off divine event to which the whole of creation moves'; for the sociologist it is the dynamic direction of social forces; for the individual or the family or the race or the nation it is the increasing approach to supreme achievement." \*

Social progress means more than mere individual advancement. It is the group we have in mind and only when the social unit makes headway is there any social progress, even though some individuals prosper as a result of the situation in which they find themselves.

One of the simplest definitions of progress is the famous statement of Lester Ward, "Progress is that which secures the increase of human happiness." This statement might be criticized for failing to explain what it is that secures greater happiness. Difficult as it is to get any definition of progress that fully satisfies, its essential element is the idea of an increase of social efficiency. From this point of view progress might be defined as man's increasing skill in dealing with his circumstances so as to make his life more secure and satisfying. A discussion of the meaning of progress easily leads into social philosophy since it brings up the question, "What is the goal of human achievement?" So long as we keep the question of progress related to the concrete problems of life, its test is advancement toward a more desirable type of living.

It is of course impossible to prove that man in our culture is happier than man in any of the savage cultures, past or present. So that if happiness is taken as the criteria by which progress is to be judged, there is no means by which we can tell whether there is any possibility of progress. But if we shift the grounds a bit, and take as our criteria the *possibility* of increased happiness, the argument disappears. It seems clearly demonstrable that modern civilization has surrounded mankind with a multitude of cultural values

\* *Man's Quest for Social Guidance*, p. 535. Quoted by permission of Henry Holt and Company.

which may be used to provide happiness. By multiplication of such possibilities of pleasures, our culture has, of course, also multiplied the possibilities of pain. The organism which is more sensitive to pleasure is also more sensitive to pain. So that the test comes down to the use of the opportunities provided by our culture, rather than their mere presence. However, given the means of controlling human action so as to avoid pain and increase pleasure through elaboration and complexity of culture, it is true, as Ward argued, that progress may be measured in the increase of facilities for satisfying desires and of exercising facilities.

Ward distinguished two fundamental elements in progress. Feeling gives the organism the basis for desiring change and is, therefore, dynamic in its nature. But this force generated by feeling must be directed and controlled by intelligence if it is to achieve desired ends, that is, progress. The two are interdependent. Feeling furnishes the power, intelligence the direction. This view is developed by John Dewey, who says that "Progress is not automatic; it depends upon human intent and aim and upon acceptance of responsibility for its production." Man has always had the same emotions he now has, Dewey argues; the difference being that we have progressed in setting up a social situation in which we find more occasions to express those we value highly and to repress those we dislike. Thus the problem of progress "is a problem of discovering the needs and capabilities of collective human nature as we find it aggregated in racial or national groups on the surface of the globe and of inventing the social machinery which will set available powers operating for the satisfaction of those needs." \*

#### IS PROGRESS POSSIBLE?

The attitude people take toward the possibility of progress is often a reflection of personal feeling and disposition. To the pessimist progress is deception: to the optimist it is treason against the facts of life to raise the question whether or not there is progress. The average human being finds himself thinking differently regarding progress according to

\* "Progress," *International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 312-318.

his state of body and mind, and the particular line of social experience in which he happens to be interested. These reflections of personality are of course flimsy arguments for and against the possibility of progress.

Progress is a concept which varies from time to time and place to place. What is progress from the point of view of one person, or group, or society, may well mean retrogression to another person, or group, or society. The progress of Rome spelled the doom of Carthage. Progress in methods of conducting warfare is opposed to humanitarianism and the notion of the sacredness of human life. The progress of commercialism and industrialism was retrogression from the standpoint of feudalism. What we hail with glee today as a step forward may well be considered by our descendants a hundred or a thousand years in the future to have been a ghastly mistake which stopped progress for decades or centuries.

Thus, it is evident that progress is a concept which depends upon the particular values held in high esteem by a particular society, or person. In a society which holds military prowess as of high value, progress will consist of one thing; in a society devoted to peace, progress will be seen in an opposite. Hence, it would seem that the only tenable way of looking at progress is to consider it as the movement toward a goal the attainment of which is desired; a change in the direction of anything which is thought to be better.

Any change or adaptation to an existing environment that makes it easier for a person, group, institution, or other "organized form of life" to live may be said to represent progress. Whether the invention is a new plow or a new six-inch gun we accept it as an evidence of progress if it does the work for which it is intended more efficiently than any previous device.\*

This means of course that there can be no permanent measures of progress, since values shift with rapidity. Hence it is impossible to say whether or not the world has made progress through the centuries except in terms of the values we now hold. This is why history must be rewritten con-

\* Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *An Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, p. 955. Quoted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

stantly. History is essentially the story of man's efforts to attain satisfactions. As our ideas of these satisfactions shift with time, we demand that our historians pore over their ancient records and lore to discover what events made it possible or impossible to receive the satisfactions we, in the present, seek. This effort usually succeeds in convincing us that we have made great progress. But it is to be observed that the history we read has always been written by members of the successful groups. Such writers, unconsciously perhaps, but certainly, have imbibed the values of their group and, so, see their victories as milestones along the road to progress.

The difficulty in demonstrating the fact of progress has become very real as the problem is presented to modern minds. It is possible to prove that the world has become more complex. It is hardly possible to prove that it has become better and quite impossible to prove that it will continue to do so. From the standpoint of the Mohammedan Turks, the last two hundred years of the world's history have not been years of marked progress; from the standpoint of their enemies, the reverse statement is obviously true.\*

But few of us ever read Turkish history. Perhaps the real reason we all believe in progress is that history has always been written by the victors, who naturally saw their triumphs as progress in the history of mankind.

If we put the question, Is the simpler life of the past or that characteristic of our time a more desirable choice? most readers will feel the superiority of the present. Not only is life richer in its resources, but the values of culture are more widely distributed. A segregated group of the population of classic Greece attained a high level of culture; thus social progress was restricted to a portion of the population. Behind the achievement of the fortunate classes stands in the background a slave population dragging out its existence on the lowest levels. In making historic comparisons, therefore, it is necessary not only to compare the levels of achievement but also the proportion of persons who enjoy the culture provided.

\* Ellsworth Faris, quoted in Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *An Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, p. 961. Quoted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.



Much of present-day pessimism is based on lack of knowledge of the hard circumstances that have been characteristic of the life of people in the past. It is easy to be impressed by the poverty of slums in the great cities today, but only one familiar with eighteenth-century city life understands the filth, disease, poverty, crime, and vice that used to be found among the poor of such a city as London.

If the objection be made that the difference between the London of today and that of the former period is primarily within the material circumstances of the people, the answer is that these changes are themselves products of an adaptation of culture. It is necessarily the material environment that bears testimony to the progress that has been made. Behind the cleaner streets, more healthful houses and greater freedom from vice are advances in invention, in medicine, in morals, in political responsibility, in the thinking of the people. The improvement of outward circumstances attests superior preparation for life on the psychic and moral side.

#### THE IDEA OF PROGRESS

Progress has become so characteristic a term in present thinking and speaking that it is hard to realize how modern it is as a popular conception. It is true that one can trace the idea of progress in the history of thought from the earliest Greek period of philosophy, and even writers before Plato were interested in the possibility and the nature of progress, but the idea remained aristocratic even among thinkers and never reached the point of a foremost problem. During that part of history which we call the *mediæval* period, we find little notion of progress. The mediæval philosophy of life was distinctly hostile to the idea of change. It is only of late that progress has been acceptable to Oriental culture and even now it is contrary to the thinking of the mass of people in such countries as India and China.

Many there are who give merely lip worship to the thought of progress and many more have little interest in the idea for which it stands, and no definite conception of it. Nevertheless it is a word that has become characteristic of much of American thinking and it is this which makes it seem axio-

matic. The general confidence in the certainty of progress must not be taken, as it sometimes is by uncritical thinkers, as demonstration of the existence of progress.

The ideas stimulated by Darwin's theory of evolution were largely responsible for the recent spread of a belief in progress. Evolution was interpreted as a law of progress, and some regarded the movement of life as an inevitable process of growth from the less to the more desirable in accordance with what we now describe as progress. The World War shattered this assumption, and now a considerable number of people are pessimistic as to the possibility of progress. It is inevitable that the catastrophe of the late war should cause serious examination of the basis upon which the confidence in progress has been resting.

#### THE GOLDEN AGE

In contrast with our looking toward the future, earlier times have shown a disposition to look backward to "the golden age." In Christian tradition as elsewhere there has been the notion of a superior state from which man has fallen. Memory easily heightens the experiences of the past, bringing them out in brighter colors than they deserve. This accounts for the habit one frequently notices among older people, who speak of "the good old days when we were young." Again, this exaltation of the past results merely from ignorance of former social conditions.

A group of eighteenth-century thinkers, well represented by Rousseau, regarded savage culture as superior to that of modern times. They found in the simplicity of savage life the ideal state of society. Their knowledge of savage conditions was largely imaginative, and they pictured primitive people enjoying everything which they themselves considered socially desirable. The life of primitive people is of necessity free from many of the burdens that modern society has to carry. These the savage escapes, merely because of the limitation of his social possessions, and his advantages are largely negative in character.

There has been no golden age in the past, but culture in its evolution has added vexing problems and at times has

lost advantages the savage had as a matter of course on account of the meagerness of his life. His freedom from the complications of modern life seems less appealing when put alongside the fear, the poverty, and the insecurity that were characteristic of savage culture.

#### PROGRESS IN THE CONTROL OF NATURE

Since progress is always relative to time and place and the social values accepted by persons, it follows of necessity that any discussion of this concept must partake largely of the particular time and place and the specific social values of the writer. This is true of the following discussion of evidences of progress and means of attaining social goals. This discussion is in terms of the third decade of the twentieth century United States. It will be found, it is believed, to be more or less applicable to other times and other societies, in proportion as they resemble this particular culture. Further it must be observed that in so complex a society as ours, not all persons, by any means, are agreed upon the values to be given high regard. Hence, it must be admitted that the values in terms of which this discussion is written are those of the writers. It is thought, however, that they are also the current values of most Americans; at least they are the values most often found to be used as underlying assumptions in current discussions of the problem of progress in this country.

Man's increasing control of nature is one of the best evidences of his progress. Science has become so bold as even to suggest the possibility of influencing season and climate and originating life itself. So much has already been accomplished that we hardly dare be skeptical when we hear the wildest dreams of the possibilities of science in its advance. The savage, restricted primarily to muscle-power, stands in vivid contrast with modern man, using the energy of today, steam, oil, gasoline, and electricity. We are told that our present use of energy is but a foretaste of new conquests in the development of power that science is soon to bring about.

However progress is interpreted, it must include an increase in man's ability to control the natural environment. Along the line of this conquest man's achievement is most

striking. Since civilization has to rest upon a material basis, this greater control of nature helps the movement of progress and becomes the condition of social achievement.

#### CONDITIONS OF PROGRESS

First of all, if there is to be progress, society must cut away the traditions that tend to make it static. Social inertia operates at this point, leading men to prefer what is, rather than to make effort through new adjustment to reach a more satisfactory type of social experience. All too often that which is familiar seems right, and the very thought of change disturbing.

In addition to the natural hesitation of man to give up that to which he has become accustomed in order to attempt a better way of doing things, we have the artificial inertia which is brought about by the deliberate effort of individuals who are profiting from existing circumstances, and who try to protect their interests by strengthening the conservative tendency of human nature.

When Boston University, for example, admitted women, not only did it hurt its educational standing, but some of its earlier women graduates testify that their attendance at classes was followed by social ostracism in the aristocratic society of Boston. Higher education was a masculine privilege and for women to go to college was not only disrupting but contrary to social good.

A little later the same stagnant attitude was evident in the arguments used against woman suffrage. Man's political dominance was embedded in social tradition. An enormous waste of energy followed, before the tradition could be broken and political rights and duties set free from the tradition of sex discrimination which had so long prevailed as a consequence of masculine dominance.

Increasingly it is becoming a cultural trait to challenge in our thinking any tradition that tries to maintain itself merely because it is ingrained in the experiences of the past. If ever this attitude of mind becomes a well-established cultural possession, society will be as eager to advance as it has been determined to remain stationary. Much of our indus-



trial thinking has already arrived at the point where it is keen for new methods and constantly scrutinizing those that have become habitual.

#### THE WIDENING OF SOCIAL SYMPATHY

One of the evidences of social progress at present is the constant widening of social sympathy. From primitive man's concentration on the family or clan relationship it is a long distance to the period of world contacts characteristic of our time. Only a few individuals have the imagination necessary to make as vivid their relationship to distant people as to those near of kin. But the sense of remoteness has everywhere disappeared sufficiently to make possible a worldwide sympathy, which, even though faint, is most promising. This is best revealed when some catastrophe brings suffering and death to any city or district. From every part of the world come expressions of kindly feeling that take a practical form. Science, by making possible close contact, as a result of the cable, the newspaper, and the wireless, has provided the conditions which were indispensable before there could be any growth of the kind of federation of which Tennyson dreamed. This closeness of relationship creates problems of adjustment between nations, but that would have to be true since contact forces interaction.

Social progress is more clearly seen when one looks over the stretch of centuries rather than years. Whatever may be the immediate disturbances caused by interrelationship of nations, the new intimacy must eventually lead to some system of worldwide cooperation and international justice. Sympathy loses its vigor when it reaches toward an alien people; national contact leading to mutual understanding is the prerequisite of international good feeling and co-operative activities.

#### PROGRESS AS A CHALLENGE TO SOCIAL EVILS

Those who are close to human suffering frequently become skeptical as to progress. This comes from their failure to give full value to the attitude we are increasingly taking

toward social evils. Progress cannot mean the elimination of social difficulties since even superior adjustment creates new problems for some individuals, and no advance is a complete social conquest. In our attitude toward social evils the more significant demonstration of progress appears.

Social evils have been largely taken for granted. Pity has been felt and assistance has been given, but the evil itself has received a fatalistic reaction. During the last two centuries one problem after another has been challenged by the more thoughtful and benevolent. The time has arrived when even popular thought tends to challenge every social evil and to ask the question, "How can social suffering be prevented?" Our thinking is not always consistent, but we have seen enough success in the lessening and preventing of social evils to justify our courage in attacking *laissez-faire* attitudes wherever they appear.

#### PROGRESS AND RESEARCH

Another evidence of social progress which has been given special treatment in an earlier chapter is our increasing interest in social research and the gathering of objective facts about human experience. Society has all too often been ostrich-like in the inclination to get rid of problems by blinding itself to conditions. Of late, the trend is toward open-minded serious gathering of information. The insistence of the newspaper editor and the politician that the social reformer produce facts to justify the measures he proposes for social advancement is at least reassuring; even when these demands for information have as their motive the desire to postpone or defeat the new measure advocated, they have value in calling attention to the need of substantial information as the basis of social improvement. Creating a public recognition of this need is bound to be a stimulus that will lead increasingly to its being met.

Especially in the younger generation can we expect to gather the full fruits of this attitude of mind. The quest for social knowledge will be stronger in the next generation than at present. Moreover, a result of present efforts,

gain will be made in the technique required for the gathering of social information.

#### THE CONSERVATION OF GOOD FEELING

Of all the tragic waste revealed by human experience the most costly is the misuse of good feeling. Religion has been much more successful in stirring up the emotion of benevolence than in opening up genuine and wise roads for its expression. Power has been generated but little opportunity has been found for its use. As a result, emotion is often cultivated for its own sake, leading to a peculiar moral perversion which rots away the core of personality while outwardly maintaining the semblance of altruism. Social advance is increasingly pressing against this misuse of religious emotion, and among the young, especially, there is an emphatic demand that religion honestly assume social responsibilities.

The wastage of life is appalling: premature death, unnecessary physical suffering, mental breakdown, family incompatibility, unemployment, low standards of living are tragic facts that challenge the efficiency of society. Nothing could be worse in the presence of such evils than to allow evaporation of the good feeling required to make headway against these perplexing problems. Now that the best thought of our time has grown intolerant of moral day-dreaming and insists that the motives of true religion show in the spirit of concrete, thoughtful service, we have promise that the energy of benevolence will be put to work. A working religion is becoming a new social asset.

Whether progress can be demonstrated in objective fashion or not, it seems certain that it is a powerful force in our society because of our faith in it. Progress has become a sort of religion with us, and like other religions, stimulates its believers to efforts which they would not undertake on a cool, calculating, secular basis. A firm faith in progress induces its holders to make strenuous efforts to realize their goals, and thereby adds to the likelihood of such attainment. This is the source of power found in all religious beliefs. They, literally, enable persons and groups to lift themselves

by their own bootstraps because they stimulate to ultra-rational efforts. At the same time, a belief in the possibility of progress causes persons to act as if progress were being attained. And acting in this way, persons do much to bring about progress, or any other value which affects them in this manner.

#### LEADERSHIP AND PROGRESS

Society must have leaders, and unless they look forward, social progress is difficult and spasmodic. Here also is a supreme test for democracy. There is always an inclination to choose leaders who cater to the superficial and immediate wants of the citizen.

Children are not the only ones who are captive to the values near at hand because their imagination cannot reveal the fullness of appeal that comes from a greater distance. Our difficulty at this point is seen clearly in the misuse of natural resources. Again and again we are told by the scientist that we are rapidly using up in unnecessary activities wealth that should be available over a long period. It is not too much to say that a large part of our so-called wealth comes from exploitation of natural resources. We are somewhat like children who eat in a day the supply of candy that has been provided for the week.

If the leader is only an opportunist catering to the whim of the moment, social progress comes in spite of him rather than by his assistance; the temporizer, in whatever field of leadership he appears, becomes an obstructionist who has to be pushed aside by the person of vision. It is easier to discover and reflect the desires of people than to lead. Much of our leadership is actually only docile subserviency.

Even in the realm of politics, the careers of Franklin, Jefferson, and Lincoln show that independence and leadership do meet with response. Although it is true that to a certain extent we have a vicious circle in which the leader caters to the people and they in turn to leaders that are not forward-looking, this is only the darker side of political popularity. Genuine leaders still appear who win support and naturally draw toward the goal which they see afar a considerable part of the people whom they try to serve.



## SOCIAL STRATEGY AND PROGRESS

An interesting question for the reader to ask is, "What social changes should I immediately bring about in society if I had the power to do as I pleased?" One would hardly dare to attempt to carry his ideas too far into the future. Social strategy, on account of our lack of knowledge along the line of social science, consists not so much in planning the distant campaign as the immediate battle. We have to strike against the evils that are near at hand.

This prudential plan for social betterment is irksome to the social thinker who is unwilling to be scientific in his point of view. There are social mystics just as there are religious mystics. The social dreamer wants everything at once or nothing at all. He is too interested in the far-away idealistic results which he attempts to create, to take any serious interest in concrete laborious striving for social welfare. Also, so far as he has influence, he leads to social wasting; indeed, often he is near of kin to the religious emotionalist and merely transfers to the social realm the same ethical distortion of emotion which so frequently in the past has appeared in our churches. Sane social strategy attempts merely to make those advances that appear to be justified on the basis of substantial knowledge of conditions and needs.

## THE COSTS OF PROGRESS

Even when an advance is distinctly for the good of the majority there are likely to be some who suffer disastrously as a result of the change. The supreme test of social leadership is whether the gains that are made bring a minimum of suffering to the individual.

The abolition of slavery in the United States is an example of mischievous leadership, since the advance was at the expense of a terrible war and the disrupting of the industries of the South. The effect was also felt in the North in the corruption of politics and the influx of immigrants whose coming was stimulated by the losses in man power due to the war, but this was far less than the blow which fell upon the Southern States. As we now look backward, it grows

increasingly clear that wise political leadership could have found a more expedient and less costly way of replacing the institution of slavery.

Because of the vagueness of the concept, it is often thought that progress consists of wholesale changes in the social order and the material bases on which it rests. It is even argued that the only way in which progress can be attained is to destroy the present order and thereby clear the ground for the construction of a better one. But such a philosophy refuses to recognize the difficulties inherent in making radical changes. Adjustment on any level is the product of a slow and tortuous effort on the part of the person and the social group as a whole. Once attained, all persons and groups who have become even tolerably adjusted have a vested interest in the order as it operates; its destruction would destroy the security they have struggled so long to achieve. It is only when a sense of insecurity is prevalent in a society that wholesale changes are appealing.

But man also detests monotony and has a desire for experimentation so long as he has a safe base from which to operate. He likes a certain degree of novelty and is willing to undergo some discomfort to satisfy this desire. Hence he is constantly seeking minor changes which he hopes will give him a better adjustment or will increase the possibilities of his enjoyment. Too, it is evident that minor changes in culture may bring about such enhanced enjoyment. As a matter of historical record, most of the major changes in the culture of peoples have come about not through a sudden and drastic change, but by the accumulation of small and relatively unimportant shifts in traditional ways of doing things. Progress proceeds in uneven fashion, advancing irregularly on many fronts, with long intervals of relative quiet while the changes which have been accomplished are being consolidated into the body of culture. By such means the process is relatively painless, but much slower than by rapid and fundamental overthrow of an old culture and the substitution of a new.

Modern civilized peoples might learn much as to the dangers of a quick overthrow of traditional cultures from a study of the effects of their dominance of savage societies. Inter-

ference with customs, which from our point of view, are clearly detrimental and therefore should be abolished, has often been followed by rapid deterioration of the savage society rather than the improvement which it seemed, logically, would follow. Persuading savages who have been accustomed to a minimum of clothing to swathe their bodies in voluminous garments has been followed by a great increase in disease in many cases. Changes in customs, as the abolition of the practice of "bride purchase" have resulted in social disorganization through loss of respect for the traditional ways and consequent refusal to submit to customary controls. If there is one lesson which stands out clearly from a review of the relationships of Europeans with "native peoples" in the other portions of the world it is that too rapid a change of culture means intense disorganization and resulting misery.

This problem of making social changes without putting burdens upon those least able to carry them is one that still vexes us. In the world of business new methods and consolidations are continually throwing out of work people, who because of their former specialization become unequal to the making of new adjustment even when they are able to find employment. The same is true in industry. New discoveries, inventions, and improvements in machinery, by leading to economy of labor, eliminate workers. Even in agriculture improved methods of tillage and animal-breeding permit a lessening number of farmers to produce an ever-increasing quantity of crops. Greater efficiency in industrial organization and in methods of production everywhere in the modern world is making it more difficult for men to find ways to earn their living.

#### PROGRESS AND HAPPINESS

Social progress should lead to an increase of happiness. We cannot, however, insure the happiness of the individual. We can do no more than provide favorable circumstances for the development of personality. Happiness, as actually experienced, is the possession of a particular person, and whatever the social situation there must always be an element

of personal equation. It is the business of the group to make headway in providing the conditions for superior adjustment. This is the aim of social progress. The individual still is left to meet the problems of personal adjustment that arise from his contacts with the other members of his group. Society may well aim at the goal of the greatest happiness for the largest number of people, but at present it cannot insure the individual against dissatisfaction. The less the strain of social maladjustment in the group itself, the greater the opportunity of the individual to achieve social satisfaction. As science advances and gets better control of the elements that influence personal development, it may well be that social progress will also mean corresponding advance in individual happiness.

#### THE GOAL OF PROGRESS

The movement of society is not toward some definite point of achievement which, however good in comparison with earlier stages, provides a final resting-place. Progress as a static attainment is bound to be for man a false hope ; rather, for society as for the individual, it is continued growth. At best, inventions and discoveries are but the instruments that make it possible. Progress consists in the better use of available opportunities, the superior functioning of men in their social relationships. Just as soon as this ongoing ceases, the products of former advancement cannot protect from social retrogression. Past accomplishment cannot be made a permanent social asset, but contributes to human welfare only so long as progress continues. Society's achievements are like those of the military campaign, which includes battles won and battles lost, retreats and advances along a wide-stretching front constantly in motion. Its gains are strategic, never measured primarily by the territory taken, but by the morale and the more effective cooperation of the group in its adaptations. Social progress is group-life going forward, but its essence is in the life rather than in the movement.



## PROGRESS AND REALITY

Progress is the aim of all attempts at social control. Persons and institutions seek to influence the actions of others only because in so doing they hope to attain a status which is more satisfying to them. Control is always directed toward some goal; it is always based on some fundamental conception as to what *ought* to be or what is desirable from the point of view of the controlling agent. From the point of view of the society as a whole, control seeks to regulate the affairs of persons and groups in such a manner as to secure harmony and aid in the achievement of goals set up in terms of the values held by the society. Without a goal, there is no point to any attempt to establish or to maintain control.

Society, like the individual, is tempted to flee from an obstruction as it goes forward. As the individual in his desire for achievement collides with his environment, even so the group may recoil from the responsibilities put upon it by the social situation in which it finds itself. As willingness to deal with reality, stripped of all disguises, is the test of personal soundness, so society reveals its fundamental health by its reaction to the realities that constitute its environment.

When the group fails to make good adjustments, the difficulty lies with the individuals who compose it—retreating, as they do, from the facts and accepting instead the constructions of their own fancy. It is, as Burrow writes, impossible to imagine the changes that would appear in social and national behavior if these individuals could be freed from the obsessions that conceal from them the social realities of modern life.\*

Among the tender-minded men and women who are unequal to a consistent struggle against the evils of social experience in the effort to make progress, three forms of disillusionment are found. One is a cynicism which expresses the bitterness of disappointment and surrender. Another is a mysticism which allows victory to be had without struggle. The third is a false confidence obtained by dealing with petty problems while the more serious are avoided.

\* Trigant Burrow, *Social Basis of Consciousness*, p. 249.

No society that neglects the facts of its situation is prepared to make progress. Social reality is not something static. It is composed of human nature and culture built up through social interaction and is in constant change. The hope of progress depends upon a growing knowledge of man's endowment and his present status.

#### PROGRESS AND THE CULTURAL PERIOD

The accumulation of knowledge of man's exact status in the cosmic order, his equipment, needs, and social situation, measures conscious progress. Fortunately, advancement is not dependent entirely on this, for through hit-or-miss experience, in spite of the wastefulness of such a method, progress has been made. In any appraisal the significance of time must be recognized. Notwithstanding a physical existence of many centuries in man's life on the earth, the period of cultural achievement has been relatively brief. It has been estimated that the historic period constitutes about one per cent of man's racial experience.

During this part of man's existence on the earth material progress has gone forward more rapidly than has social. This was forcefully expressed by Lester Ward when he said that man in his social life had not yet emerged from the rough stone era. In addition to the greater difficulty of directing social advance, this relative retardation has come from man's reluctance to deal as objectively with human nature as with the physical environment. Social progress has been blocked by this stubborn tyranny of prejudice, while material advance has been accelerated by each increase of knowledge.

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## CHAPTER XXX

### THE EVOLUTION OF SOCIAL THINKING

Man's place in the cosmos has always been one of the most fertile fields for speculation. Driven to unceasing efforts to fit into the world in which and on which he must somehow live, it is but natural that man should seek by all possible means to understand his position and the nature of his world. Whenever man seeks to interpret his own activities, or to draw conclusions as to why his neighbors behave as they do, or to predict the consequences of behavior of himself or other men, he is using some sort of social theory, no matter how crude nor how unconsciously evolved. The reflective man, therefore, cannot avoid social thinking, but he has the choice of turning toward the facts with a willingness to know the truth so that he may conform to them with the least possible effort, or of turning to a world of his own imagining in an attempt to escape reality. Social theory is the record of man's attempt to solve the riddle of his place in the world ; to draw up generalizations by which he may predict the behavior of his neighbors and himself ; to understand the social order of which he must be a part whether he would or not.

Looked at in this light, it is evident that man has theorized about social facts for as long as we have any record of his thoughts. The proverbs of the ancients abound in bits of advice as to how to behave and admonitions as to the dire consequences of transgressing the established rules for social conduct. Whether given the supernatural sanction of religious utterances or not, such proverbs and saws are shrewd generalizations as to the nature of the social order as it affects the person, and, hence, are in the nature of social laws. The same is true of the advice given youth by elders of today, when such advice is based on long observation and its generalization. But such rules of conduct are so common and so commonly accepted that we regard them as common sense ; not as scientific generalizations or as social theories.

There is no difference between the kind of experiences

the untrained person thinks about and those that concern the sociologist, but there is a wide difference in the way the two do their thinking. The sociologist commits himself to the effort to deal with social experience just as the physicist or the chemist deals with happenings in that portion of the material world which he has undertaken to investigate. If the sociologist meets with less success than these other scientists, it is not because he uses a different method of thinking, but on account of his less perfect mastery of his task. Man has too much at stake in his social experience, and is far too conscious of his interests to neglect social thinking, but he is extraordinarily reluctant to deal with social facts without emotion and bias, as he is more often willing to do when he turns toward the phenomena that fall within the province of the so-called material sciences.

This human attitude, which endeavors to preserve within the social field what fancy and human yearning desire, is itself partly the explanation of the slow development of sociological science. As Professor Hankins has said, sociology is both the youngest and the oldest of the sciences. It is the oldest since man has from the first turned his attention to social experience. It is the youngest because it is the last province from which man is willing to remove opinion in order to discover the facts. It was impossible, of course, for man to postpone dealing with his social situations until a science could be formulated. He was from the beginning an actor, and with his activities developed opinions and even social philosophies which occupied the territory into which the sociologist now attempts to carry science.

The coming of this distinctly scientific effort to interpret man's social behavior was delayed also by the necessity of the prior development of other sciences without whose contributions sociology would have no substantial basis for its specialized point of view. Economics, psychology, and biology had first to explore their chosen fields before man's interest in his social experience could be more than a philosophy. The earlier form of social thinking appears not as a thing apart, but as an aspect of political, moral, religious, or philosophic thinking. Thus from the beginning of human thought is seen the expression of that social interest from

which finally emerges what is now defined as *the science of sociology*.

Among savage peoples we come across many aphorisms that reflect a keen understanding of human nature and ways in which persons behave. Bogardus gives numerous examples of such observations in his discussion of earliest social thought.\* In an African tribe, for example, there is a question, "What baby lion ever trembled at his father's roaring?" which reminds that to be effective admonition cannot be constantly repeated. The same people observe that "If a tree has grown up crooked, it is because no one straightened it when young." This is a counterpart of our "As the twig is bent so is the tree inclined" and recognizes social responsibility for adult criminals and others who are maladjusted. The Filipinos declare that boastfulness drives away wisdom, and so recognize the hindrance to intellectual achievement of the desire to make a good impression. In their statement that the pain of a finger is the suffering of the whole body, they point to the interdependence of persons in the social order. Indians in Mexico have observed that a rich widow cries with one eye and rings the wedding bells with the other, and that the bankers have all the money each year from January to January. The Cingalese recognize the temptations of wealth in their observation that a covetous man has two sources of iniquity—how to amass money and how to use it.

Such examples might be multiplied to any desired length. A study of such wisdom literature of savage peoples reveals many similarities and bears testimony that the problems facing man are much alike regardless of place and that his solutions are also along the same lines; that is, that fundamental social experience is subject to generalizations which will hold true regardless of time and place. This is the essence of social theory, of course.

In the surviving literature of ancient Egypt, Babylonia, China and India, we find more concrete evidence of social thinking and of awareness of the dependence of one person upon another.† Of interest as showing the social ideals of

\* *History of Social Thought*, Chapter II.

† Cf. Joyce O. Hertzler, *Social Thought of the Ancient Civilizations*.



the Egyptians are two documents, "The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant" and what seems to have been a traditional charge of office given to a newly appointed official. The first has to do with the appeals of a peasant who had been robbed and who appealed to an official for justice. In this appeal occur references to what must have been current notions as to the place of government. The peasant reminds the official that he should be a father to the orphan, free from avarice and littleness and above falsehood since he is an educated man. He also asserts that one who is deaf to the cry for justice shall never prosper since no one will befriend such a person. The tale indicates a high ideal of public office, which, it would seem, was not always realized.

In the admonition to the official taking office the warning is given that the very winds and waves carry news of the doings of public persons and he is warned against accepting at face value the reports of subordinates without independent investigation. Justice is emphasized and a warning is given against showing partiality. "Look upon him who is known to thee like him who is unknown to thee; and him that is near the king like him who is far away." Egyptian maxims contain a curious mixture of high idealism with shrewd observations on expediency. The young man is warned to speak only when spoken to while at the table with superiors, but to laugh at his superior's jokes always since "that will be exceedingly pleasing to his mind." In general a high degree of wisdom, wit, and a keen analysis of social situations is revealed. Other documents reveal a fairly complete picture of the social organization of the time, of reactions of thinkers to times of depression, and the ideals of public administration. In general, the philosophy expressed is highly utilitarian and pragmatic. Although the gods are often mentioned, it would seem that they merely administer justice according to tradition; they do not interfere with the orderly process of human affairs.

Indian social thought is dominated by the idea of the value of knowledge used as a means of attaining unity with the all-pervading spirit, known in different forms as Brahma and as Nirvana. Guatama, or the Buddha, advocated frequent assemblies for the purpose of learning the ancient



wisdom of his people; that is, he recognized the values to be found in tradition and custom. But perhaps the most interesting and important of his doctrines is that of Karma, or the effects of actions upon personality. No deed is ever without some permanent effect, this doctrine holds. Death does not destroy such effects, since they are transferred to a new life for the individual in a form more suited to his character as he has built it. But good deeds counteract bad ones, and when a person, through any needed number of incarnations, has accumulated enough good deeds in his personality to totally obliterate the bad ones, he becomes one with the supreme spirit, or enters the state of Nirvana, without passion and without delusion—a state of eternal peace. Thus, the way of salvation is that of good works; or in more sociological language the person is the product of his former actions. Like Egyptian proverbs and records, those of India disclose to the careful student a picture of the social organization of the time and place, but from the point of view of social thought the doctrine of Karma is probably the most important contribution of this land in ancient times.

The ancient literature of the Sumerian-Babylonian empires is notable mostly for its great emphasis on social responsibility of the individual as expressed in the laws. This was a commercial civilization to a greater extent than any other of the ancient cultures, and it is probably due to the need for stable and predictable conditions that this social expression arises. However, such legislation is not concerned only with economic affairs, by any means. The state assumed full responsibility for the suppression of robbery; a law provided that if the robber were not caught, the state must recompense the person robbed for his loss. Accusers who could not prove their accusations were assessed the penalty for the crime they had accused another of committing; and a saloon keeper who permitted a conspiracy to be planned in his house was to be put to death along with the conspirators. Physicians and architects were held strictly accountable for the results of their work. A doctor who operated upon a patient and caused his death, or who operated upon an eye and caused loss of sight was to have his hand cut off. If a house collapsed and killed an inmate, the

builder was to be put to death. The builder was also held responsible for any necessary repairs to a house he had recently constructed.

A distinctly modern note is found in the writings of the Zoroastrian religion, the great contribution of ancient Persia, with their emphasis on thrift and struggle. The world is conceived as the battleground of the forces of good and evil, with an eventual victory for the good. The good spirits are pictured as those who promote justice, good thoughts, piety and well-being, and also as giving to man fire, minerals and metals, soil, techniques of cultivation, pure water, trees and crops. The evil spirits are pride, tyranny, witchcraft, those which destroy crops, and similar forces. The religious person is the one who heeds the advice and uses the gifts of the good spirits; asceticism, waste, or anything opposed to these spirits is sinful. Thus, we have a picture of a society constantly trying to make itself better; the first intimation of the notion of progress in the literature of the ancients. Further, this progress is something man must struggle for; it is not a boon to be given by the gods.

Although China is so far out of the orbit of European thought, or was until very recently, it is also one of the most ancient seats of a civilization, and the philosophers it produced made noteworthy contributions to social thought. Of these the two most prominent were Kungfutsze, or Confucius as the early missionaries translated his name, and Laotse, the founder of Taoism. Laotse upheld the ideal of the self-sufficient man, strong, simple, sincere and wise; standing apart from his fellows as much as possible, but always mindful of his social obligations. Confucius emphasized the superior person who exemplified social leadership and control through etiquette and ceremony, lofty ideals and manners, and shrewd political manipulation. Both saw education as the salvation of society. Both fixed their attention on the person as a member of the family, which serves as the model for all social organization. This is in line with the Chinese feeling that the family is not only the basic, but by far the most important of the social institutions; and it is argued that the more intense loyalty to the family as opposed to the community or state is the source of

the weakness of the Chinese state today. Chinese thinkers have also always deprecated militarism as the last resort of tyrants; the soldier has been given the lowest status in this society.

In all of these ancient philosophies there is one common element. The Golden Rule, in some form or other crops up in each. This leads to the suspicion that this precept is one of the first generalizations as to the conduct of personal relationships which emerged as man sought means of fitting his activities into a harmonious social order.

Among the Greek thinkers we first find mature expression of sociological interest. This we should naturally expect, since the Greeks brought their culture to the highest level during that period which we now call *ancient*. Their development of social thinking flowered eventually in Plato and Aristotle, and represented the culmination of a long progression of social thinking revealing in its form the influences of Greek civilization.

Plato (427-347 B.C.) in *The Republic* attempts to portray his conception of the ideal society. In harmony with present-day thinking he builds his idea of the just state on education. Since there are large differences between people, Plato provides for three classes, and plans training to fit each individual for his proper place. The artisans are responsible for industry and agriculture, and their preparation for life is limited to music and physical training. The soldiers are the protectors of the state; courage is their virtue, and they are given special training that they may be skilled in war. The third class or rulers are the guardians of the state. They are the chosen few who are advanced through a long period of education, accompanied by periodic examination, until, having passed the tests, they are assumed to be equal to the responsibilities of political management. Their education makes them lovers of wisdom, and the conditions of their occupation are expected to protect them from the temptations that beset the ordinary politicians and destroy their high sense of patriotism. Plato provides for a control of marriage so as to obtain healthy children. The educational system under the direction of the rulers is supposed to give each child the kind of education his natural endowment



makes reasonable. Plato establishes communism of property, but not an absolute equality. His conception of the state is that of an organic whole, and he sees the relationship of citizens and government as one of mutual interest. After an unsuccessful period as advisor to the tyrant of Syracuse, Plato revised his social theory in *The Laws*. In this book he modifies his communism to permit one citizen to hold as much as four times as much property as another; while no one is to be allowed to part with his original lot. However, this is a concession to expediency only, for Plato still stoutly asserts that "The first and highest form of the state and of the government and of the law is that in which there prevails most widely the ancient saying that 'Friends have all things in common.'"<sup>\*</sup> *The Laws* appear to be an attempt upon Plato's part to adapt the principles of his ideal state to the demands of practical politics by compromise.

Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) attempts not to picture an ideal state, but accurately to describe what is. He brings to his problem the attitude of the scientist rather than that of the philosopher, and uses induction as his method of getting insight into the meaning of the state. Man is a political animal because his needs demand social experience. The individual presupposes the state. Government represents an elemental need of association, a means of providing not only for the physical necessities, but also for moral growth. A combination of households produces the village or tribe. The final development of association is the state, which represents the cooperative community, a consolidation of interests. The individual without citizenship must be either a superman or beneath contempt, since man cannot live a normal life apart from others, without concern for the practical problems of government and administration. Since man cannot live a normal life without a state in which to live, that is, outside society, Aristotle argues that logically, the state is prior to the person. At first glance this seems to be an absurdity, but a moment's reflection on the influence of organized society on the person will convince of its essential truth. Man has created society, but society in turn has created its members; so that persons as we know them, or as

<sup>\*</sup> *The Laws*, p. 739.



Aristotle knew them two thousand years ago, are social products who would find life quite impossible without the support of society and its institutions.

To this thinker society, or the state as he refers to it, is a perfectly natural outgrowth of natural conditions. The family, the natural result of sexual appetite, is the prototype of all other social forms, which are merely enlargements of this fundamental unit.

First among the materials required by the statesman is population : he will consider what should be the number and character of the citizens, and then what should be the size and character of the country. Most persons think that a state in order to be happy ought to be large ; but even if they are right, they have no idea what is a large and what a small state. For they judge of the size of the city by the number of the inhabitants ; whereas they ought to regard, not their number, but their power. . . And even if we reckon greatness by numbers, we ought not to include everybody, for there must always be in cities a multitude of slaves and sojourners and foreigners ; but we should include those only who are members of the state, and who form an essential part of it.\*

Everyone would agree in praising the state which is most entirely self-sufficing ; and that must be the state which is all-producing, for to have all things and to want nothing is sufficiency. In size and extent it should be such as may enable the inhabitants to live temperately and liberally in the enjoyment of leisure.†

Aristotle was as strong an advocate of private property as Plato was of communism. He argues that diversity is essential to any state ; that what is everybody's business is nobody's business ; that crime increases when family restraints are removed (referring to communism of wives) ; that those who labor hard will resent an equal division of property with those who shirk ; and that such close contact would promote petty quarrels.

Like Plato, Aristotle put great stress on the importance of public education as a safeguard for the state. Education should consist of training the body as well as the mind and emotions. Hence, gymnastics and art formed integral parts of his proposed educational system.

\* James P. Lichtenberger, *Development of Social Theory*, p. 45. Quoted by permission of D. Appleton-Century Co.

† *Ibid.*, p. 46.

With Plato and Aristotle we enter a new phase of social thought. Here we have a degree of abstraction entirely beyond the attainments of other "ancient" thinkers. Here we have a conscious effort to discover the fundamentals of social relationships, to state them in theoretical language, and to provide a framework within which the social planner might work. With these thinkers we see the birth of thinking modern in tone and purpose.

#### ROMAN SOCIAL THOUGHT

The chief interest of the Roman citizen was in the practical affairs of the state and the development of a world empire. The contribution of the Romans to the stream of culture was mainly in their development of political administration and of a legal system which became the basis for jurisprudence throughout the occidental world. Political and social speculation had little appeal for the Romans, but such social thinking as we do find is largely in imitation of the Greeks. The two schools, the Epicurean and the Stoic, give some attention to political science, the Epicurean tending toward a rudimentary form of social contract, while the Stoic interpretation made the state result from human sociability. Stoicism, founded by Zeno, born about 340 B.C., professed a moral code which was in advance of contemporary thought. Man was interpreted as a citizen of the world. Stoicism stressed the need of restraint, especially of anger, and advocated benevolence. Marcus Aurelius, the noblest of the Stoics, counseled charity even toward the wrong-doer. The influence of stoicism appears in the asceticism of early Christianity and in its development of the doctrine of brotherhood. Cicero follows mainly the Stoic tradition and has little of originality. Seneca pictures a primitive state of society as the Golden Age, destroyed by the development of private property.

Epicurus, born one year after Zeno, pleaded for the use of reason in extracting from life the greatest possible happiness. He regarded superstition and religious fear as the greatest handicaps in the pursuit of happiness. He opposed unnecessary sacrifice but did not, as has so often been assumed, encourage license or commitment to the coarser

pleasures of life. His school was distinctly utilitarian. Even virtue is valuable because it yields the greatest satisfaction. The Epicurean movement was important because of its influence upon early Christian thinking. The Epicureans made the person the center of all thought and happiness the object of all activity. Thus, they developed a strongly individualistic and democratic philosophy which was the antithesis of the theories of Plato and Aristotle. It is not, it follows from this premise, society which creates the person; but persons, seeking their self-interest, who interact with each other and thereby create society. From such a standpoint, of course, that society is best which subjects the person to a minimum of control. This doctrine was to be echoed and made the basis of a new system of thought centuries later.

Polybius, a Greek hostage in Rome during the years 167-151 B.C., did much to transfer Hellenic thought to the rising Roman culture. Society, he said, is a natural product of man's weakness and need for cooperation. But once organized, the strongest impose their will until reflection on the spontaneous punishment of violators of the customary code has convinced of the need for justice. Gradually reason comes to replace instinct and force and becomes the ruling principle in social organization. History, said Polybius is the key to understanding society, but only when written in general terms.

"... whoever is persuaded that the study of particular histories is alone sufficient to convey a perfect knowledge of the whole may very properly be compared to one, who, on surveying the divided members of a body that was once endued with life and beauty, should persuade himself that he had from thence obtained a just conception of all the comeliness and active vigor which it had received from nature." \*

The direction of Roman social thought is a logical outgrowth of the nature of the Roman Empire. As ruler of many diverse nations, Rome was forced to seek general underlying principles which would apply in differing situations with some degree of aptness. From this search there emerged the idea of *jus naturale*, very closely akin to "natu-

\* Quoted in House, Floyd N., *Development of Sociology*, p. 25. Quoted by permission of McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc.

ral" or universal law, not subject to limitations of time or space. This idea made for ease of acceptance of a universal religion, such as Christianity.

#### EARLY CHRISTIAN SOCIAL THINKING

Although the Jews refused to accept Jesus as their longed-for Messiah, there are elements in Jewish history which seem to have a pertinent connection with the emergence of Christianity among them. The Jewish nation was a wandering one, and through its wanderings had taken over much of the culture of the ancient civilizations about the eastern end of the Mediterranean. Further, when they settled, it was at the cross-roads of the world of that time. Placed as they were in a position which subjected them to constant impact of new and different cultures, it is not surprising that they evolved the notion of a god of all the peoples of the world; and this god, of course, was their god.

But this idea did not fit in with their actual position. As the chosen people of the one god, they should rule the earth; actually they were a subject people enjoying brief interims of comparative freedom. From this situation, it was natural that the belief in a Messiah who would elevate them to their proper position in the affairs of the world should arise and prove immensely popular. Too, just as the idea of a universal god had arisen in their situation, it was natural that a religion of universal brotherhood should arise there also. As noted above, such a religion found fertile ground in the Roman Empire and spread with great rapidity. One other characteristic of Christianity helps account for its popularity among the Romans. Jesus preached to the underprivileged, the poorer folk and the politically oppressed. The idea of heaven was particularly appealing to such people because it offered future rewards for present suffering. And, at the time of the appearance of Christianity, Roman society was divided, largely, into the aristocrats and the great masses who felt themselves to be badly oppressed both as individuals and as nationality groups. In Christianity they found a religion which suited their situation nicely; and readily accepted it.



Although the fundamental Christian ideals of love, service and brotherhood were encrusted with creed and ritual as the new religion was organized into an institution, they were never wholly lost to the view of the common man and colored the writings of the clerical leaders. The Christian Fathers, whose writings rivaled the Scriptures in practical influence, are not in full agreement, but in general their thinking rests upon the following ideas: in the past there existed a Golden Age which was destroyed by the fall of man through sin; the business of human existence is not to construct a better society, but to save one's own soul; government has been made a necessity by man's fall. In spite of their holding that government was a product of human wickedness, they believed, as did the Stoics, that man is naturally social, and they regarded government also as having Divine authority.

In St. Augustine's *City of God* is drawn a vivid picture of the contrast between the city of this world, materialistic and debasing, and the City of God, where the Divine Will finally triumphs. St. Augustine conceived the world as the stage on which the drama of salvation is slowly worked out to the greater glory of God. Everything moves to this end; no stone falls but as a part of this eternal plan; the world has no other purpose. Hence, man is at once the center of the universe, and a puppet in the hands of an almighty Creator. St. Augustine was a devotee of the Manichean religion before being converted to Christianity, and brought into his religious writing much of the old Persian concept of the world as the battleground of the forces of good and those of evil, of God *versus* Satan. From his time onward for centuries European thought was characterized by this idea of conflict between the flesh and the spirit, the natural and the supernatural, the rational and the revealed, the temporal and the eternal, the worldly and the ecclesiastical.

The chief flaw in the early teaching of Christianity, as we now look back upon it, was its doctrine of Hell, especially as it was used to threaten those who adhered to a different faith. This was an idea less original with Christianity than we often suppose. In accord with the harshness of the period we find it in other faiths. Tormenting demons were included in Mithraism and in the cult of Isis, and even in Neo-Platonism.

Plato himself in his *Laws* is charged with having treated false belief as a form of sin.\*

The development of asceticism in early Christianity, which betrayed believers into morbid practices and the ambivalent moral struggles of flesh against spirit, was foreshadowed by the Stoics, and attacks upon physical lust were prevalent during the centuries before and after the founding of Christianity in the ethical teachings outside the new religion. Christianity reinforced and dogmatized an attitude which was already receiving considerable support. The immorality of the period was the background which accounts for these crusades both in Christianity and in pagan thought.

Christianity appeared when culture was already revolting from the mass of superstition handed on from the past, which had already lost vitality for the masses and was more and more being consciously repudiated by the thoughtful. Its influence was important in later Roman civilization, which was losing not only religious faith but confidence in ethical standards. Judaism, it is true, offered monotheism and moral earnestness, but with such exacting requirements in accord with Mosaic law that it failed as a proselyting faith. Christianity entered a void and as it developed rallied the moral forces of the ancient world. At the same time, by professing allegiance only to Jehovah, the early Christians weakened Roman authority and cohesiveness.

#### SCHOLASTIC AND PRE-MODERN THINKING

The scholastic era of social thought was ushered in by the renaissance of Aristotle in Europe through the Arabs in Spain. The essential characteristic of this period was the effort to reconcile the teachings of the great Greek with Christian revelation. The outstanding figure of the period was Thomas Aquinas. He attempted to fuse Aristotle's idea that man was a social being who joins others to form a social organization that can satisfy his needs, with the declaration of the Fathers that government had Divine origin and authority, although the political power was inferior to the spiritual. In Dante's *De Monarchia* is presented the perfect

\* *Laws*, p. 908.

ruler who administers the whole of Christendom with the spirit of Plato's philosophy. Dante maintains Aristotle's doctrine that the test of a government must be found in its actual promotion of the welfare of its subjects.

We date the modern study of politics from Machiavelli. He is not, like Plato or Aristotle, interested in speculation regarding the nature of the state, but in problems of statesmanship. In *The Prince* he deals with questions of method and expediency to be followed by the successful leader whose interest is in the preservation of the state, and describes with unusual frankness the principles, as he conceives them, that the ruler must observe or fail in the management of his subjects. In spite of the unsavory reputation with which this author is credited, the book is born of experience and still reveals the practices, if not the theories, of many of those who direct the destiny of nations. Although his *Discourses* are less generally known than *The Prince*, the former book is regarded by many as the more important contribution. The author lays down a program for the ruler of a monarchy and of a republic. Machiavelli's greatest importance for the sociologist comes from the fact that he starts social thought along the line of concrete practices to be discovered by induction, and leads away from speculation. Sir Thomas More indicted the unjust social conditions of his day by expressing his ideas through the mouthpiece of a fictitious traveller. Not content with merely describing the political, economic, and social evils of his time, he pictures the ideal commonwealth and discusses the manner by which it can be attained.

The Protestant Reformation directly contributed very little to social thinking. It led, however, to radical changes in social experience by its relation to the contemporary commercial changes that were taking place, as a result of the checking of the power of the church, and indirectly resulted in the extension of political and intellectual freedom in spite of the intolerance that accompanied the new movement. Serious interest in social matters and more critical methods of investigation were stimulated.

In *The New Atlantis*, Francis Bacon made a plea for the freeing of human thinking from its prejudices, that it might



by open-minded examination discover the truth. The improvement of social conditions rests upon knowledge which can be obtained only by releasing the thinker from human predispositions. *The New Atlantis* was a portrayal of the perfect state. It is unfinished, but it represents, as we have it, the author's highest level of social thinking.

The Utopian writings of such men as More and Bacon illustrate nicely the change in social thinking which was taking place in Europe and which eventuated, at a later date, in the development of social science. Here we find a faith in the ability of mankind to solve his own problems; to work out his own fate. No longer was he to accept what fate offered him; if he did not like his environment he sought to change it so that it more closely matched his ideals. This was the result of the expansion of the European world through contact with the rich culture of the East and the new and strange culture of the New World. These startlingly different worlds with which the Europeans came into contact induced the comparative point of view. For the first time they were compelled to see that there were other ways of doing things than those used in their own nations. The study of the ancient Greek philosophers revived the hope of constructing the sort of society desired rather than accepting the sort their fathers had had. Faith in man's power of reasoning increased enormously, and he faced the task of planning his future with confidence. The age of rationalism dawned. Man began to reason in a strictly rational manner after the models of mathematics and mechanics. In terms of logic applied to the observations of savage life, thinkers began to reason as to how society could have come into being.

#### CONTRACT SCHOOL

Thomas Hobbes, one of England's greatest political thinkers, introduced an original theory of the birth of the state which came to have a decided influence upon social thinking. He based his discussion on two premises: one, that sovereignty was necessary and absolute, and the other, that civil society originated by contract. We do not know whether Hobbes meant this as an actual description of the historic



origin of society or whether it is a philosophic interpretation independent of the actual evolution. He defines the sovereign as the agent established by the will of society, but not limited in his discretion, and with an authority that, once given, cannot be taken away. The state is not a product of man's political nature, but originates as a means of satisfying desire. Before the organization of the state all men are in a state of anarchy and every man's hand is against every other.

In this state of nature the life of man is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short." There is also no justice nor injustice, right nor wrong. Men, however, desire peace and freedom from the fear of death. They also wish to have the fruits of industry. Men are free to get what they can, but their possession is always uncertain. They are led to give up their impractical freedom, and assume the obligations of a commonwealth through foresight, obtaining through their self-limitation, expressed in a covenant, physical preservation and the possibility of a contented life. Some common agent must be created to keep the peace and enforce the covenant. This is accomplished by delegating authority through the sovereign. Hobbes also describes the origin of another type of society through conquest, and here his interpretation suggests the conflict thesis of Gumplowicz.\*

John Locke, another Englishman, in writing an apology for the Revolution of 1688, gave the contract idea a new twist. Since a state of nature preceded the organization of civil society, the violation of the law of reason brings about the conditions of war, in which one man does injury to another. There is the necessity of some central authority to act as umpire. Locke agrees with Hobbes in his belief that man surrenders his rights to the community, but Locke holds that man's giving up is not absolute, and is only for definite purposes. Whoever becomes a member of an existing commonwealth is made a party to its covenant just as truly as if he had been present when it was first made. When a political society is organized, in order that it may function the majority must become the ultimate basis of authority. The author admits that we have no certain knowledge of the

\* L. Gumplowicz (F. W. Moore, tr.), *Outlines of Sociology*.

beginning of government, but he affirms that this absence of records leaves us free to construct the most probable hypothesis.

Rousseau, an erratic character, by impulse neither a scholar nor a philosopher, contributed social thinking that has had a decided influence upon the movement of modern civilization. His teaching appeared in the French Revolution and was responsible for the trend of thought which Robespierre represented in the movement. The American Declaration of Independence also shows the impression Rousseau made upon Thomas Jefferson. Again in Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man* we discover the thinking of Rousseau in a popular form which made a wide and passionate appeal. Rousseau, like Hobbes, turns to the state of nature to get an understanding of the meaning of political experience, but unlike his predecessor he maintains that at the beginning man was peaceful and happy and strong, and that with the coming of civilization appeared decay, inequality, and corruption.

In his *Contrat Sociale* Rousseau affirms that every man gives up his freedom and individual rights, not to a sovereign but to the community itself, in which he, as a citizen, continues to be a shareholder in the authority. As he states it: "Each of us puts his person and faculties in a common stock under the sovereign direction of a general will and we receive every member as an inseparable part of the whole." Thus sovereignty rests upon the general will. He grants that it is difficult in the modern state to find means by which this collective expression of the people can be made, but suggests, as a means of surmounting this difficulty, that states should be smaller. Representative government does not provide the instrument by which the general will can be expressed, for the representatives are properly only delegates who need to have their acts confirmed. Thus the English Parliament by usurping sovereignty had enslaved the people.

Rousseau, in writing *Émile*, a treatise on education, also contributed to social thinking. *Émile* is an appeal for an educational policy that directs its efforts toward freedom and the inner life of personality rather than the mere acquisition of knowledge. In his point of view the author turns from the conventional standardized education of his day to empha-

size the spontaneous and the individual interests, which in these days are seriously thought of as proper goals for our educating agencies.

#### COMTE AND THE EMERGENCE OF SOCIOLOGY

With the slow accumulation of observations and speculations concerning the nature of man and society there grew up a body of material which could be synthesized into a systematic discussion of social organization.

The emergence of sociology as a definite subject of study was the culmination of a long interest in social and political problems that had won the attention of a host of thinkers. Within the limits of this survey many who contributed to the growth of social thought can receive only brief mention, and even less consideration must be given the social events and trends which, as they appeared in the modern history of Europe, stimulated the movement that finally brought forth a new science.

Auguste Comte (1798–1857) christened the science and is conventionally known as its founder. Much of his thinking was based upon the prior work of St. Simon, under whom he had once studied but to whom in his contributions he was reluctant to give credit. St. Simon was a socialist and a scientist who had pointed out the need for a new classification of the sciences culminating in political science. The importance of Comte was not in what he accomplished, but in what he started. He defined the province of a new science. Although there is little in the work of Comte that was original, his *Positive Philosophy* was the first effort to outline distinctly what has now become the field of sociology.

Comte's second important treatise was *Positive Polity*. He argued the necessity of constructing a social philosophy as the proper means of social improvement. He arranged the sciences in a hierarchy with sociology as the climax. He declared that human thinking had developed through three stages, the theological, the metaphysical, and finally the scientific. These levels were illustrated in man's thinking about his social experiences. The first kind of thinking leads to a militaristic and monarchical social organization. In the



second, the government establishes itself upon abstraction, the theory of natural rights and sovereignty. In the third, positive thinking makes possible the industrial era. The scientific is the only kind of thinking that can be trusted to produce practical results. Comte desired to advance the study of society to the third level. The new science is concerned with two aspects of social experience, social statics dealing with order and social dynamics with progress.

Comte defined the methods by which the science must make its progress. First, there must be observation of facts, a task particularly difficult because of the complexity of the material studied. Second, experiments are impossible to any great degree, but spontaneous happenings, whether of the past or in contemporary life, are, he claims, just as valuable. Then there must be comparison of human and animal societies to reveal the origin of society, and comparison of coexisting types of human social development, revealing, he says, that the human mind develops uniformly everywhere, for race and climate merely interfere with the rate of progress. Third, a comparison must be made of consecutive stages in the history of a definite group, so as to reveal the influence of generation upon generation in a progressive social development. In spite of good intentions, Comte did not succeed in keeping his discussion within the realm of science. He invited science to a new task, but can hardly be said to have himself inaugurated sociology.

With the growth of biological science the mathematical, mechanistic ideas of the world and of man began to lose their potency and thinkers turned to the studies having to do with living matter. This shift was not abrupt; indeed, it has not yet become complete. But when such thinkers as Hume had demonstrated the weakness of the contract school of thought by pointing out that man could not have known the advantages of cooperation until he had tried them and therefore would not have formed compacts, it was evident that some other explanation must be offered.

The population of Europe was increasing so rapidly during the eighteenth century as to give rise to speculation as to how many persons the earth could support. Thomas Malthus, a pious English clergyman with a pessimistic point of view,



became convinced that population must be removed through war, famine, pestilence or some other like cause; or through "moral restraint" on the part of potential parents. The world, he was convinced, is capable of supporting only a small fraction of the people who may be born into it.

Malthus' notion gave Charles Darwin, a biologist, the key to interpretation of immense stores of data concerning the changes in the form of animal life which he had gathered in all parts of the world. Darwin was interested in how it happens that a species of animals will change the organism to fit into the physical environments in which they live; in how species vary from one type of habitat to another. But if nature supplies many more members of a species than can live, there will be fierce competition among those born for the right to mature and reproduce their kind. In this struggle those members of the species which have an advantage in structure, no matter how slight, will eventually win out, their structural advantage will be inherited by their progeny, and the species will be changed. In this way he explained the origin of species; and gave to European thinking an entirely new turn.

#### HERBERT SPENCER

The hypothesis of Charles Darwin, expressed in his theory of organic evolution, turned the thinking of his time, but not without violence. The immediate effect of his *Origin of Species* was to shatter tradition much as an earthquake breaks up the crust, so that when the earth settles a new surface appears. Although the impact of the work of Darwin and Wallace was felt most in the theological realm, the idea of evolution forced a new alignment of sociological thinking.

The chief author to respond to the challenge of the new situation was Herbert Spencer. He engaged in the mammoth undertaking of interpreting and bringing into relation all the specialized fields of knowledge, and carried out his chosen purpose more nearly than has any other writer since Aristotle. He gave himself the task of building an evolutionary foundation for the sciences and the arts which together covered the entire field of human knowledge.

Lacking in humor and taking himself over-seriously, Spencer aimed for the impossible goal of a complete synthesis of human thought. Necessarily his system included the field of social experience. He was, indeed, especially interested in problems of government, and believed that his teachings "would have a practical effect for good on the development of modern society." He had been trained as a civil engineer, and from his study of mathematics had developed a love of system and a sense of the need of precision in statement. Naturally logical, he was quick to formulate general concepts, and once they were made, he was too apt to strain thought in their defense. In this tendency he was unlike the cautious and painstaking Darwin, who always attempted to disprove the principle to which his thinking led him.

Spencer wrote clearly and interestingly, and as a champion of evolutionary doctrine he obtained a large following especially among the thinking youth of England and America, where for a time his influence was immense. He pushed forward the idea of natural causation in the evolution of human society, even though much of his writing was formal and biased in an effort to maintain the premises which he had deductively constructed. He underrated savages, but nevertheless drew attention to the need, instead of theorizing in this field, of discovering what primitive life really was. On account of physical weakness Spencer had to have much of his research done by assistants, and perhaps this in part accounts for his grouping material that supported his theories upon savage life, even when cultural differences indicated that the matter put together was artificially joined by his misinterpretation of surface similarity.

Spencer advocated individual rights. He found in the evolution of modern society a trend from a militaristic to an industrial society, a society whose interests would lead it irresistibly away from war toward the maintenance of peace. It is much too soon to deny that the rational considerations Spencer assumed will not eventually produce universal peace, but it is certain that present progress toward the goal is slow, and it can in no case be the product of a static society such as Spencer pictured.

Spencer makes much of biological likeness between the

animal organism and society. This was to him, according to his later statements, merely an analogy, but it has so prominent a place in his social philosophy that it seems an essential part of his doctrine, and tempts the reader to overestimate the significance of the similarities he finds between the biological organism and society. *Social Statics*, written by Spencer when he was thirty, is surprising in its degree of originality, when one realizes the youthfulness of the author. In it he makes happiness built upon liberty and justice the proper end of government. *Synthetic Philosophy* gives the basis of all his thinking, and as a consequence it has been said that this is the most authoritative statement of his social philosophy. In his *Principles of Sociology* Spencer deals with the data that he gathered from his investigations of savage society. Here it is that we find his famous ghost theory of the origin of religion. In the *Principles of Sociology* also appears in detail his analogy between society and the biological organism.

From the present level of social thinking it is not difficult to discover the limitations of this author and his proneness to be captured by the appeal of his quickly formed general principles, but even if he failed in his interpretation of the significance of the evolutionary process for the science of sociology, he at least popularized the notion that social experience must be studied as an evolving life.

Spencer had begun the elaboration of his theories before Darwin published his *Origin of Species*. The first statement was in line with the older mathematical formulation, and this element never did disappear wholly from his thought. But within a few years after Darwin had published, there appeared in England a direct interpretation of his thought in terms of social organization in Walter Bagehot's *Physics and Politics*. Bagehot, however, used the Darwinian hypothesis to argue that cooperation, not conflict, is the basis upon which society is organized and is the chief means of survival in a savage world. Realizing their individual weaknesses, the weak cooperate and destroy the strong non-cooperators, while when the strong cooperate nothing can stand before them, he reasoned. But cooperation domesticates man and places him under social constraint; the "cake of custom" be-



comes so strong that it would place fetters on humankind were it not for the rebels who break through and occasionally succeed in convincing their associates that the new ways are better ways. Like Spencer, and others who applied the Darwinian theory to society, Bagehot was convinced that the world is moving away from the use of force and toward settlement of differences by peaceable discussion.

In America, Spencer had two outstanding disciples. John Fiske began with the fundamental query as to how evolution in the social sense originates; and found an answer in the long period of infancy of the human child. This made necessary the cooperation of the parents through many years and established habits of family living, he argued. Traditions are built up, sympathy is aroused. It is these psychic qualities which form the foundation of the social order. But Giddings later pointed out that the actual order of events might just as easily have been the reverse; that the organization of the family might have made possible the prolongation of the period of dependence of the child.

The other outstanding American disciple of Spencer was William Graham Sumner. He followed Spencer's adherence to *laissez-faire* philosophy and drew his conclusions from reports of savage life. Fundamental to his thought is the hostility assumed to exist between the "in group" and the "out group," the "we" and the "they." That is, society is composed of a great number of groups, and the normal and expected relationship between groups is that of hostility. To him also are we indebted for the notions of the folkways and mores, and for an excellent discussion of the nature of institutions. But perhaps his greatest contribution is one which is not made explicit in his writings. By showing the great differences in customs in various parts of the world, he did very much to develop the comparative point of view in sociology. Certainly he led to the notion that society must be studied in the concrete, not in the abstract, that what one does and thinks is determined very largely by where and when one lives.

This point of view was to be reemphasized at a later date by W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki in their classic work, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. This



is essentially a study of the social situation in which the Polish peasants exist in their native land, and of their efforts at adjustment to American culture. By this method the differences in cultural values are brought out with startling clearness. It is a masterpiece of interpretation of the cultural gestalts of the two countries, revealed through personal documents—letters and autobiographies. It is also in this work that the ideas of social attitudes and values find their classical expression. Thomas' discussion of the four wishes finds statement here, but is greatly expanded in his *The Unadjusted Girl* of later date. In this later work, Thomas also developed the idea that most of the behavior of the person is dictated by the current definition of the situation and the "proper" response to it set by the group. In 1939 Thomas is still active in sociology, so that it is perhaps unfair to him to conclude that his contribution to science has been made. But it is already certain that his contribution is considerable.

#### LESTER F. WARD

To return to earlier American sociologists and the Europeans who influenced them, Lester F. Ward was perhaps the most typically American in the traditional sense. Growing up on or near the frontier, he worked hard for an education, and eventually attained a remarkable success in spite of handicaps. His philosophy clearly bears the marks of his early life.

Undoubtedly the writings of Herbert Spencer must be credited with stimulating the thought of Lester Ward along sociological lines. Ward was a specialist in botany in one of the scientific bureaus at Washington. He took up the serious study of sociology as an avocation, but advanced through his writings to the foremost place among American sociologists. Although a careful scientist in his field, he was philosophically inclined in his sociological thinking and is charged with dogmatism and the inability to progress far from his first presentation. *Dynamic Sociology* was his first book, and although he wrote several others, they are largely an extension and reinterpretation of the position

taken here. His more mature judgments are expressed in his *Pure Sociology*.

This author attempts to bring social phenomena under a complete causal description, and now when sociology has the advantage of years of investigation, it is generally conceded that, because of lack of knowledge, the attempt was premature and impossible of accomplishment without substituting philosophizing for science. It is impossible to exaggerate the commanding place Ward occupied in the pioneering period of American sociology. His range of knowledge was immense, and his sense of finality and lack of hesitation in assuming the undertaking of a complete system of sociology was impressive and convincing.

Perhaps the most important point in Ward's system is his emphasis of mind as a social factor. This was first expressed by him in a paper read at Johns Hopkins University at the invitation of G. Stanley Hall, in April, 1884. In his presentation he attacked the *laissez-faire* doctrine and showed the advantage of artificial or directed selection over natural selection with its wasteful methods. The evolutionary process finally produced man's mind, which added a new element that could direct the process. This advent of reason and its utility as a means of guidance appeared later as *telesis* and formed the cornerstone of Ward's system. With his confidence in the mind as an instrument of progress, Ward constructed a social optimism in sharp contrast with the pessimism of *laissez-faire*. Despite his confidence in human ability to profit from the powers of the mind, Ward was not blinded to the evils of the present nor the difficulties in the way of advancement. He thought of man as in the rough stone era in his social achievement, considerably behind his industrial development.

Ward allied himself with the present social thinking by his emphasis upon the psychic factor and by his appreciation of the importance of the feeling element as an influence upon human behavior. Fond of coining words to signify elements in his doctrine, he at times forgot the difference between explanation and description. He affirmed that spiritual civilization, which concerns the human values, is built upon a material basis. Material civilization consists

of the utilization of the materials and forces of nature that condition the spiritual part of civilization; permanent products of achievement are not things, but principles and devices, arts, systems and institutions, signifying permanent gain and making possible a producing of material wealth. Education is the chief preventive of social exploitation, and its popularizing is the supreme achievement of democratic society. Although it was impossible that the structure built by Ward on such a flimsy foundation of factual knowledge should persist with the advance of sociological science, his contribution, nevertheless, was not only immediately influential in America to a degree that overshadowed the work of others, but he still occupies a position of preeminence in the history of American sociology.

Ward's writings convey an atmosphere of aloofness from concrete living and have a heaviness of style that repels the reader. In his contacts Ward frequently revealed lack of humor and an over-serious regard for personal opinion. Perhaps his inability to meet with others on equal terms and to accept criticism accounts for the slight advancement that we find in his later writings over his first book, *Dynamic Sociology*. In spite of these handicaps, much of Ward's writing now reads as if it had been written in direct reaction to the conditions of the early part of the third decade of this century; he expressed fifty years ago many of the ideas now associated with the "New Deal" policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

#### FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS

In contrast with Ward, Giddings attracted his readers away from systematization to a study of concrete human relationships. This opening-up of the only means by which the science can advance to an achievement more substantial than mere verbal description will in time perhaps be of greater importance in the history of American sociology than the philosophizing of Ward, which tempted students to believe the new territory of social experience to be scientifically conquered before it was seriously entered. Giddings gave as his definition of sociology, "the explanation of the origin, growth, structure, and activities of society by the operation



of physical, vital, and psychical causes working together in a process of evolution."

In his *Principles of Sociology*, Giddings made consciousness of kind the elementary social fact—a state of consciousness in which any being, whether low or high in the scale of life, recognizes another conscious being as of like kind with itself.\* With reference to the quality of this consciousness of kind there are in society four classes: the non-social, who have not developed this group sympathy; the anti-social or criminal, including those whose consciousness of kind is disappearing; the pseudo-social or pauper class, who have degenerated in their consciousness of kind; the class of the normally social, giving vitality to society and carrying its load, who are the ones that develop a high degree of consciousness of kind. Professor Giddings discussed the conditions that develop consciousness of kind and the relation of this principle to conflict.

Giddings was not content to view society from his study window, but came into close grapple with public affairs. This closeness of concrete contemporary life appears in his *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, in which is developed his pluralistic interpretation of social behavior. By pluralistic behavior, Giddings means that animals similarly constructed will react to the same sort of stimuli in approximately the same fashion. Doing so, they will develop similar habits and ideas, a recognition of these similarities will arise, and form a strong bond between them. This is his fundamental social fact from which all social organization springs. In his last book, *Scientific Study of Human Society*, Giddings pleads for a serious effort by sociologists and social workers to get at the facts that fall within the field of social experience and in some detail he considers scientific methods by which reliable knowledge may be obtained for the building of social science. As head of the Department of Sociology at Columbia University, Giddings had much to do with shaping American social thought. Graduates of this department now fill many of the important teaching positions in the discipline in this country, especially in the Northeastern region.

\* *Op. cit.*, p. 17.



Albion W. Small, who founded and headed the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago, has also had a most powerful effect on the development of American social thought through the students who worked under him. However, Small's influence was exerted more through his classroom contact with future teachers and writers than through his own writings. Small's primary contribution to American sociology was his translation of the ideas of German and Austrian thinkers into American terms, especially the theory of interests of Ratzenhofer. These are somewhat similar to the four fundamental wishes later discussed by Thomas. According to Small, man's activities are directed toward satisfaction of six fundamental interests: health, wealth, sociability, knowledge, beauty, and rightness. Small was also editor of the *American Journal of Sociology* from its founding in 1895 for more than twenty years, and thus was in position to give direction to much of the social thinking of his time. In his *Origins of Sociology*, Small presents excellent discussions of the Germanic social thought of the latter part of the last century and credits it with exerting a powerful influence on American sociology.

#### COOLEY AND ROSS

Two others of the "founding fathers" of American sociology must receive attention at this point. Charles Horton Cooley and Edward Allsworth Ross have both emphasized the psychic elements in social organization. Cooley, who was head of the department at the University of Michigan until his death about a decade ago, contributed the concepts of the primary group and of the "looking glass self." By primary group he meant that small and relatively intimate group within which the person feels the greatest freedom, the family and play group notably. It is from this group that most of our personality is derived, he taught. The "looking glass self" refers to the mechanism by which the primary group shapes personality. Each of us, he says, looks into the eyes of our friends and sees there their conception of our personality. We then attempt to modify ourselves so as to correspond to our notion of what our friends think of us.

Such reasoning as this is the foundation of Cooley's famous assertion that the person and society are twin-born; that is, one does not and cannot exist without the other.

Ross has been interested in the means and nature of social control throughout his long and active career. His early thought was largely influenced, it would seem, by Gabriel Tarde, French writer who said that society is imitation. Always dynamic and always interested in functions, Ross has analysed the forms of control to which the person is subjected, and the forms of relationships which grow from social control. This later work seems to have had a considerable influence on the development of "formal" sociology in Germany, that is, a sociology of forms of interrelationships; although other roots of this movement are clearly discernible. More recently Ross has become interested in population problems and has written on immigration restriction and contraception.

To give the impression that the men named above are the only ones who have made worthwhile contributions to American sociological thought would be most misleading. There are numerous writers who have produced works which will undoubtedly have great effect upon the future of sociology; and who may produce more such works. But their number is too large to permit discussion in a work of this scope; and since they are still living and working it would perhaps be unfair to evaluate their work before it is finished. However, many of these persons have been referred to in the preceding chapters of this text, and a glance through the pages of the sociological journals will reveal many others, as well as their work.

#### EUROPEAN SOCIOLOGISTS

Since the advances in the techniques of communication have made of the Western World so compact a unit, and scholars have availed themselves so freely of the published works of their contemporaries, a discussion of European sociology is essential to any understanding of the development of the discipline in the United States. Space will permit the mention of only a few of the many contributors in Europe, and several who have had much influence on Ameri-

can thinking must be neglected. The men mentioned below have been chosen more because they represent *types* of thought than for their direct connection with American sociology, although such a connection is absent in no case.

The same line of thought which marked Darwin's formulation of the hypothesis of evolution, led Ludwig Gumplowicz and Gustav Ratzenhofer to make conflict the elementary social fact in their systems of sociology. Although they differed in minor respects their theories are so similar that they may be treated together in a summary such as this. The motive for interaction is found in the difference in the attitudes toward members of the in-group and strangers, they hold. And this relationship is normally one of conflict. Groups are augmented by conquest. Caste and class arise from the relationships of the conquerors to the conquered since this relationship is one of exploitation. But gradually, as the two peoples come to know each other better, this condition is mitigated. In efforts to rationalize their superior position the conquerors develop theories of their rights; and in so doing state also the rights of the subject people. One cannot assert his right to half the income of a slave without also asserting the right of the slave to the other half. Thus, law and custom come to substitute for force in the relationship. This process continues until the people have a feeling of common interest; are welded into a homogeneous group so far as all other groups are concerned. If there is not conflict with other groups, however, it is to be expected that within the large group persons will organize in terms of particular interests and carry on a form of modified conflict. The two primary interests in terms of which such groups are formed are the need for food, *Brotneid*, and the sexual urge, *Blutliebe*. All other interests are modifications of these, Ratzenhofer holds.

It will be noted that the basis of the theories of Gumplowicz and Ratzenhofer is *interaction*. This is what they set out to explain. Interaction is also the basis of the best known system of German sociology, that of Georg Simmel and of Leopold von Weise. But these men are more interested in the forms of interaction than in its genesis. Hence, their social thought is known as "formal" sociology.



Beginning with the fundamental proposition that whenever two persons or groups come into contact there is a movement toward each other, away from each other, or a mixed impulse in which urges both toward and away from are mixed, as in ambivalence, they created several hundred categories of action which they assert enables the student to classify any possible sort of interaction. They are not so much interested in *what* takes place, as in *how* interaction is carried on. Thus they are interested in such forms of interaction as subordination-superordination, secrecy and secret societies, and the role of the stranger in the community.

Attacking the notion that the proper method of study is to break the object studied into elements which may be classified easily, Ferdinand Tönnies has stressed the interdependence of persons and institutions in a work titled *Gemeinschaft und Gessellschaft*. The title is translated *Community and Society*. Community, he says, is a "natural" organic unity, whereas the unity of the larger society is more formal, depending on contracts and consent. In the first from of society, the individuality is lost to a large extent in the common will; in the second it is emphasized; belief is replaced by doctrine, religion by public opinion as a means of social control; common property gives way to personal property.

This revolt against the use of the methods of natural science in the study of society has reached its highest point in the German "Verstehende Soziologie," the central thesis of which seems to be that the sciences having to do with psychological and "spiritual" behavior must also use understanding, or sympathetic insight, or judgment. Thus sociology must take into account not only what a person accomplishes, but what he intended to accomplish; the attitudes in terms of which he acted; and these things cannot be handled by the mechanisms of the older sciences. But, it is argued, such material can be handled by the "typological" method, by which those elements common in a class of situations are taken out and combined to form a type which may be true in no particular instance in all details, but will be accurate within narrow limits in all cases of a category of situations. Max Weber and Werner Sombart have applied this theory



with conspicuous success in studies of religious and economic systems.

Somewhat allied to the *verstehende* theory is that of Othmar Spann that the individual is not self-created, but takes on his nature from the whole of which he is a member; that not the person, but the social group is the reality which should be studied. The similarity of these theories to those expressed in *Gestalt* psychology will be evident to the student of that science.

#### FRENCH THOUGHT

French social thought has made its greatest contributions in the fields of psychology and of human geography. Gabriel Tarde and Émile Durkheim both approached the study of society from the psychological standpoint. Tarde built his whole system of thought around the notion that "Society is imitation," although by imitation he seems to mean merely the repetition of social events and their passage from one group to another. Thus he is able to discuss opposition and counter-imitation as special forms of his fundamental idea of imitation. Most of our actions, he held, are the result of imitation of those of superior social status, or of those who lived in a time which has high prestige in our thinking. Occasionally, however, two modes of imitation are opposed to each other and we have opposition; or the action of a detested person may induce us to behave as much in an opposite manner as is possible. Social change comes about, he held, as the result of invention, which is merely the reinforcing of each other by modes of imitation of old patterns of behavior with the result that a new object or pattern of behavior emerges from the combination.

Tarde's sociology was largely individualistic; that of Durkheim was almost entirely that of the group. The person is only a part of the group, which is the social unit. This solidarity of the group is largely the result of division of labor, by which it becomes impossible for a person to exist without the services of a number of other persons, each with a specialized function. But society is more than a matter of convenience to individuals.

Society, to Durkheim, is an association with a specific reality, having its own life which may be described as collective or common consciousness. Society is a *socio-psychical* organism. Education is more than merely drawing out individual capacity; it is also a filling-in. The individual is moulded by the group of which he is a part. Social consciousness expresses itself in products such as laws and institutions. The solidarity of society comes from similarity. The myths and the rites associated with religion, however fantastic their form, are born of social need, and it is a business of science to discover the situations that call them forth. We study them best in savage society because of the greater simplicity of primitive culture. Magic is individualistic, but religion is group experience, a form of collective behavior.

The relationship of man to the geographic environment has claimed the attention of Frederic LePlay and of Paul Vidal de la Blache, among other French writers. LePlay was led into this study through his work as a mining engineer and after a careful study of hundreds of household budgets arrived at the conclusion that geography is a very powerful factor in culture, but in an indirect way. The natural resources of the place in which people live will determine the sort of work they will do. This, in turn, will determine the sort of society they build and the sorts of relationships they maintain with other peoples, he stated. Thus is derived his formula: Place: Work: Folk. Later Vidal de la Blache pointed out that the manner in which a people exploit their psychical environment is largely a matter of the culture they have; that the mode of life found in a region is not necessarily an expression of the physical factors. His emphasis on the human factors in geographic studies and his insistence that the most manageable unit for such study is the region have had important influence in Germany, in England and in the United States.

#### SOCIOLOGY IN ENGLAND

Perhaps because Spencer was not an academic person, the English have never followed his lead in the study of sociology. Indeed, sociology has been almost wholly neglected in the

English universities until within recent years. But outside the schools, Patrick Geddes and Victor Branford applied the LePlay formula to the study of English life through their "Valley Section" modification. A river valley, they held, contains all the essential varieties of social organization. Near the top of the mountain range, where the stream rises, will be found the miner. Lower down the valley, in order, will be found the shepherd, the small farmer in the piedmont, the plantation type of farming on the coastal plains, a city near the mouth of the river, and the fisherfolk on the sea nearby. Each of these occupation groups will have its distinctive philosophy and forms of social organization on a miniature scale, so that within the valley one can find types of the various forms of social order. The idea is suggestive and has been applied to the Southeastern portion of this country by Rupert B. Vance in his *Human Geography of the South*.

Other contributors to English sociology might almost as easily be classed as philosophers as sociologists. They have generally taken a philosophic attitude toward their work which is in strong contrast to the empirical and factual approach emphasized in America. This is well illustrated in the works of Leonard T. Hobhouse, dean of British sociologists, on the evolutionary doctrine. A number of studies in evolution convinced him that there is no automatic progress; that man must fight for the betterment of his world. In this conclusion he is in close agreement with the American, Ward. With Morris Ginsberg, and G. C. Wheeler, Hobhouse undertook a factual survey of *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples*, which convinced them that societies must be studied as wholes and that progress consists of the successful and harmonious integration of the parts of a culture.

Edward Westermarck might be claimed by either England or Finland. Born in the latter country, he spent the last years of his life at the University of Helsingfors. His work in sociology was confined to a study of the family and morality. Society is formed on the basis of the parental impulse which leads to cooperative enterprises. He is also

known for his defense of monogamy, arguing that this was the typical form of marriage among the earliest peoples. This position has been attacked vigorously within recent years by Robert Briffault ; but it is obvious that the historical data on which the controversy might be settled is irretrievably lost so that the argument appears to be somewhat pointless.

#### SOCIAL THOUGHT IN LITERATURE

It is a mistake for the student to suppose that all social thinking appears in a sociological form. Every kind of thought-expression reveals the influences of the social experiences, conditions, and ideas characteristic of a definite people and time. Theology, politics, law, commerce, and art in its various divisions, especially literature, become a medium by which social thinking obtains expression.

Of all these non-scientific forms of social thought literature is the most extensive and revealing. From the proverb and folk-tale of the savage to the modern novel, now so popular, we easily trace the effect of social life and thought upon literature. To illustrate in detail this influence of social thinking upon the form and content of literary art would require a book of its own, but a rapid survey of English and American authorship brings out forcefully how man's social interests affect his creative imagination and determine his literary construction.

In English literature from the Anglo-Saxon period with its *Beowulf* and Widsity to Shaw, Galsworthy, and Wells of our own time, this reciprocating influence of literature and social thinking is apparent to the most superficial student, but certain outcroppings of social thinking in literary art are especially significant to the sociologist.

For example, the dynamic social thought of Elizabeth's period appears in its richness in Shakespeare, while the moral earnestness of the Puritan age shows best in Milton. The Puritan demand for an extension of human rights, an outgrowth of the social situation, comes out in Thomas Hooker's constitution written for Connecticut's government and in Milton's protest against the literary censor in his *Areopagitica*.



In the diaries of Evelyn and Pepys we find a microscopic portrayal of everyday life and thought in London during the Restoration period, without a parallel in the history of literature.

With the coming of the eighteenth century social life and thought demanded a wide area for its literary outflow, and as a consequence we have such contrasts as Goldsmith's winsome picture of rural life in the *Vicar of Wakefield*, Swift's bitter satire of life and manners, Gray's melancholy *Elegy*, Burns' democratic passion, Blake's mysticism, Crabbe's realism, and in the novels of Defoe, Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett, a new literary vehicle, soon to be favorite, for conveying social experience. *Moll Flanders*, *Roxana*, *Pamela*, *Clarissa Harlow*, *Tom Jones*, *Amelia*, *Humphry Clinker*, in spite of their great difference in motive and manner were products of the period and reflect social thinking.

The nineteenth century finds poetry and prose interested in conscious undertakings that attempt to change the life and thought of people as well as to register prevailing experience. Shelley with his thirst for revolutions, Byron, the restless exploiter, Wordsworth, who turned from youthful enthusiasm to the refuge of meditation, Tennyson and Browning, interpreters of the age of science and evolution, Hardy, Meredith, Carlyle, Arnold, Ruskin, Morris, and Swinburne are the leaders of a host of writers who put social thought into the permanent mode of literature. In America we find Emerson, Whitman, Hawthorne, and Lincoln with his speeches, reflecting in the characteristic ways of their genius the complex social thinking of their time. The humanitarian trend of the century, especially of the Victorian period, appears also in Elizabeth Browning, Dickens, George Eliot, Charles Reade, Kingsley, Gaskell, and in America in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

In our own time the outpouring of a vast quantity of literature, poetry, biography, essays, and novels especially, saturated with social problems and their proposed solutions, testify to the large place sociological interests are being given by contemporary authors. Indeed, American literature at present seems almost captive to the intense interest in social experience characteristic of our time, and in greater or

less degree this is true everywhere in the world where literature flourishes. Literature has all but become a popular diluting of sociological science.

Not only in literature in the strict sense of the term do we find expression of social thought. Such a book as *Black Beauty*, immensely popular a generation ago, whatever its literary rank, has sociological importance because of its representative character. This particular book advocated more humane treatment of horses and its wide reading demonstrates how closely it was connected with the growing sentiment that made the kind treatment of animals an ethical obligation. Newspapers are filled with records of social thinking, and, although they must be used with discrimination, they furnish a source of information regarding the development of social thought of the greatest value to the student of sociology.

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## CHAPTER XXXI

### SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

Sociology must not be thought of as *the* social science. It is merely one division in a large field of study. Formerly it was defined by some writers in such a way as to give it excessive claims, making it the final authoritative interpreter of man's social experience. Naturally, such presumptions were resented by those interested in the other and older divisions of social science. With the passing of its pioneering period, sociology has accepted its task and recognized its limitations. It is a co-equal and co-operative branch of social science, and in no degree the imperial arbitrator of the efforts of science to understand man's social activities and relationships. Man's social experience is so varied and so clearly classified by dominant interests that there is need of differentiation in the field of social science. Otherwise, there would be constant confusion among the scientists and no possibility of progress in interpreting man's social life.

Like the other social sciences, sociology brings to the investigation of social behavior a definite viewpoint. This does not mean, however, that the line of separation between sociology and each of the other social sciences is always well defined. As a matter of fact, at certain points sociology and other social sciences come so close together that they bring about a scientific "no man's land." This emphasizes what the student must not forget: that although there are separate definite social sciences, they are all dealing with man's social experience and are merely looking at it from different points of view. This has been more and more recognized in recent years in the specific investigation of social problems. There is now a decided trend toward bringing together specialists representing different social sciences whenever any concrete investigation is made of a social situation. This tendency toward synthesis testifies to the fact that social science, like physical science, has come to recognize that the arbitrary divisions made for the advantage of specific research must not defeat the cooperation necessary

for a successful attack on any problem of investigation.

Sociology has been influenced by, and has influenced, all of the sciences that attempt to explain the place of man in the world, either as a biological organism or as a person in interaction with others. In order to understand sociology, the student must know how it is interrelated with the other sciences.

#### BIOLOGY

The science of biology, once narrowly defined as merely the development, structure, and functions of organisms, now comes in contact with the field of sociology at many points. Since it deals with protoplasm and organisms as related to environment, it frequently finds itself concerned with matters of interest to the science of sociology. The modern biologist not only regards protoplasm as sensitive to environment, the basic fact in the integration of the individual organism, but he also insists that these interactions of structure and environment are social among animals, on lower levels than man's experience. Although modern thought no longer attempts to picture society as a sort of superbiological construction, based on an overdrawn analogy between the physical body and social experience, as did Comte, Spencer, and others, there was never greater appreciation of the fact that the social behavior of men, women, and children is in accord with the activities of all organic life as studied by biology.

The influence of biology was felt in sociology from the start. The theories of Herbert Spencer grew out of the impetus to thought that came from Darwin's doctrine of evolution. From that time the relationship between sociology and biology has been close. Attempts to discover analogies between social experience and physical development have fallen into disrepute, as attention has turned to the more solid factual basis of new information gathered by science regarding man's organism and the significance of this knowledge for man's social life.

Recently there has been considerable emphasis in social research on the problems revolving about diet and disease as they affect personal health and social organization. At

the same time, theories of biological and racial determinism in their more extreme forms have tended toward rejection by the sociologists. These factors are now regarded as influencing and conditioning social behavior, but not as dictating it.

#### GEOGRAPHY

Perhaps the oldest of all interpretations of social behavior is in terms of geography. Until relatively recently social thinkers saw man's social organization largely as the result of the place in which he lived ; indeed this point of view has not yet disappeared as is witnessed by the steady production of studies based on this fundamental assumption.

The geographical interpretation brings together those interested in an interpretation of social experience from the point of view of human geography and its allied sciences, such as geology and mineralogy. Here, as in each of the other divisions, there are such differences as to require subordinate groupings. This includes those interested in topography, climate, natural resources, and human history interpreted geographically. The interest in human geography comes from the desire to discover the influence of physical conditions upon the cultural history of man. Civilization is interpreted as the record of social experiences that in part at least resulted from the influences of the physical environment. It is an endeavor to give just attention to the physical background in which man lives his life.

Under the influence of such scholars as Odum, Smith and Mumford, geographic studies are accepting the region as the most manageable unit for study.

#### PSYCHOLOGY

Psychology is another science interested in man. The connection of the two sciences is so close that distinction between them is at times difficult. Social psychology, a borderland science in its content, is taught sometimes by members of the psychology department and at other times by sociologists, showing how much the two sciences have in common. Definitions of sociology found in the texts of a generation



ago stated that the science dealt with mental phenomena; present-day authors emphasize its social character by portraying it as a study of man's behavior. Woodworth, for example, says that psychology is a scientific study of the activities of the individual, standing between physiology on the one side and social science on the other. All three sciences study human activities—physiology dealing with the organs that make up the individual; psychology, with the individual; and social science, with groups composed of individuals.\* Since the individual in whose activities psychology is interested is a member of the social group, it is easy to see the closeness of the two sciences, psychology and sociology. Dashiell considers psychology as the gathering of knowledge of human nature, the scientific study of man.† It is clear that the distinction between the two sciences largely rests on the emphasis, in one, on the individual as a unity and, in the other, on the group as made up of individuals. This leads Dashiell to say that psychology involves analyses of man's behavior and does not proceed by observing concrete persons as wholes in complex social situations. To be faithfully interpreted, the problems of human nature require analysis by both sciences, for human nature itself is made by social contact, while group life, on the other hand, is a product of the interrelations of individuals.

The psychological point of view brings to social phenomena the background of psychological and psychiatric science, and is concerned with instincts, habits, processes of socialization, social consciousness, and the expression of man's original nature in his social experience. The development of psychology has been even more rapid and diverse than that of sociology. Experimentation has increased greatly, and the technic for investigation has correspondingly improved. The experiences of persons deviating from the usual, commonly known as abnormal, have been studied, and from this has come information of great value in understanding man's psychic behavior.

\* R. S. Woodworth, *Psychology*, p. 3.

† J. S. Dashiell, *Fundamentals of Objective Psychology*, pp. 8, 10.

## ANTHROPOLOGY

No science is of nearer kinship to sociology than anthropology, which is defined as the *science of man*. It was one of the first of the social sciences to appear. Growing out of the interest in questions of human origin, antiquity, development, and race characteristics, it especially registered the curiosity of civilized man in the more primitive people, whom we have been wont to call savages. Wissler enforces this by saying that anthropology represents the point of view of the European man observing the rest of mankind.\* Although one of the oldest of the social sciences, anthropology in recent years has taken on new life and extended its interest. Attracted at first to the problems of physical man, it has been led by the prevailing attention given social activities to a wider outlook involving preliterate culture, thus approaching nearer than ever before to the field of sociology. Indeed in recent years anthropologists have produced a number of studies of the culture of modern American communities which, save for slight differences in terminology, might easily be mistaken for the work of sociologists. Several of these studies are regularly used in classes in sociology.

However, anthropologists are chiefly interested in the institutions and cultural products of savage, or pre-literate peoples. Here the civilization is somewhat simpler and it is easier to observe the processes by which culture is made and control exerted. Although this leads to an emphasis upon the cultural habits of savages as expressed in their folkways and mores, the study of social culture is not merely an interpretation of savage behavior. Every group has its own folkways and mores and those operating in our own civilization are at least of equal concern to the sociologist. Not only does each group maintain a characteristic culture but each individual who enters it by birth or adoption has to learn to adapt himself to it. The group way of living is not the creation of the persons who maintain the culture. They have been given it by those before them. Culture thus represents a social heritage that accumulates, generation after generation. The specialist in this field is interested in

\* Cf. his *Man and Culture*.

all the products of social experience, ranging from methods of satisfying physical needs to the ideas that are widely held by the group, from ways of frying fish and making automobiles to political ideals of democracy.

#### ECONOMICS

In the early days of sociology many of its teachers had been trained in economics, and sometimes they taught both sociology and economics. Indeed, this is still true, even in some of our largest universities, but, in spite of the closeness of economics and sociology, each represents a distinct branch of the general field.

Economics used to be defined as the science of wealth, but this represents too narrow a view to do justice to modern economics. The statement that economics deals with man's effort to make a living gives a more adequate picture of what now is attempted by the science. Since economics concerns itself with man's wealth-getting and wealth-using activities, it is interested, as is sociology, in the social experiences of men, women, and children, for these are related to matters that concern the production and distribution of material wealth. In recent years economics more and more has recognized the social aspects of its problem and has stressed the social motives that lead to economic activity. Man is not just driven by impulses to make a living; social motivation is behind what he does and his economic experience always has a wide setting. A comparison of any recent text in economics with one published thirty or even twenty years ago will show the greater attention now given to the social aspect of economic life. The sociologist, likewise, recognizes that the economic element is ever present in any social problem and can never safely be ignored.

#### POLITICAL SCIENCE

Political science is one of the older branches of the general field of social science, and like economics, it was tied closely with sociology in the formative period of sociology. Political science has to do with the activities of man as expressed in

what we call government and law. It is a science that deals with the principles, the development, the purposes, and the functions of political life. It especially concerns itself with the organization and activities of the state; and since no state lives unto itself in these modern days, political science also includes the international relationships of nations. Political science is no longer content to think merely of group organization expressed in political form, but instead studies the individual in his relation to various political units in this country — city, county, state, and nation — through which the governmental aspects of his life are expressed.

#### HISTORY

Sociology and history have always kept close company, but because of a decided change in the attitude of the historian in recent years the two sciences have drawn closer together. For a long time history was, for the most part, a philosophic discussion of selected portions of human experience, portrayed by the gifted writer in expressive literary form; but for more than a generation the trend has been toward a more objective presentation and a greater scrutiny of facts. The older historian wrote to enforce a lesson that humanity had need to learn but more and more there has been a growing skepticism regarding the reliability of such social homilies. The business of the modern historian is to gather, sift, and present facts. This does not eliminate the meaning of past experience, but it does require a comparison between periods that is detailed and exact. As a consequence, modern history has been increasingly concerned with the social life of men. It has examined definite periods or well-defined movements with stress always upon the social meaning of the events studied. It has tried to answer impartially the natural questions: What? How? and Why? with reference to past events. Thus it has gathered factual information of the greatest value to the sociologist. And perhaps it is only fair to say that the work of the sociologist has in turn tended to enforce this prevailing historic interest in the social aspects of past civilizations. The biological conception of organic evolution has also had its effect upon



the historian, influencing him to portray past events as causal developments brought about by the operation of social forces.

Since sociology is so closely related to a number of other sciences it was inevitable that it should be divided into a number of fields reflecting varied interests but all using the fundamental approach of the person as a member of groups. In few cases does one scholar attempt to attain erudition in all branches of the discipline.

#### RURAL AND URBAN SOCIOLOGY

In the curriculum are two distinct branches of sociology that emphasize environmental differences in social experience. The first is rural sociology, which originated in the effort to understand the problems of rural life and to give information that would help to improve social experience in the country.

Rural sociology naturally evolved in the state colleges, where agricultural courses were offered, and came in part as a protest against the current idea of a decade or so ago that the farmer's problems were entirely economic and related to the producing and selling of his crop. Since the rural environment is relatively simple, rural sociology has had an advantage, and as a consequence its development has been rapid and substantial.

Urban sociology turns its attention to city life. Although there has long been an interest in city culture, urban sociology is a comparatively recent development, which has already become well established and has developed an extensive literature.

Now that our culture has become predominantly urban there is the greatest incentive for the development of urban sociology, as a means both of interpreting human behavior, and also of getting substantial information that will help administrators, social workers, and other citizens to deal with the problems that arise in human associations in the urban environment.

## HUMAN ECOLOGY

The biological concept of ecology has been applied to the study of the city community with fruitful results.\* The fundamental interest represented by human ecology is the effect of both time and space upon the institutions and conduct of people.† Social institutions and even human nature itself, having become accustomed to definite spatial relationships of human beings, are forced to make new adjustments as these relationships change. As a result social and political problems are brought about by this disturbing element of new conditions.

The plant cannot move from its unfavorable environment. The animal with his power of locomotion may go away from a habitat lacking in food material to one more to his liking. Man can choose his environment; he also can adapt it to his needs. In addition to his power of movement he has the ability to accomplish his purpose by controlling or changing his environment. The human community is an association which attempts to adjust its environment to the needs of its members, but it is not entirely free to work out its designs, for its behavior is influenced by conditions of time and place. Human ecology is tending more and more to emphasize the spatial nature of human relationships rather than the relationships between man and his physical environment. In line with this tendency, consideration is given to lines of communication and transportation which serve to tie areas into units of interaction.

## SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

The philosophic school is made up of those who have attempted to organize current information upon social experience so as to produce a system. Necessarily such an effort will reveal the personal slant and background of the writer. This synthesis of sociological material is growing increasingly difficult and the contemporary sociologist sees more

\* R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *The City*, ch. 3.

† R. D. McKenzie, "The Ecological Approach to the Study of Human Community," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 30, No. 3, pp. 287-301.

value in a definite and specialized search after sociological material than in an attempt to put together a philosophic interpretation of social experience. Even those who have a philosophic leaning prefer to synthesize a particular aspect of social experience rather than undertake to deal with the entire field. The synthesis and the appraisal of material of such variety and specialization as that now being gathered in the field of sociology become more difficult, but human thinking cannot in any sphere content itself with isolated nuclei of information. The need of organizing and systematizing the factual knowledge gathered by the specialist will grow more forceful as the accumulation of research mounts. The attitude toward this attempt at synthesis may in the future be more limited and cautious than in the earlier days of sociology, but there can be no escape from attempting systematic interpretations.

Contributions to the philosophy of sociology have been made by the following:

#### HISTORY OF SOCIAL THOUGHT

This group concentrates upon the development of the science. Some choose to treat the evolution of sociology with a philosophic motive, endeavoring to find in its history a synthetic meaning, while others are content to record the objective facts of the progress of the science and the social situations that were instrumental in shaping sociological thought. Among the philosophic historians we find L. M. Bristol and Albion Small, while William F. Ogburn is an outstanding example of the objective attitude.

The student of sociology needs a firm grasp of the development of social thought. Contemporary problems are distorted and misinterpreted if they are unrelated to the development of social thinking. The history of social thought is not merely a record of discarded ideas, but an evolution of thinking which is itself illustrative of social interaction. Even the individual who eschews theory needs to become familiar with the thought of others as a protection against personal bias in his own generalization. The best that has come forth from man's struggle to interpret his social experi-

ence is a cultural possession that neither the social worker nor the student of society wisely neglects.

#### THEORETICAL SOCIOLOGY

The distinction between theoretical and applied sociology, which was formerly more generally emphasized than at present, shows its influence in the program of courses in the philosophy of social experience. This point of view Lester Ward distinguished as pure sociology in contrast with applied. Here are courses in the theory of progress, which treat in a systematic manner human social experience from the special point of view of the possibility and conditions of social progress. Here also are courses in methodology, which discuss the means by which social science is advanced and provide training in the making of investigations for those who have chosen social science as their special interest or life work. Under the theoretical also are commonly grouped courses in the history of sociology. Their purpose is, of course, the building of background which will enable the student to appreciate what has made sociology take its present form. All these courses are important for students who attempt to specialize in some part of social science.

#### PRACTICAL SOCIOLOGY

Applied or *practical* sociology as it is sometimes called, is chiefly concerned with the getting of information upon problems of social experience and finding methods for their amelioration, and, if possible, their solution. Courses are given on the social survey which deal with the methods of making an investigation of social experience so as to collect a body of substantial facts which can be given statistical description. The survey method has been especially helpful to the rural sociologist. Difficult as this technic is to apply to city life because of the movement of the population and the complexity of city interest, one of the most authoritative studies of human experience is the survey of *Life and Labour in London* made in 1889-1891 by Charles Booth.



In the United States the surveys of Pittsburgh and "Middle-town" are two of our most useful studies of social experience.

In applied sociology separate discussions are made of the major problems that affect modern people. It is common in the universities to offer an elementary course which introduces the student to all of the most important social expressions of maladjustment and then to relate each of the advanced specialized courses to a definite problem, such as poverty, crime, immigration, race, the family, social hygiene, mental defects, housing, public opinion, and the organizations and practices of modern philanthropy.

#### EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

The specialization of sociology also discloses definite interests that demand their own group of courses. One of these is known as *educational sociology* and is concerned with the study of the educational process from the point of view of its social purposes and the social conditions that determine its efficiency. Although a relatively new point of view, this has come through the effort to interpret education as a preparation for successful living. As educational psychology emphasizes the means by which education carries out its program and brings to light those facts about human personality that condition educational success, so educational sociology attempts the task of defining the objectives of the educational program. Society finances and organizes education primarily for social welfare, and even though it deals with the individual, its justification rests upon its success in building up desirable social relationships. Interest in educational sociology is developing with great rapidity and is already demonstrating its value to the educator, whether he teaches or administers educational resources.

#### SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Social psychology is not a new interest, but the recent development of social science has emphasized its importance. It is difficult to define because it occupies the borderland between orthodox sociology and psychology. Courses in so-

cial psychology appear in some institutions under sociology, while in others they are listed as psychological subjects and are taught by specialists in psychology. Like psychology it deals with the individual but it stresses social behavior and the influence of social experience upon his personality. Orthodox psychology recognizes the social aspects of personality but its emphasis turns to the individual rather than to the social aspect. Social psychology also designates the effort of sociologists to portray the behavior of groups of people such as crowds and the mob, which have temporarily, at least, the characteristics of an individual. The study of religious revivals or contagious propaganda would naturally come under the head of this type of social psychology. The significance of sociological science is so great that it was inevitable that a distinct effort should be made to build up this borderland of the two sciences and put together material from both psychology and sociology which is pertinent in the interpretation of individual experience as it occurs on the social level or in group expressions like that of the crowd, that through imitation or suggestion show unusual uniformity in emotional agreement.

#### SOCIAL ORIGINS

Another special interest which appears in sociology, although often listed under the science of anthropology, has to do with social origins. The life of the savage furnishes the scientist a clue to the meanings of modern social experience. The specialists in psychiatry and psychoanalysis have found it of value in their treatment of behavior problems to be well read in the literature that deals with primitive social experience. Such information is not only fascinating in its inherent interests, but indispensable to the student who desires to be well trained in social science. Here anthropology and sociology come together in a common interest as do psychology and sociology in social psychology. The beginnings and early history of the family, the state, industry, religion, and art, for example, as earlier chapters of this text have illustrated, are matters that we need to know if we are to understand the social background out of which has de-

veloped the civilization of today and the evolutionary process by which it has come to be what it now is.

#### THE REFORMERS AND THE PHILANTHROPISTS

This group of sociologists have widely scattered interests. The special viewpoint is that of the scientist who attempts to relieve human misery or to attack practical problems or eliminate some particular form of social maladjustment. There has been in the past mutual suspicion between the sociologist and the practical social worker. The first has felt that reformers and philanthropic workers were controlled too much by the heart and too little by the head. The social worker, on his part, has regarded the sociologist as a thinker captivated by theory and unconcerned with concrete situations. This feeling of separation is markedly less acute at present than formerly. Such work as that of Ernest Burgess, William Healy, and Clifford Shaw, for example, has demonstrated the advantages of bringing science into social work, while the contributions from experience in social work of such writers as Mary Richmond has influenced the science of sociology.

#### SOCIOLOGY AND THEOLOGY

It is of course as impossible to construct a science of sociology to uphold a special religious or denominational interest as it would be to formulate a Christian chemistry or an Episcopal geology. There is, however, a legitimate place for the study of religious experience or Christian teaching from the sociological viewpoint. In the theological school, sociology as related to the work of the religious leader properly belongs to a curriculum both modern and well adapted to the problems which the graduates will meet later in their public service.

As a result of the development of sociology, a new interest is being shown in the understanding of the social experiences revealed in the Old and the New Testament. Sociological investigations have been made not only of the social situations associated with religious experience but of the

various forms of its expression. Even when there has been no specific development of sociology in the theological seminaries, the teaching in various departments has revealed the influence of the science. Very recently the sciences of psychology and sociology have come to contribute to the development of a better technic of pastoral service. Especially is this true with problems of the family. Specific instruction has been offered both to theological students and to settled pastors in the art of dealing with family situations in such a way as to make use of the pertinent information gathered by psychiatry, psychology, and sociology.

#### UNIVERSITY COURSES

The student who seeks familiarity with sociological science should examine the catalogues of several American universities. If he chooses institutions in different parts of the United States he will soon discover that when the staff of their instructors is sufficiently large to permit the whole field of sociology to be handled, there is substantial agreement in the specialties that are represented in the various courses offered. In a few of the older institutions the investigator may be surprised not to find the term *sociology* appearing. Usually a portion of the province of sociology appears in college courses in economics or social ethics, for sociological interests were for a time chiefly tied up with the point of view that we now call *political economy* and, more commonly, *economics*.

When sociology emerged as a distinct approach to the study of human behavior its appearance was in some institutions aborted by economists who saw no need of it, while in others it was continued as a subordinate element in economic science. In a few institutions much that is generally called *sociology* appears as *social ethics*, emphasizing the fact that the purpose of the instruction is to establish social norms or what James Ford calls "ought-judgments" in contrast with "is-judgments," which in the past made sociology a descriptive science.

In nearly every institution where sociology is offered at all we find an introductory course which is commonly pre-



requisite for advanced study. This course attempts to orient the student in the general field of the science, familiarize him with its vocabulary, acquaint him with the notable contributors to the science, and especially to start him thinking about social experience with that interest in objective facts which is the salient obligation of the scientist.

Although the first course is designed primarily to give the student an elementary knowledge of the science, its secondary purpose is the preparation for further study if desired.

#### THE SOURCES OF SOCIOLOGICAL FACTS

The student can have a clear idea of the meaning of the science of sociology when he knows how it is being developed. If he asks whence it comes, the answer need not be ambiguous. It comes from the culture that results from the association of people, for where association is, there is the material which sociology attempts to organize. If the student wishes familiarity with the sources of sociology he has to turn his attention to persons. In so far as he attempts to extract objective facts from his own social experience, he has undertaken the task of the sociologist.

But however skillful and accurate he may prove himself in his efforts, he must recognize the limitations of personal contact, since ordinarily the facts obtainable from his own investigations are too few to build up reliable generalizations. Even though this limitation must be fully recognized, it is important that the student have some experience in making sociological studies. He finds his resources near at hand in family contact, friendships, industries, newspapers, churches, societies, and all sorts of group conduct which he can utilize for investigation. It is the tyranny of dogmatism if he leaves his course in sociology with absolute confidence in a cut-and-dried system, subjectively constructed, which he continues to use as a means of interpreting social experience. The system may give him a clue to an understanding of human relationships, but it is likely, by distorting and coloring the facts, to mislead rather than give a trustworthy insight.

No scientific investigator embarks upon a study without learning all that can be discovered from the thinking and research of others along lines that promise to be helpful.

#### BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

The student introducing himself to sociology must not, because of his interest in personal observation, discount the advantage of becoming familiar with the literature of the subject. Even in the elementary course, which starts him in sociological thinking, he must have opportunity to become familiar with various authors, their points of view, and the value of their contributions. The field is extensive, but he should seek considerable knowledge of one part of it and an acquaintance with the entire field. The readings that are usually required or suggested are indispensable if appreciable depth of understanding is to be achieved. The interested student will seldom be content with the minimum requirements of the instructor but will soon discover an interest which will lead him far afield and yield fruits of greatest value.

Andrew White, first president of Cornell, tells of a special study to which he was attracted by his readings, which then promised no practical value for him in his professional career. There came a time, however, when this early investigation made him equal to the full use of a splendid opportunity which greatly enhanced his reputation. Any knowledge that the student gathers for himself from the sociological field not only contributes its part in building up a substantial education, but also will prove useful in whatever career he chooses, since problems of human association concern every one.

It is especially important that the student recognize early the value of periodical literature. The cost of publishing books and the American method of printing them, usually from plates, forbids the continuous revision which authors would desire in order to keep their books abreast of the advances of the science. Moreover, material of greatest value in the study of sociology often cannot be profitably published in book form on account of its narrow appeal.

The student, therefore, will especially value a periodical,

since it is not only timely but representative of the movement of the science. It is well for him to pursue in his reading definite subjects, such as leisure, crime, and social progress, but he will also find much satisfaction in choosing certain authors and following their thinking on various topics.

At this time there are several sociological journals with which the serious student will want to become acquainted. The official journal of the American Sociological Society is called the *American Sociological Review*. Here are found articles reflecting the quantitative and analytical approach in sociology, along with lengthy reviews of what appear to be the more important books in the field and notes on sociological developments in some of the foreign nations. The *American Journal of Sociology* reflects the point of view of the department at the University of Chicago and is the oldest of the sociological publications. *Social Forces*, edited at the University of North Carolina, carries frequent articles reflecting the folk-regional viewpoint, but is also characterized by the wide range of topics discussed in its columns. *Sociology and Social Research* has shown great interest in problems of racial adjustment and the closely allied topic of social distance. Published at the University of Southern California, it carries a high percentage of articles from that region. Narrowly specialized is the *Journal of Rural Sociology*. The *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* reflects the interests of scholars in all of the social sciences in that region, and often contains articles from other regions. *Social Research*, published by scholars who are recent emigres from Europe, also covers most of the social sciences in its range and serves the valuable function of making current European thought easily available.

There are many journals which are not strictly sociological but which do contain much material of interest to sociologists. These include the journals of the various social sciences, and such publications as *Survey* and *Survey Graphic*, *The Family*, *Science and Society*, the *Journal of Criminology and Criminal Law*, and *Mental Hygiene*. In addition, the student will often find in the better magazines discussions of sociological problems written in a more popular style.

There are foreign periodicals devoted to sociological literature, exhibiting a different national point of view, which will be sought out, if available, by the serious student who wishes to make the best use of his opportunity to start the study of sociology. It is well to remember also the value of reports of organizations and special publications, such as the reports of the Children's Bureau. Since these are often found in paper covers, there is a surprising lack of appreciation of their value. Frequently it is in such material that the specialist finds information of the greatest importance in original investigation.

An acquaintance with such bibliographies as appear in the current numbers of the sociological magazines is essential to the beginner, since even advanced students who have not yet specialized in a subject often come to the instructor asking him to suggest material for the topics they have chosen to investigate. The student should seek help only after he has done his best to find the material for himself.

#### STATISTICS

The statistical method of acquiring facts is so important that the student who plans to continue sociological study in the graduate school needs to equip himself with the science of statistics even though he does not plan to make it his specialty. Quetelet is given credit for having been the founder of statistical science. He made use of a counting method like that now used in the census. Also he attempted to trace causation by the gathering of statistical evidence and tried to establish principles by which reliable statistical information could be gathered.

Although it is untrue that no use was made of statistical methods before Quetelet, he deserves the title of founder of the science of statistics since his contribution was influential in establishing this important means of gathering social knowledge. He did much to bring about the founding of the Bureau of Statistics in Belgium, his native country, and of the Royal Statistical Society of London, and eventually several nations were led to develop uniformity in their manner of making enumeration. Later LePlay in France ex-



tended the use of statistics in getting information regarding family budgets and family situations. Statistics now hold a foremost place as a source from which the sociologist draws material for his science, and as a tool for its development.

Some familiarity with statistical devices and dangers will be helpful to the student in his interpretation of data. References to percentile, median, mean, correlation, and other such terms are met frequently in reading, and a general knowledge of their meanings is necessary for a clear understanding of the matter thus described. Statistical methods and results are reliable in proportion as they embrace all possible factors and phases of a given situation. For example, the number of divorces in North Carolina would make a false impression if one failed to realize that many South Carolinians, because divorces cannot be had in their state, have contributed to the total. Statistics as a tool must be used cautiously and critically lest partial truths be accepted as whole truths merely because the former seem to have the support of evidence in numerical form.

#### HISTORY AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION

We have already noticed the intimate relationship of the two sciences. The historian attempts to reconstruct the life of man's past, and the sociologist makes constant use of the products of historical research. The influence of workers in physical science is apparent in modern history, stimulating what is now known as the historical method. This, in brief, is the effort in dealing with man's past experiences to approach in reliability of factual statement and in freedom from bias the accuracy and the impartiality of the physicist or the chemist.

The difficulties of the historian are many, for human experience is very different from physical substances. Moreover, the record of man's past is a broken one, yielding at best material with many gaps. Were it not for the work of the historian, however, the sociologist would find it impossible to interpret contemporary experience for there would be no background and therefore no means of detecting evolution or of weighing the significance of changes. Herbert

Spencer, one of the first sociologists, made a very exacting attempt to use the historical method in understanding the society of his day. Interesting as his interpretation is, it failed in part because of lack of facts and in part because of lack of discrimination in the use of the material gathered. Comparisons were made and parallelisms found between events and conditions only superficially alike. This resulted from lack of attention to the background of the cultural experience used. A more careful compiling of historical material for sociological interpretation is found in Sumner's *Folkways*. Another example of the use of material such as that gathered by Sumner and Spencer, but with a conscious effort to classify the culture portrayed according to its levels, is *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of Simpler Peoples* by Hobhouse, Wheeler, and Ginsberg. In this the culture of preliterate people with reference to government, industry, family life, war, property, and other classes of experience is correlated with levels of economic development so that people of similar attainment may be compared.

Thus the sociologist turns to history, not only for illustrative material in his interpretation of contemporary society but for the factual knowledge needed if he is to have understanding of social evolution.

#### OBSERVATION

A third source of sociological fact is personal observation. Here it is necessary to have many cases of the same social experience examined if findings are to have any degree of authority. It is difficult for any individual to observe cases enough to establish reliable facts. Charles Booth, in his elaborate study of the London poor, *Life and Labour of the People of London*, spent an immense amount of time in personal visitation in order to gather the material he sought. Observations must not only be sufficient in number to give them significance but they must be freed from the bias of the observer, who, in his interpretation, is likely to read into the facts what he expects to find or what he wishes to prove. It is also true that where the observation has to do with

social behavior it is especially difficult to get at causes of conduct which come out of personality itself. Even though the observer be trained in both psychology and sociology, he realizes the necessity for caution in the analysis of the personality aspects of social conduct, and recognizes the difficulty of escaping from subjective interpretation as he tries to see into the causes of behavior.

No better examples can be found of a social survey, conceived and conducted in accord with present-day interests and resources, than *Middletown*, and *Middletown in Transition*, a study in contemporary American culture by Robert and Helen Lynd. Based upon personal interviews, close-at-hand observations, these books give a detailed and penetrating picture of the city chosen for study. By comparing it with Booth's *Survey of London*, we can see the progress that the technic of this type of social investigation has made. *Middletown* takes us into the very marrow of this western city and we feel that we know it as one who for many years has been familiar with its streets. From the first page to the last, it is a veritable guidebook to the life of thought, feeling, and activity of the individuals who compose this urban unit. A preacher called to one of its churches or an itinerant peddler getting orders for soap would find in the book the information that he would wish before starting upon his enterprise. The study concentrates about six major activities: getting a living; making a home; training the young; using leisure in various forms of play, art, and so on; engaging in religious practices; engaging in community activities.

#### THE CASE STUDY

Because of the lack of standardized units into which social material may be classified, extensive use in research is made of the case study method. This consists of securing all possible facts about a particular person, group, institution, or other subject of study and then tracing the development through which it has arrived at its present status. By such method an insight into motives and the effects of other events may be secured which is impossible by other and more "objective" means of study. The whole object of the

case study method is to place the object studied in relation-ship to its surroundings. Thus a full picture of the person, or group, or institution, or what not, is secured and the influences playing upon it may be discovered.

Since the case study method attempts to probe subjective factors it makes wide use of such personal documents as letters, diaries, autobiographies, and statements of friends and neighbors in the study of persons. If the person is available, the interview is used to secure additional information. In case studies of groups and institutions, records, statements of aims, proceedings of meetings and similar documents are used. By the use of such intimate materials it is hoped to gain an *acquaintance with* rather than *knowledge about* what is studied.

Where the statistical method is objective, the case study is subjective. Because of this difference it is sometimes assumed that they are unalterably opposed to each other. This seems not to be entirely true. Rather, it would seem that they are valuable in complementing each other. It is extremely difficult to gain an accurate picture of a culture through acquaintance with a few persons who live in it. At the same time, much of the quality of the picture is lost when the traits are reduced to purely quantitative expression. A judicious combination of the study of members of a group from the subjective, qualitative, point of view; together with a use of statistical data as a safeguard against judgments based on insufficient evidence, would do much to overcome the limitations of either method used separately, it would seem.

#### THE LOGIC OF SOCIOLOGY

There is no special thought process by which the science of sociology can be constructed. Its logic is that of the other sciences, adapted, as all thinking has to be, to the special type of phenomena it tries to study. The student of sociology needs to be familiar with the laws of inductive and deductive logic and to realize the problem confronting the intellect when it tries to establish truth, whether it be in the field of social experience or in some other line of investigation. Sociology is now attempting to become an inductive science



and to escape from philosophic deductions. Although both types of thinking appear in sociological literature, the student should at least appreciate the distinction between them.

#### THE FIELD OF SOCIOLOGY

The student in sociology is inadequately introduced to the subject if he leaves the study with the idea that the field is narrow and well occupied, and that complex social experience conforms precisely to a special system of sociological interpretation. The field is large and varied, and the science has merely made a beginning with its task, but information already gained shows the impossibility of constructing any system that completely explains social phenomena by a collection of abstract laws and principles. Sociology has at least advanced so far that it can no longer be content with systems and must turn its attention to the more heroic and reliable effort of bringing together in causal relations information we now have about man's associations with others. For the complete satisfaction of the thinker, sociology may require social philosophy, but that its progress may be actual and not fictitious as a science, it must accept the restraint of other sciences and avoid leaping by subjective generalization where advancement, to be genuine, must be slow and laborious, the product of patient investigation and analysis similar to the processes that have made the material sciences trustworthy. The field of sociology, as defined by courses of instruction, demonstrates the trend toward acceptance of the responsibility which scientific methods place on any investigator in any division of knowledge.

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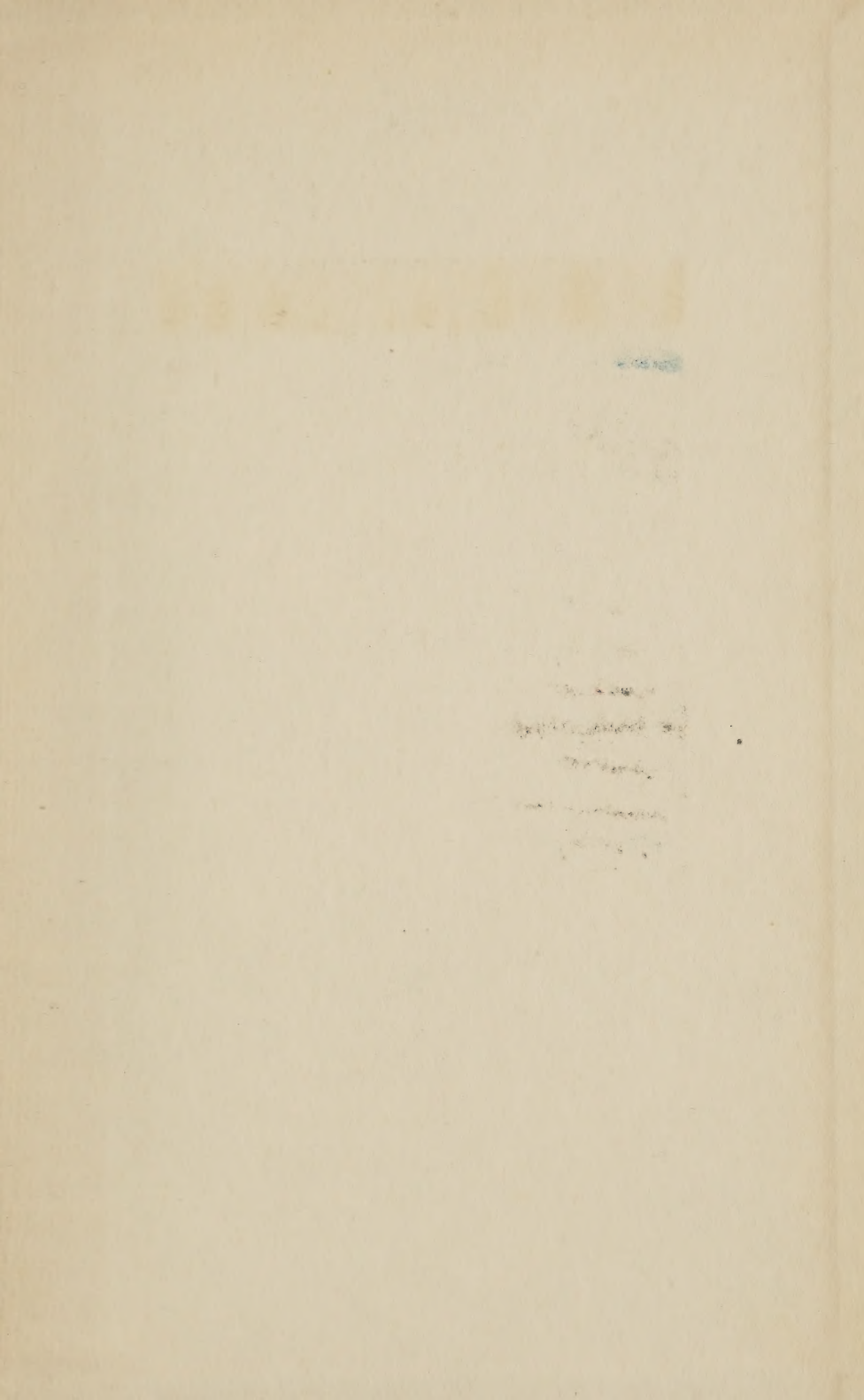
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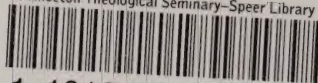






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